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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER

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THE

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1802-1817

EDITED BY HIS SON

CHARLES, LORD COLCHESTER

IN THREE VOLUMES

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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

CHARLES (ABBOT) LORD COLCHESTER.

CHAPTER XXII.

1805.

GREAT DEBATE ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.—LORD MELVILLE DEFENDS HIMSELF IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, AND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—NELSON'S PURSUIT OF THE FRENCH FLEET.—LORD MELVILLE IS IMPEACHED.—COOLNESS BETWEEN PITT AND LORD SIDMOUTH (LATE MR. ADDINGTON).—THE KING ADHERES TO MR. PITT.—SUMMARY OF THE SESSION, AND OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS.—BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.—OF AUSTERLITZ.—PITT'S ILLNESS.—TRIAL OF SIR R. CALDER.

Saturday, *May* 11*th*. — The Lords received the report from their Committee of Privileges on Lord Melville's attendance; and voted a conference, and resolutions to be delivered to the Commons.

13*th*. — Saw Mr. Pitt upon the expected resolutions from the Lords, and upon the expected course of debate to-day. He mentioned to me the probability of Lord Melville's declining to go to the Committee under the restrictions put upon him by the Lords; but desiring to be heard in the Commons to defend himself against any accusatory matters which might be contained in the report, when made by the Select Committee; and before the House came to any resolution.

House of Commons. Debate on the Catholic petition from half-past five till two in the morning: then adjourned the debate.

Mr. Fox spoke three hours and a half. Dr. Duigenan answered him in two hours. Mr. Grattan an hour and forty minutes. The Attorney-General an hour. Mr. Alexander half an hour.

Great expectations were formed of the speeches in this debate. Mr. Fox was more clear and orderly than usual in his opening speeches; but not very conclusive. His topics were. 1. The magnitude of the question from the numbers of the population concerned, viz. 3,000,000 or 4,000,000. 2. A discussion of rights and claims of the governed and governors. 3. Legislative restrictions in our history, political, not religious, from Queen Elizabeth to King William, &c., first made against Queen Elizabeth's enemies, who happened to be the Catholic powers of Europe; and by King William, &c., against the Jacobites, who also happened to be Catholics. 4. The history of relaxation, from the beginning of the reign, and consequent prosperity and wealth, and civilisation of the Catholics. The comparative situation of English Catholics to whom the first indulgences were given with a view to open the way for similar indulgences in Ireland; Sir George Savile's views, Mr. Dunning's, Mr. Burke's, &c. 5. A statement of the present incapacitations, and their mischievous effects in curtailing the King's prerogative as to his choice of subjects to fill military and political offices; and in curtailing the choice of the subject in elections to seats in Parliament and municipal offices. 6. Objections to the relief stated and refuted. 7. Strictures upon the supposed objections on the part of the Crown. 8. Motives for a Committee to provide for the minor and more evidently necessary relaxations, viz. as to military men, being Irish Roman Catholics, and coming over upon service into England, where they cannot attend divine worship, or lawfully serve; and as to marriages, which require some civil security.

Dr. Duigenan urged all the topics of his former publications, and particularly the most recent statement of the Roman Catholic tenets appearing in their

own books, such as Dr. Milner's (an Apostolic Vicar in England), published within this week; wherein he says, "All oaths are to be obligatory or not, as prudence directs," &c.

Grattan was, as in all his printed speeches, able, and various in his topics; delivered in language quaint and epigrammatic, with occasional flashes of striking metaphors; and in a manner disgustingly vain, conceited, and affected. His elocution fluent; sometimes rapid, with strained pauses, and strange cadences; his action violent, throwing his body, head, and arms into all sorts of absurd attitudes. He was heard with much attention, but not always with admiration, even by his own friends.

The Lords negatived the Committee upon the Catholic petition at five o'clock this morning: 179 to 51.

14*th*. — House of Commons. Resumed debate upon the Catholic Petition. In the course of it, Sir Wm. Scott, Mr. George Ponsonby, and Mr. Foster, were the principal speakers on the merits of the question. Mr. Pitt spoke shortly, in favour of the general measures, if coupled with such tests, such connection of the Catholic clergy with the Government, and such augmentation and extension of the Established Church in Ireland as had been always in his contemplation; but he did not detail those guards, checks, or conditions. And he objected now to the measure, as unfit at this time to be brought on, from its improbability of success, when there appeared so much indisposition to it in every quarter. Division at four o'clock; for the Committee, 124; against it, 336. Being more than half the total number of the House, — of the Irish members 27 were for the petition; 47 against it.

15*th*. — Sir Joseph Banks came to communicate to me the opening which there appeared to be for purchasing the Townley collection of Statues, &c. [for the British Museum], if the wish of the Government were signified to the family, and I undertook to speak to Mr. Pitt on the subject.

16*th*.—Went to Mr. Pitt and opened the proposition for purchasing the Townley collection; which he acceded to with prompt and cordial approbation. Also obtained his consent to fix an early day for the second reading of the University Advowson Bill, which was expected this day from the Lords; and had a further conversation upon the propriety of having a committee to search for precedents upon the matter contained in the Lords' communication respecting the attendance of peers to defend themselves or be examined in the House of Commons.

House of Commons. Mr. Pitt moved the first and second reading of the University Advowson Bill. The Committee on the Tenth Report reported their resolution that they could not have an effectual or satisfactory examination of Lord Melville under the limitations and restrictions contained in the Lords' resolutions.

The Bill for appointing Commissioners to inquire into the Military Expenditure, went through a Committee, and the names proposed for Commissioners were highly approved by all parties. They were: Mr. Cox (a Master in Chancery, and Lieut-Colonel of the Bloomsbury Volunteers); Mr. Templeman (a barrister); General Oakes; Colonel Drinkwater; Colonel Beckwith; Mr. Peters (a merchant, formerly M.P. for Oxford); and Mr. Charles Bosanquet.

18*th*.—News arrived at the Admiralty that the "Warrior," the inmost ship of Lord Gardner's fleet, had made signals of the French fleet coming out of Brest.

24*th*.—Saw Lord Hawkesbury, and talked upon Lord Melville's business. He had heard, as I had, that Lord Melville's own account of the moneys used by him as Treasurer of the Navy was that they had been applied "partly during the King's illness, and partly on Scotch elections."

In the House of Lords Lord Melville attended and made a long speech in defence of his own conduct at the head of the Admiralty.

27*th*.—Sir John Stewart came to settle what should

be done in consequence of the Lords desiring to know the grounds and purposes of requiring Lord St. Vincent's attendance before the Select Committee on Sir Home Popham. Referred him to the case of Mr. Bertie and the Lords of the Admiralty, 1758.

House of Commons. The Report of the Select Committee on Lord Melville's business and the Tenth Report, Naval Inquiry, was presented; and Whitbread gave notice of moving an impeachment against Lord Melville on Thursday se'nnight, the 6th of June; and, upon some subsequent day, resolutions against Mr. Pitt.

A Committee was appointed to draw up the answer to be given to the Lords respecting Lord St. Vincent.

28*th*.—Mr. Dundas came to settle the proceedings by which his father, Lord Melville, should be admitted to be heard in his defence upon Mr. Whitbread's motion for an impeachment.

30*th*.—News came this day of the return of the Rochefort squadron from the West Indies to France.

Sunday, *June* 2*nd*. — Received from Sir Joseph Banks a paper signed by Townley Standish, John Townley, and Peregrine Townley, consenting to sell the collection of marbles for 20,000*l*., if approved by Parliament, and the two trusteeships granted. Wrote to Sir J. Banks to desire he would obtain a catalogue from the family, and draw a petition for the Trustees of the British Museum.

3*rd*.—This day news was received of Lord Nelson's fleet victualling in the Bay of Lagos, and proposing to follow the combined fleet; also that the combined fleet had been seen off the Cape de Verde Islands; but the latter news not official.

Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt have not been upon any footing of cordiality since their reconciliation.

4*th*.—King's birthday: 67 years complete. At the Drawing Room the King asked me, among other things, "How soon do you think you will be up, because you know something about it?" I answered in some way or other which made the King say, "You are very

cautious." He afterwards said, "I suppose you wish very much to have an end of the session?" To which I answered, "Sir, I resign my whole time, and am content to get back whatever happens to be left to me." To which the King replied, "Oh, then, that is your maxim." He looked very well, and was in very good steady spirits.

I dined with Mr. Pitt. He said Lord Nelson, in his letters received to-day, said he was sailing immediately after the combined fleet to the West Indies, and if he did not find them there he should follow them to the antipodes.

7th.—House of Commons. Sat till half-past three in the morning upon a debate as to proceeding upon the Duke of Athol's claim for compensation in respect of his alleged loss by the inadequate price for which his rights in the Isle of Man were sold to the public in 1765. For proceeding, 114; against it, 49.

N.B. Strange proceeding! to be debating twelve hours upon the inadequacy of a bargain settled forty years ago, at this time, when hourly invasion is threatened. The destination of the combined fleets of France and Spain unknown, though it had sailed two months; no knowledge of Continental alliances, although intimated in the King's Speech at the opening of the session; and the Houses of Parliament and the country only intent upon disputes of peers attending the House of Commons as parties or witnesses; and upon a question for impeachment of Lord Melville announced for next week.

The Lords, in a Committee of Privileges, resolved, 36 to 12, "That the Lord Viscount Melville have leave to go down to the House of Commons, and to defend himself there if he shall think fit, on all points on which the House of Commons has not previously passed any accusatory or criminatory resolutions against him."

9th.—Mr. Robert Dundas came by appointment to converse upon the ceremony of Lord Melville's coming to the House of Commons on Tuesday next. His intention is to desire by letter to be admitted and

heard; and to come for that purpose before Mr. Whitbread opens his motion. He had once thought of being present under the gallery to hear Mr. Whitbread's motion, and then to apply to be admitted in form and heard. Such a course he had been advised to take; but he now reverts to his own original idea of coming in before Mr. Whitbread's motion is made; and to take this mode as more dignified; he meaning to give the House information upon matters respecting which no opportunity was allowed to him of giving evidence before the Committee.

11*th*.—This day, in consequence of Lord Hardwicke's remonstrance against Mr. Foster's Irish Bills proceeding without his concurrence, Lord Hawkesbury threw out Mr. Foster's Distillery Bill in the Lords, and stopped his Bill for dividing the Customs and Excise Boards.

House of Commons.—At twenty minutes past five Lord Melville sent a letter to me in the chair, desiring to be admitted and heard. Upon question moved by Mr. Robert Dundas, it was resolved accordingly; and a chair was set for him on the left of the bar at coming in. And, after his obeisance at coming in with the mace, the bar was lifted up, and he advanced to his chair uncovered. I said, "There is a chair for your Lordship to repose *in*, if you should think fit." He sat down; I put on my hat. He covered himself, and, after a few minutes, took off his hat, rose, and placed himself behind his chair, laying his hat and papers in it; he spoke two hours and twenty minutes, then bowed, took up his hat and papers, went through the bar with the mace beside him, and made his obeisances, as at coming in. The Serjeant stood by him with the mace on his shoulder till Lord Melville began to speak; and for the rest of the time with the mace grounded on the floor. The doors were opened both at his coming in and going out. He went through my house by his own desire, and to and from my secretary's room adjoining the lobby.

His speech was boldly delivered, and consisted chiefly of hardy assertions and flat denials, from written papers, and prepared with great care, in answer to the substance of the resolutions of the 8th of April, about his connivance at Mr. Trotter's private profits from public money. After which, with respect to the 10,000*l.* received by him before Mr. Trotter became Paymaster, and the 11,000*l.* subsequently received, he stated that he, being at that time though not a Cabinet Minister, yet entrusted with the confidential management of the King's interests *in Scotland*, he had applied the money in a way which *no consideration should induce him to reveal;* and that motives of private honour and personal convenience would prevent him from disclosing it to any persons whatever. He concluded by dwelling upon the injustice of trying him by prejudiced Peers, or a prejudiced jury, after having already punished him by removing him from office, and from the King's councils.

He was heard with the utmost attention and silence; but he certainly did not appear to improve his cause. There was a tone of defiance, and a want of moral feeling which evidently hurt his own friends, and gave spirit to his enemies.

Mr. Whitbread followed in a speech of two hours and a half; Mr. Bond proposed an amendment to the Bill for an impeachment, to amend it by substituting a criminal prosecution by the Attorney-General, and a suspension of the civil suit.

The Master of the Rolls opposed both the motion and amendment ably and at great length, but was ill heard. Lord Temple, Hiley Addington, Lord Henry Petty, &c., spoke till half-past two. Debate then adjourned.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Resumed debate on Lord Melville's question. Speakers in favour of Lord Melville, Mr. Leycester, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. R. Dundas, Mr. Canning, Mr. Ryder, and the Attorney-General. For the impeachment, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Grey. For the prosecution by the Attorney-General, Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Bankes, Mr. George Vansittart, and Mr. Ellison.

Division at half-past four. For the impeachment, 195; against it, 272—467. Second division immediately followed. For the prosecution, 238; against it, 229—467.

From 272 against the impeachment, deduct 43 (the Addington party), upon the prosecution there remain 229, Mr. Pitt's numbers. To 195 for the impeachment, add 43 (Mr. Addington's party), making for the prosecution, 238 against Mr. Pitt.

It was remarkable that in this adjourned debate of two nights, occupying, upon the whole, twenty hours, neither Mr. Pitt, nor Mr. Fox, nor Mr. Sheridan, nor Mr. Wyndham, nor Mr. Grenville spoke, though all were present.

Thus it was evident that now, as it was also last year at this time, parties were so balanced that the standing strength of the Government being about 230, it must be defeated whenever the three other parties combined in any vote against it. So Mr. Addington was beaten by the junction of the Fox, Grenville, and Pitt parties. So Mr. Pitt was beaten by the junction of the Fox, Grenville, and Addington parties, upon this particular question.

13*th*.—Went with Lord Auckland to meet Lord St. Helens and Sir Joseph Banks, at the Hunterian Museum, in Castle Street, Leicester Square. This Museum was bought by Parliament for the public use in 1799, and trustees were created by the Treasury in 1802, viz. 16 by office, and 14 by name. But the trustees had never acted until the circumstance of purchasing the Townley marbles for the British Museum brought the Hunterian purchase to Lord Auckland's recollection. It had long been in my mind; and, upon Lord Auckland's summons, we met Dr. Baillie, another trustee, and Mr. Home, one of the curators on the part of the College of Surgeons.

Our first proceeding was to inquire of Mr. Home, the curator, and of Mr. Cliff, the resident conservator of the Museum, how far the terms and conditions im-

posed by the Treasury upon the College of Surgeons, had been complied with, and to have a regular minute made of their answers; after which we directed all the trustees to be summoned by circular letter for next Tuesday, to carry the trust into execution by settling visitation days, board days, &c., and to fill up a vacancy occasioned by the death of Sir George Shuckbrugh, and write to Lord Spencer to desire he would let himself be put in nomination.

14*th*.—House of Commons. Debate till two o'clock in the morning, but no division, upon that part of the Tenth Naval Report which related to the 40,000*l*. lent to Boyd and Co. Whitbread and Fox, &c., disclaimed imputing any corrupt motives, but insisted it was a breach of the law, and an erroneous judgment of the necessity or expediency of the loan. Mr. Pitt, &c., admitted the breach of law, but carried a vote declaring the policy of it according to the apparent circumstances of that time, viz. 1796; and by common consent a Bill of Indemnity was ordered in.

16*th*.—Had a long conversation with the Chancellor: 1. Upon Lord Melville's business. 2. The Court of Chancery, and the decrees of the Master of the Rolls, from which appeals are continually making, for want of his explaining to the parties the grounds of his decision, and for want of his looking at the instruments themselves, which are either improperly abbreviated by the solicitors, or defectively stated by counsel, without reference to the deeds themselves. 3. The Stipendiary Curates' Bill, now in the House of Lords, in which (though friendly to the Bill) he stated many inaccuracies requiring amendment. 4. The appointment of the Museum officers, which he delayed to sign until he was assured by me that they were right.

Dined at Southgate; brought Lord Sidmouth home.

The last week had been a period of great discomfort between him and Mr. Pitt, who had desired to consider the proceedings in Lord Melville's case as a Government measure; and had said, that if Lord Sidmouth's

friends took a different part from him, much as he desired to place them in high situations, it would then become impossible, and his own sincerity would be suspected. He summoned a Cabinet the day before the motion, for the purpose of proposing his own line as a Cabinet measure; but, upon Lord Sidmouth's stating firmly that of course his resignation must be the consequence, Mr. Pitt gave that up. Lord Sidmouth was determined not to vote with Mr. Fox, &c., and equally decided upon the necessity of proceeding criminally against Lord Melville; and these considerations led to Bond's amendment. Since the division they have met upon terms of apparent civility, but there has never been any free and cordial intercourse of confidence since Lord Sidmouth first joined the Administration at Christmas last.

The King was content to have let Lord Melville's case rest where it was, without any further proceedings of any sort.

Lord Barham has been but once at the Cabinet since his appointment. He was wanted the other day between five and six, but, upon inquiry, the Cabinet messenger brought for answer that he was gone to drink tea somewhere in the City.

Lady Hester Stanhope keeps Mr. Pitt's house; and Canning uses her influence also to maintain his own.

20*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Grey's motion for an Address to the King, not to prorogue the Parliament until some communication should be made of the state of our negotiations, &c. Division at half-past two; for it, 110; against it, 262.

21*st*.—The vote of credit, 3,500,000*l*., was debated. Nothing on this day or yesterday transpired in debate to show that our negotiations had either failed with Russia or Austria, or that they had reached any material point.

20,000*l*. was voted this day for the Townley collection.

The House proceeded in a Committee upon the Duke

of Athol's petition, and voted an annual sum equal to one quarter of the gross annual produce of the Customs in the Isle of Man, as a compensation to the Duke and his heirs for their loss of income by the purchase of 1765! The solicitation and canvass for the support of the claim had been unceasing and notorious everywhere. For the vote, 76; against it, 28.

25*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Leycester moved to proceed against Lord Melville by impeachment, and stay the prosecution by the Attorney-General. Debated till two o'clock. Carried by 166 to 143, the Addington, Fox, and Grenville parties voting together against rescinding the former resolution.

So 166, in a House of 309, rescinded a vote carried by 238 in a House of 467, a fortnight ago! and this upon a notice not formally given till the preceding day, although an intimation of some such intention had been thrown out upon Thursday last.

26*th*.—Whitbread carried up the impeachment to the Bar of the House of Lords, and moved his Committee to draw up the articles.

Committee. Besides Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Williams Wynn, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Giles, Mr. Raine, Mr. Morris, Mr. Holland, Lord Temple, Lord Marsham, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Porchester, Lord Folkestone, Mr. Creevy, Mr. Kinnaird, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Mr. Serjeant Best.

28*th*. — House of Commons. Mr. Whitbread moved for a Bill of Indemnity in favour of all who had been in office under Lord Melville as Treasurer of the Navy, and who should give evidence upon his impeachment.

Mr. Paull moved for papers respecting Lord Wellesley's appointing his brother to be Lieutenant Governor of Oude.

The Committee of Supply closed.

29*th*, — Lord Sidmouth called to talk over recent events. For some time he had not had any conversation with Mr. Pitt until the day before yesterday,

when they met at the Queen's House. The result of that was that Mr. Pitt threw out difficulties about placing Bond and Hiley Addington; dwelt upon the appearance of hostility and defiance, &c. The King then saw Mr. Pitt, and afterwards saw Lord Sidmouth. The King said Mr. Pitt had acquainted him that Mr. Fox had declared his wish not to stand in the way of his friends forming part of any Administration. The King told Lord Sidmouth, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidmouth should talk matters over together, and not have any gobetweens.

On Thursday evening Lord Sidmouth wrote to desire Mr. Pitt would see him either Friday, Saturday, or Sunday; and he has fixed to call on Lord Sidmouth at Richmond Park, to-morrow at two o'clock.

Mr. Fox met Tierney the other day, and desired he would tell Lord Sidmouth it was a great misrepresentation of his sentiments to say that he had expressed any idea of exclusion against Lord Sidmouth from any broad bottomed Administration: on the contrary, &c. &c.

Lord Hawkesbury came to consult me about the consequences of the Lords' amendments to Foster's Bill; and the substitution of new Bills for a year. He admitted that Foster had resigned; agreed that the Lord Lieutenant must be supported so long as a Lord Lieutenant was to govern Ireland; and agreed also with me, that no other form of governing Ireland could be looked for, for a very long time to come.

Monday, July 1st. — This day it was understood, and Mr. Pitt told me that the Government believed the information, that the combined fleets of France and Spain had reached the West Indies, and anchored at Martinique. He added that Lord Nelson, he hoped, would soon be with them.

July 2nd. — General Bentham breakfasted with me. He is going to Russia to superintend building of 74's and frigates of 36 guns, at Archangel for the British Navy. The plan stated in a minute of Lord

Melville, January 1805, and General Bentham's instructions dated June.

3rd. — This day it was understood that the King had for some time lost the use of one eye by the formation of a cataract, and that another was forming in the other eye. He was informed of it two or three days ago. He bore the news with a most perfect composure, and a religious fortitude. It was suggested to him that if he thought fit to prorogue the Parliament in person, his speech might be read by the Chancellor, as in the time of George II., but he said that, if he could not read it himself as usual, he should prefer proroguing by commission.

4th. — House of Commons. Mr. Whitbread reported the articles of impeachment against Lord Melville: ordered to be printed, and taken into further consideration next Monday.

Answer to the Lords' message for the evidence on which the Commons passed the Bill for the Duke of Athol's annuity; that such a request was contrary to the practice of Parliament upon Bills of such a nature.

Party politics in a very unsettled state. Lord Sidmouth to see the King to-day, and state his differences with Mr. Pitt. No determination yet between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Foster.

Sir Joseph Banks saw the King to-day, at Kew; a cataract is completely formed in one eye, of which he has lost the use for some weeks past. He has no direct vision with the other eye; but can see downwards to distinguish what he walks upon. He knows persons at the distance of three or four yards. He has not been able to read a word for some time, but can sign as usual with great clearness and steadiness. His journey to the Midland Counties is put off. He goes on Monday or Tuesday next to Weymouth. It is supposed his eyes may be in a state for an operation in about two months hence.

5th. — News of Lord Nelson having arrived in sight of the French and Spanish fleets at Martinique.*

* This was incorrect.

Lord Sidmouth and Lord Buckinghamshire have resigned. Mr. Pitt has said it is necessary to set a mark of disapprobation upon the conduct of Mr. Bond and Mr. Hiley Addington. Mr. Vansittart is not to consider himself as dismissed.

6*th*. — Lord Sidmouth and Bond called, and shortly mentioned what had passed upon the resignation. Lord Sidmouth talked over matters on Sunday last, and on Thursday with Mr. Pitt, after which latter conversation Lord Sidmouth went to the King at the Queen's House and resigned. He saw Mr. Pitt again to-day, and had another parting explanation.

8*th*. — Vansittart came to relate his interview with Mr. Pitt on Saturday last; the result of which was that Mr. Pitt would in two or three days let him know whether he wished him to go to Ireland, as a temporary measure, until his place should be otherwise supplied. Foster's Bills are thrown out, but he remains in, with an assurance that the circumstances of his case will soon be considered.

Lord Sidmouth called. He had resigned on Thursday last to the King, after having announced his intention to Mr. Pitt in the morning of the same day. He had seen Mr. Pitt since, on Saturday last; and parted on terms of civility. He had also seen the King yesterday, who had again spoken to him in the most gracious manner, and peremptorily urged the making a provision for him, and said that this was a most extraordinary transaction.

I went to Mr. Pitt upon the subject of Mr. Whitbread's proposed motion for a Bill to continue the Committee upon the articles during the recess. I strongly urged the inexpedience of so novel a measure, which was, in effect, letting the opposition side of the House sit during a recess of Parliament; and tended to abolish the power of the Crown to cut off all Parliamentary proceedings by prorogation. I mentioned also my confirmed opinion of the propriety of an answer to the Lords' message respecting the evidence on the Duke of Athol's Bill, &c. He stated the probability of the

Session ending on Friday next, and the certainty of the King not proroguing in person.

Lord Sidmouth showed me a letter from Lord Ormadale, a Scotch Judge, dated 28*th June*, in which he said that Lord Melville had communicated it to his friends at Edinburgh, that Lord Sidmouth and his friends would be removed from out of the Administration, before the end of the present Session of Parliament.

House of Commons. The Articles of Impeachment were further considered; agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed.

9*th*.—To-day the news arrived of the combined fleets having left Martinique on their way home to Europe; having done nothing in the West Indies, except taking the Diamond Rock*, close to Martinique, with one officer and a few men prisoners. Lord Nelson was pursuing them on their return, having correct knowledge of their track, and being only a day or two behind them.

Lord Sidmouth called and talked over the circumstances of his resignation, and the professed regret of his colleagues.

House of Commons. Read the engrossed Articles of Impeachment, and sent them to the Lords. A Bill was moved for to enable the Committee to sit and proceed in their examinations, notwithstanding the prorogation. This was denied; but leave was given to bring in a Bill similar to that in Mr. Hastings's case, to provide that the proceedings hitherto had should not be discontinued by prorogation.

10*th*.—The King's eyes are proceeding regularly towards the formation of complete cataracts, and they are expected to be fit for the operation in about three months Mr. Pitt has recommended Colonel Herbert Taylor, the Duke of York's military Secretary, to be the confidential person employed in reading despatches to the King, and waiting for him during his blindness.

The King complained that Lord Sidmouth had, in

* The Diamond Rock was garrisoned by a Captain, R.N., and 100 men, who were considered in all respects as the crew of a ship of war.

his last audience, tired him for two hours. The King has told Mr. Pitt that he, the King, will stand or fall with Mr. Pitt.

House of Commons. The Bill for providing that the proceedings now pending in the House of Commons, upon the Articles of Impeachment shall not be discontinued by prorogation or dissolution, was brought in, read three times, and passed.

I spoke to Mr. Pitt about my present situation in regard to Sir William Dolben possibly vacating his seat for Oxford, on a general election, or even accidentally at an earlier period; in which latter case, as the event might happen during a recess, when we were separated, it would be important to me in deciding at such a time, to know his disposition if I were to vacate my present seat, and, of course, the Chair of the House of Commons; and frankly to ask him if I might, in such a circumstance, look for his support in a re-election to the Chair. His answer was — "That he could, without any hesitation, say I might be assured of his perfect readiness to do all in his power, as well upon public as upon personal grounds."*

House of Commons. Lords' amendment to Trotter's Indemnity Bill brought down from the Lords. Consideration put off for three months: another Bill brought in, read three times, and passed; sent to the Lords, and returned in the course of an hour, with their consent.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. W. Dickenson appeared at the Bar with papers, entitled, "Copy of a Letter from the Navy Board to the Admiralty," enclosing Memorial of the Commissioners of the Navy, proposed to be laid before the House of Commons.

On the question "for the papers lying on the table," Mr. Kinnaird rose to oppose it; spoke at great length;

* There have been several entries in the Diary (which have not been thought sufficiently important to publish) recording that the Dean of Christ Church, and others of the leading persons in the University, had resolved to put Mr. Abbot in nomination on the first vacancy in either of the seats for the University, and that, from their report, Mr. Abbot had every reason to look on his return as secure.

was called to order; proceeded; I was appealed to; I stated the point of order; the Masters appeared in the doorway with a message from the Lords; and Black Rod was said to be at the door.

Mr. Sheridan rose to propose that this debate might be adjourned till he could present a petition.

I, thereupon (this interruption taking place), made sign to the Deputy-Sergeant to announce the message from the Lords; a murmur took place; I stated the practice of the House to be clear; that, if the Lords' Messengers claimed admittance, it was the established rule to admit them, even in the middle of a debate.

The Messengers were called in. They delivered a message insisting that the original request of the Lords was according to the practice of Parliament. N.B. This was a week after the Lords had received an answer to their message. And they now sent their denial of our assertions, with Black Rod at the heels of their messengers, to prevent their receiving any further message from the Commons.

I reported the message, and Lord Glenbervie (upon my preceding intimation of the nature of the occurrence, and of the proper course to be taken) immediately rose and moved, "that the Bill in question, being in its nature a Bill for the express purpose of disposing of public money, the Commons conceived that the claim of the Lords intrenched upon the ancient rights and privileges of the Commons, from which they could not depart." And Lord Glenbervie was ordered to carry the message.

During this motion Black Rod had knocked; the doors were opened, and the question was put and carried by the time he had advanced to the middle of the House.

Black Rod then announced his message from the Lord's Commissioners for passing Bills and proroguing the Parliament.

I went up with the Commons; the Commission for passing Bills was read; and then the Chancellor for

the Lords Commissioners delivered a speech by His Majesty's command to both Houses of Parliament, and the Parliament was prorogued by the Lord Chancellor.

Note. — The entry in the Lords journals always is, that the Commission for passing Bills is read first; and *then* the Clerk Assistant receives from the Speaker the Bills (of aid and supply), and brings them to the Table, &c. But the modern practice has always been for the Clerk to receive the Bills from the Speaker as soon as the Speaker comes to the Bar, in like manner as if the King were present.

But I think the true principle is expressed, and the practice ought to be as in the Lords' journals is stated; namely, that until the Commons have heard the Commission read, the Speaker does not (and ought not to) deliver the Bills of Aid and Supply.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. ABBOT'S SUMMARY OF THE SESSION.

The session which is now at an end, has not been of very long continuance, beginning in January, and ending in July, but its course has been singular, and the latter part of it angry and violent.

The question of the *Spanish War* occupied the first weeks; the debates were rendered long and complicated by the multiplicity of diplomatic papers laid before the two Houses. The next question was the sufficiency of the Military measures; and the failure of the Parish Recruiting Act. Upon both these points Lord Sidmouth's friends voted in defence of Mr. Pitt's measures. . . . . .

The total want of cordiality and confidence between Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidmouth, which had in fact subsisted from the beginning of their joint Administration, gradually became more manifest to the public. The postponing the performance of the promises originally made (and indeed offered) to Lord Sidmouth for his friends; and the directly opposite line taken by Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidmouth upon the questions respecting Lord Melville, led first to Lord Sidmouth's resignation at Easter; which, though not then persisted in, became more evidently certain during the debates upon the Duke of Athol's Bill, and finally took place a week before the prorogation.

The Army. — An increase of disposable force by drafting a large part of the Militia into the regulars was the principal Military measure. The Parish Act and the ordinary recruiting together produced no considerable accession to the total strength of the army, after deducting casualties and desertions, even in this year of the war, in which no destructive operations had taken place.

The Navy. — Lord Melville's speech in the House of Lords contained the fullest account of the effects of his Administration, and he afterwards printed it. Numberless papers were ordered on both sides, towards elucidating the question of comparative merit between the measures of Lord Melville and Lord St. Vincent.

The Prize Act for this war, after much altercation and discussion, passed in a form which was allowed on all hands to be far superior and more beneficial to the Navy than any former Prize Act.

India. — The events of India excited much astonishment both in and out of Parliament. But the most surprising circumstance attending Lord Wellesley's wars, victories, conquests, and treaties was this, that neither the King's Government nor the Company received any direct accounts of them from him, till more than a year after they had taken place; all intermediate intelligence coming by indirect channels. Of his war with the Mahrattas he sent no account till after (as it appeared) the whole was terminated. Of his subsequent war with Holkar no regular despatches are even yet arrived.

I remained at Kidbrooke from 13th July to the middle of January, 1806.

At Michaelmas I saw Mr. Pitt, who told me of the junction which the Bavarians had then made with the Austrians. He also told me that the King was in a more settled and composed state of mind than for the twenty years that he had known him; that Sir Robert Calder had given no reason yet for his conduct in not renewing the engagement with the combined fleet;*

* The result of this action, although it did not satisfy the public expectations, frustrated the plans of Napoleon to invade England at this time, as it prevented the French Admiral Villeneuve, who was on his return from the West Indies, from proceeding, according to his orders, up the English Channel and clearing the passage for the army assembled at Boulogne.—ED.

and that Parliament would not meet till after Christmas.

During the Recess.

In July, Lord Nelson returned from the West Indies.

In August, Sir Robert Calder fought the combined fleet off Ferrol, and took two ships. The combined fleet got into Cadiz.

The Duke of Gloucester died.

Friday, September, 5th. — News of the camp at Boulogne having broken up.

29*th.*—News that the Austrians had entered Bavaria.

Tuesday, October 7th. — The first action between the French and Austrians near Neubourg on the Danube.

20*th.*—Ulm surrendered to Buonaparte by General Mack with his whole army except about 20,000 men, who withdrew under the Archduke Ferdinand.

21*st.*—The battle of Trafalgar. Defeat of the combined fleet of thirty-three ships, and the capture or destruction of nineteen of them by Lord Nelson with twenty-seven. Death of Lord Nelson.

Sir Richard Strachan, with four line-of-battle ships, defeated and captured four French line-of-battle ships which had escaped from the battle of Trafalgar.

Tuesday, Dec. 2nd.—Battle of Austerlitz, and defeat of the Austrian and Russian armies.

6*th.*—Armistice.

23*rd.*—Sir Robert Calder tried for not doing his utmost to engage and destroy the enemy; and the charge being "fully proved," he was acquitted of *cowardice*, but for his *error of judgment severely reprimanded.* A most absurd sentence.

Thursday, Jan. 9th, 1806.—Lord Nelson's public funeral at St. Paul's.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF LORD AUCKLAND'S.

Eden Farm, Nov. 1st.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . I fear that Pitt's state of health becomes rather worse than better. . . . . .

I have frequent and good accounts from *Windsor*. The King's health is perfect, but the remaining eye is very weak and imperfect, and his general state of spirits is low, and sometimes so much so as to affect those who are about him. His mind, however, is strong.

It continues to be understood that the *session will commence* on the 9th of January. I sometimes fear that the state of things will grow so bad as to call for an earlier meeting. This Austrian catastrophe quite harrows up my mind; and it is painful to me to write about it. There never was an instance of great means so wretchedly marred. General Mack has great talents*, and great experience; but a Captain of London Volunteers, taken at hazard, for the command of the Austrian army, would not have suffered an enemy to unite these large bodies of an army unmolested in order to expose himself afterwards to be surrounded and flanked, separated, and detached from two-thirds of his own army.

I am not cheered by a very able account which I saw yesterday from an eminent officer *off Cadiz*:—

There are thirty-five sail of the line in that harbour (five three-deckers. The Rochefort squadron is safe with its prizes in Ferrol! There is the Brest squadron; and East India squadron; eight ships at Carthagena; some at Toulon; the ships in Holland: upon the whole a combined force afloat of not less than ninety sail of the line.

[Private.]

I would wish not to be quoted for the enclosed presumptive evidence that the trial will be in Westminster Hall. I had sounded His Majesty whether, if poor Lord Gwydir should live, Mr. Bursell might not be permitted to take the Deputyship of Great Chamberlain, which I must otherwise have taken, to my great annoyance and interruption, in the event of a trial. The answer says, "His Majesty will be very glad to sanction any arrangement which may be consistent with Lord Gwydir's wishes and your Lordship's convenience; which His Majesty is well aware would have been much affected by the duties and details of the trial in Westminster Hall."

Believe me, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

I am not merely politically but quite physically sickened by the German catastrophe.

* Nelson, in 1799, had formed a different opinion. A single review of General Mack's troops at Naples convinced him that "the General did not understand his business." — *Southey's Life*, vol. ii.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE SAME.

Eden Farm, Nov. 8th, 1805.

My dear Sir,—The news from Cadiz came like a cordial to fainting men. So glorious and unequivocal a victory gained by an inferior force, and to an extent unexampled (except perhaps in the instance of the Spanish Armada), is of essential importance. Its impressions may help our Continental interests; but it is chiefly valuable as a check to the naval projects of the Corsican, who certainly means to have with us, sooner or later, a desperate struggle for the command of the British Channel, and for the eventual independence of the British islands.

Nelson is a great loss (I will not say irreparable) in such times, and amid such speculations. As to himself, the close of his glorious life was magnificent and indeed enviable. It is curious on this occasion to look into the Memoirs of Madame de Sevigné (vol. iii.) on the death of Turenne, who, however, did not die in battle and in victory, but in reconnoitring.

If it be true that the troops from the Downs have proceeded to their destination (I presume the Elbe), I think it is a bold measure, and I give full credit for the wisdom of it, till I am better informed as to all the considerations connected with it. What gigantic and varied events we live to see.

. . . . . .

I am, my dear Sir, ever sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

CHAP. XXIII.

1806.

PITT'S ILLNESS, DEATH, AND CHARACTER.—HIS PUBLIC FUNERAL.—LORD GRENVILLE FORMS A NEW MINISTRY.—DEATH OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—PITT'S DEBTS PAID BY THE NATION.—LORD ELLENBOROUGH (C. J.) A MEMBER OF THE CABINET.—FOX'S DISAPPROBATION OF THE UNION.

Tuesday, Jan. 14*th.*—Came to town from Kidbrooke.

Heard at night, from direct medical information, that Mr. Pitt's illness would entirely disable him from attending Parliament. Dr. Baillie pronounces it to be either water forming in the chest, or a diseased state of the left auricle of the heart. The King was to see Dr. Vaughan, one of Mr. Pitt's physicians, to-day or to-morrow.

16*th.*—Lord Sidmouth came by appointment. Mr. Pitt's health is such as precludes the possibility of his attending Parliament. Lord Wellesley has seen Lord Sidmouth, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Pitt. Overtures have been indirectly made to Lord Sidmouth by Mr. Fox and his friends, but he refuses all league and confederacy. The circumstances must work their own way, and the King must have his free choice. If advised with, he (Lord Sidmouth) shall recommend a junction of all parties, for the sole purpose of measures to secure the country, putting aside all questions of domestic policy, other than those of finance and defence.

Rose told me he had this day seen Mr. Pitt. His attendance at the opening of the session is hopeless and impossible; such is his debility. Rose had not spoken to him on any business. He is to let me know whether there is any formed opinion upon the manner of proceeding upon the opening of the Session, &c.

Vansittart, from Tierney, said there was news of a

convention between France and Russia, by which all foreigners are to evacuate the west of Germany.

It is rumoured that there will be a message from the King on Tuesday, to adjourn both Houses for ten days.

17*th*.—Issued dinner cards for 25th and 26th. Mr. Pitt's excuse "that he could not avail himself of the honour," &c.

Sir Evan Nepean told me that the exact account of to-day was that Mr. Pitt had been more composed last night, and had kept on his stomach what he had taken, which was more than he had done the last two nights.

18*th*.—Queen's birthday. Drawing-room. Not so full as usual. The King not there. The Prince of Wales told me "that we should have a hot session, and that there were many reasons why it must and ought to be so."

Dined in Downing Street. Mr. Pitt had particularly desired that the dinner might take place. Canning said it was the relapse of a single day which had reduced Mr. Pitt to the *wreck* he now is. Sturges Bourne told me that on this day se'nnight Mr. Pitt had arrived at Putney Heath by easy stages from Bath. On Sunday he had expressed an intention to go to the Wilderness*, where he might be more out of the observation of persons who had remarked last year upon his absence from the House of Commons, while, as they said, he was well enough to walk across the Parade to the Horse Guards. On Monday he saw the Ministers, and was all the worse for it. On Tuesday he went out airing, and returned so unwell as not to have seen any person since but his physicians. On Wednesday and Thursday he could neither rest nor keep anything on his stomach. On Friday he had desired some broth, which he had been able to retain; and, although last night was not so good a night as before, yet, upon the whole, he was to-day better. His general debility, however, was so great that it was utterly impossible for him to hear of business at present.

* Lord Camden's seat in Kent.

The present plan is to open the Session by commission, with a speech recommending Lord Nelson's memory to the munificence of the nation, &c. &c.; afterwards proposing the Navy Estimates, and so much only of the Army Estimates as is necessary for its immediate subsistence; and laying before the House the treaties with continental powers, the discussion of which must of course be delayed to a day when Mr. Pitt's health may enable him to attend.

At night I received an account of Mr. Pitt's health from his physicians, who had seen him to-day, and considered him as much better, the most formidable symptoms disappearing.

Lord Wellesley was at the Drawing-room, looking remarkably well. Before he left India, Lord Cornwallis had began his retrenchments, and had dismissed the Governor-General's body-guard the day after he landed.

20*th*.—The King held in his closet (what is called) a Grand Cabinet, or Honorary Cabinet, consisting of his Ministers, and also the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the great officers of the household, viz. the Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, the Speaker, &c., at which the draft of his speech was read.

The King looked remarkably well; went round his little circle with great ease to himself, and conversed in good spirits.

The account from the Ministers was that Mr. Pitt had been worse since Saturday, and in some danger; but to-day the symptoms were more favourable. This account was confirmed again in the evening, with a continuance of the same symptoms. He had taken some food and medicine, which remained on his stomach; and towards night was asleep. This better account came to Downing Street at nine o'clock.

The usual dinner was held in Downing Street, when Lord Castlereagh read the King's speech and the proposed address. Its topics were:—1. Our naval successes; the victory of Trafalgar, the death of Lord Nelson, and the propriety of some distinguished mark

of national munificence to commemorate his services. 2. The treaties for continental alliances; the failure in Germany, and the continued assurance of the Emperor of Russia's adherence to the cause in which he had engaged. 3. The King's gift of 1,000,000*l.* sterling (part of his prize money) to the public service. 4. The necessity of supplies and exertions.

21*st.*—The King has written (by Colonel Taylor) to tell the Great Chamberlain that he remembers in November, 1759, the same ceremonies were used upon the opening of the session as if the King had been present, though he did not come.

Met Lord Mulgrave. The news of Mr. Pitt, that his medicine and nourishment remained on his stomach; and that he sleeps; but last night his physicians did not think it right to leave him.

The House met. After the formal business I reported the speech of the Lords Commissioners. Lord Francis Spencer and Mr. Ainslie moved and seconded the address; after which Lord Henry Petty rose to state that, as the main causes of the present misfortunes of the country were imputable to the misconduct of His Majesty's chief Minister, now absent; and as report represented his illness to be at this time so critical, he should forbear entering into the discussions which he had intended, and which the state of public affairs required. But he would state the amendment which he had meant to propose, and the effect of which he should bring before the House on Monday next, by moving an address for a change of Ministry. After a few words to the same effect but with more warmth, from Mr. Fox and Mr. Wyndham, and some remarks from Lord Castlereagh, the address was agreed to (but not unanimously), and notices were given by Mr. Sheridan for a motion to repeal the Parish Registry Act, by Mr. Whitbread for reviving the Committee upon the Impeachment, and by Lord Castlereagh for thanks to the navy for the victories under Lord Nelson and Sir R. Strachan.

N.B. Before the business began I asked Mr. Fox

what was the course of proceeding intended upon the address. He said, "he was not much for delicacies at any time, but there were some, he found, who felt a difficulty in proceeding while the reports were so very strong of Mr. Pitt's extreme state, and that therefore the amendment would only be stated and not pressed.

I heard the next day that this forbearance was not resolved on more than three hours before the House met. Dudley North told me so.

22*nd.*—Lord Sandwich told me that the King had not been acquainted with Mr. Pitt's state of health till within the last four days. Lord Bristol told me at half-past two that Mr. Pitt this morning was considered to be in a dying state; he was still clear and collected, and had arranged his private affairs, and the Bishop of Lincoln had been praying by him, and found his mind in a perfectly right state. Lord Hawkesbury, who had told this to Lord Bristol, was only this moment returned from Putney Heath.

The House met. Address reported; Impeachment Committee ordered to sit.

23*rd.*— Mr. Pitt died this morning at half-past four!

Twenty-three years Minister of the country; founder of the only effectual sinking fund for the reduction of the debt; deliverer of his country from the horrors of the French Revolution, and accomplisher of the Union with Ireland. His transcendent eloquence and talents gave him a complete and easy victory over all his rivals in Parliament, and a popularity throughout the nation which he never condescended to solicit. As a War Minister he was less successful: great naval victories were indeed gained during his administration; the victories of 1st June, 1794*; of Lord St. Vincent; of Lord Nelson, at Aboukir; of Lord Duncan, at Camperdown; and the last, but most glorious, off Cape Trafalgar, by Lord Nelson. But the military government of France, which arose out of the French Revolution, had produced armies which overran the continent of Europe, and defeated all his endeavours to curb and repress it by continental con-

* Gained by Lord Howe.

federacies: the expulsion of the allied armies from Flanders; the failure of the expedition to the Helder; and the destruction of Austria by the surrender of Ulm, and the fatal battle of Austerlitz, were events which rendered his management of foreign affairs less fortunate for his country.

His high honour and unsullied integrity, evidenced by the poverty in which he died, were never questioned by his bitterest enemies. But perhaps too eager a desire for power induced him to listen too easily to those who goaded him to the overthrow of an administration which he himself had principally created and supported in its origin. And it is not easy to justify his avowed hostility to the Government of 1804, which he had supported in 1801, 1802, and 1803. Nor did the asserted superiority of the military measures which he pressed upon Parliament and the country, in any degree bear him out in his pretensions to supersede Lord Sidmouth's Administration. This circumstance was certainly a blemish in his political life; and it lost him the confidence of many of his most attached and disinterested supporters; but, in so long a course of great actions it is no inconsiderable praise if no other matter of reproach is to be found, however much this was to be regretted.

His death at the present crisis was considered as a great public calamity by all ranks and descriptions of men; and his loss will perhaps be more deeply lamented hereafter.

24th. — General Gascoyne came upon a proposed motion for a public funeral for Mr. Pitt, like that voted on the motion of Colonel Kane, for Lord Chatham.

House of Commons. Vote of thanks to Lord Nelson's fleet deferred. Lord Henry Petty's motion deferred at Lord Castlereagh's instance; Mr. Fox assenting to the delay of a few days, in the hope that the state of the Government would by that time become *more intelligible*. General Gascoyne waived his intention, and gave way to Mr. Lascelles, who signified his intention to move on Monday next for some signal mark

of respect to the memory of Mr. Pitt; upon which Mr. Fox remarked that, if such a motion implied any approbation of the conduct of the late Minister, those who had uniformly reprobated it could not suffer any circumstances or feelings to prevent them from resisting such a motion, to which their public duty would be opposed.

25th. — Mr. Pitt is said to have written a letter, within a few hours of his death, to Lord Grenville, to be delivered to him after that event should take place. Lord Grenville received it on Thursday last, and was most deeply and violently affected by it: and went immediately to Dropmore.

N.B. This report though credited at the time, was afterwards doubted, and never established.

The King on Thursday last saw only Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Hawkesbury; and went after the addresses to Windsor; this day he returned, said he could now bear to speak of Mr. Pitt's death, and saw his Ministers.

House of Commons. Upon the motion for agreeing to the Resolution that *a* supply be granted to His Majesty, Mr. Grey put some questions to Lord Castlereagh upon the state of public business. In answer to which Lord Castlereagh acquainted the House that His Majesty had this day made a provisional arrangement for the business of the Exchequer, by delivering the Exchequer Seals, according to precedent, to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and that it was His Majesty's intention to take immediate measures for forming a new Administration.

26th. — The Bishop of Lincoln told Lord Sidmouth that Mr. Pitt was delirious for the last thirty-six hours. Nothing however to-day of any new Ministry. Received a note from Wickham.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. WICKHAM'S NOTE.

There are rumours about town to-day of the Grenvilles, some or one of them having been sent for; and also of Lord Spencer having been with the King. . . . .

With respect to Lord Grenville, all I know is that on Wednesday morning I was with him near two hours (Mrs. Wickham was part of the time with Lady Grenville), and that they were as deeply affected by the account they had just then received from Wimbledon as I could well conceive two persons to have been on any occasion.

Since that day I have not seen them; they went out of town on receiving the news of Mr. Pitt's death; the world says, in consequence of a letter from Mr. Pitt, written in his last moments, by which Lord Grenville was deeply affected. This may be so, but I know nothing of it.

27th. — House of Commons. Vote of Address, for public funeral of Mr. Pitt, and monument, &c., in terms of the vote for his father. Notice also for next Monday to vote the payment of his debts. Mr. Lascelles moved the address, and Lord Titchfield seconded it. It was supported by Lord Castlereagh, Sir R. Buxton, Lord Temple, Hiley Addington, Wilberforce, &c.; and opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Wyndham, Lord Folkstone and William Smith Denison. For the Address, 258; against it, 89.

The debate was very temperately conducted on all sides; Mr. Fox rested his opposition (contrary, as he stated, to every motive of policy or interest which it might be supposed ought to govern his vote) upon the impossibility of his decreeing honours to Mr. Pitt, who had countenanced and supported a system of Government which had unfortunately prevailed through the whole of the present reign, that of invisible influence, more powerful than the public servants of the Crown.

He did not explain by what distinction Lord Grenville was exempt from the same imputation.

He told me afterwards, *in a conversation*, that he had been under great difficulties on this occasion, having refused to waive his opposition to this vote, although Lord Grenville had asked it of him as a personal favour.

Sheridan showed me a form of words in which he and Mr. Fox would have been willing to concur in a vote, but Mr. Wyndham would not. It proposed the

public funeral and monument, but, instead of styling Mr. Pitt "an excellent statesman, and his loss as irreparable" it proposed the inscription upon the monument to be expressive "of his transcendent talents and virtues, and the disinterested integrity displayed through a long course of arduous services."

This day the King saw Lord Grenville*, and desired him to form a new Administration. Lord Grenville stated expressly that he could not have any arrangement to propose which did not give Mr. Fox a distinguished place in the Cabinet. The King said, "I know all that; have your arrangements ready by Wednesday, and I will come to town for it, reserving to myself the approbation or rejection." Lord Grenville doubted whether this could be prepared so soon; the King said, "The sooner the better; he would come to town and stay till it was done;" "there are to be no exclusions."

N.B. This was understood to be that the Duke of York was not to be set aside from the Commandership-in-Chief.

Lord Grenville went immediately to Carlton House; and the Prince of Wales came afterwards to the House of Lords, and related this to have been the conversation between the King and Lord Grenville.

A general dissatisfaction expressed at the appointment of Lord Hawkesbury to be Warden of the Cinque Ports. It is intended to recall Lord Redesdale.

28*th*. — House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh moved the votes of monuments and thanks respecting the Battle of Trafalgar, and also brought up the the Treaties with the Confederate Powers; stating expressly that Austria had engaged to have 320,000 men in the field by the 1st of October; and by marching to Ulm, had acted in breach of the plan of campaign expressly agreed upon with Russia.

* In Mr. Stapleton's "George Canning and his Times," it is stated that on the death of Mr. Pitt the King offered the Treasury to Lord Hawkesbury, who declined it, and that it was only on his refusal that it was offered to Lord Grenville. — P. 88.

29*th*.—News arrived this day of the death of Lord Cornwallis, on the 9th October last, in India.

31*st*.—Lord Grenville delivered to the King an arrangement for a new Ministry of eleven Cabinet Ministers.

Offices.	Understood to be the names proposed.		Final list as approved by His Majesty.
First Lord of Treasury	Lord Grenville.	Cab.	The same.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Lord H. Petty	C.	do.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	Mr. Fox	C.	do.
Do. for War	Mr. Wyndham	C.	do.
Do. for Home	Lord Spencer	C.	do.
Lord President	Lord Fitzwilliam	C.	do.
Lord Privy Seal	Lord Sidmouth	C.	do.
First Lord of Admiralty	Mr. Grey	C.	do.
Chancellor	Mr. Erskine	C.	do.
Secretary at War	General Fitzpatrick		do.
Master-General Ordnance	Lord Moira	C.	do.
Chancellor of Ireland	No name at first		Mr. George Ponsonby.
President of Board of Control	Lord Minto		
Postmaster-General	Lord Buckinghamshire		
Do.	Lord Holland		Lord Carysfort.
Paymaster of Forces	Mr. Hiley Addington		Lord Temple.
Do.	Mr. Tierney		Lord John Townsend.
Treasurer of the Navy	Mr. Sheridan		The same.
Secretary of the Treasury	Mr. Vansittart N.B. A Privy Councillor		do.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	Duke of Bedford or Lord Moira		The Duke of Bedford.
Chief Secretary			Mr. Eliot.
Also in the Cabinet	Lord Ellenborough		The same.

Saturday, Feb. 1st.—House of Commons. Messages from the King for pensions to Lady Nelson, Lord Collingwood, and Sir R. Strachan.

In the course of the day I learned the progress of the arrangements *with Lord Sidmouth* to have taken place thus:—

Last Tuesday evening (N.B. The day after Mr. Fox had been out-voted upon the question of Mr. Pitt's funeral), Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox wrote to Lord Sidmouth, proposing to call upon him the next day, unless he should prefer meeting them at Mr. Fox's.

Wednesday morning. He met them; a long conversation; much earnestness on their part to make a

junction with Lord Sidmouth and his friends. Much discussion of arrangement. He pressing for Lord Buckinghamshire in the Cabinet, they resisting any increase of Cabinet Ministers beyond the smallest number of Cabinet offices, viz. 8. Proposed Lord Sidmouth to be Privy Seal, and Mr. Hiley Addington, a Paymaster, Mr. Bond, Judge Advocate, Mr. Vansittart, Secretary of the Treasury (if the King did not disapprove of a Privy Councillor in that situation), else a Lord of the Treasury. No place at present found for Mr. Bathurst. But on the score of Lord Buckinghamshire's place in the Cabinet, all was suspended.

Thursday, Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox came in the same coach to Lord Ellenborough's, while Bond and Vansittart were there. They came to offer Lord Ellenborough the Great Seal.

He absolutely declined, alleging his peculiar habits of life, and sort of learning, which rendered his present office suitable to him; and which in no degree qualified him for the Court of Chancery. Nor could *any person* so exclusively educated to the common law, be fit for the duties of that office (meaning *Erskine*, as he said afterwards).

They then proposed to him a seat in the Cabinet. To that he replied, he was no politician, that Lord Sidmouth was his only political friend, and had raised him from the ranks; and although he was ready to afford any assistance which his professional acquirements might enable him to give to their Government, if Lord Sidmouth wished it, yet, without his concurrence, he could not take any share in it. He further added that Lord Sidmouth and his friends would unquestionably be able to give much stability to any Government; so extensive was the influence which Lord Sidmouth's character and manners had created among all descriptions of men; and he thought it right to add, from his own knowledge, that if Lord Sidmouth had been called upon to advise his Majesty, it was Lord Sidmouth's intention long since to recommend the call-

ing of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox to his Majesty's councils.

Friday morning it was arranged that Lord Ellenborough should have the seat in the Cabinet. Lord Buckinghamshire should be one of the Post Masters; Lord Auckland should be offered the Presidency of the Board of Trade.

In the evening the King had a very long conference (upon these arrangements, as was supposed) with Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury.

Saturday. A note from Lord Grenville signified the probability that his Majesty would not feel any difficulty in Mr. Vansittart being Secretary of the Treasury with his present rank of Privy Councillor.

Lord St. Vincent, well satisfied not to be in the Cabinet, as Lord Buckinghamshire is not. Also particularly pleased to be the adviser of Mr. Grey, as First Lord of the Admiralty.

3rd. — Vote of monument to Lord Cornwallis; vote of 40,000*l.* for payment of Mr. Pitt's debts. A long debate; but passed *nem. con.*

Before the rising of the House Mr. Fox stated the early probability of Lord Grenville, now Auditor of the Exchequer, being appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and moved for leave to bring in a Bill to enable him to hold the two offices.

I objected to such a motion without notice. Mr. Fox inclined to persist; but the House was of my opinion for adhering to the present practice of giving notice of new matters. And he gave a notice accordingly.

4th. — Lord Sidmouth came to relate the substance of what Bond and Vansittart had communicated about arrangements, also, *additionally*, that he had been much pressed to be Lord President, which he had declined for reasons of health, and for reasons of not wishing to have the necessity or jealousy of very frequent intercourse with the King.

That he had given express notice to Lord Grenville

and Mr. Fox, that, whether in the present or future reign, in or out of office, he would ever resist the Catholic question.

That George Ponsonby is to be Chancellor of Ireland; that the Chancellor of the Exchequer not yet settled.

That Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox had required the military measures to be wholly under the direction of the Cabinet; and, to the King's apprehensions for the Duke of York, they had answered, that nothing could be done that was not previously submitted to His Majesty for his approbation with which the King was satisfied.

Erskine was pressed for the Chancellorship by the Prince of Wales. The Great Seal was offered to Lord Ellenborough, and to Sir James Mansfield, but not to Sir W. Grant.

The Dean of Christ Church also called. In a conversation at Windsor on Saturday last, the King said to the Duke of York, "You have often told me that the Dean of Christ Church says the Speaker is a very sensible man, and I am sure he is, for in all these late transactions his name has never been mentioned as meddling, or taking any part, or giving any opinion about what has been passing." And yesterday, the Duke of Portland, conversing upon the same transactions, in which he had given, at the King's request, his own sentiments in writing, made the same remark on the Speaker's prudent conduct.

House of Commons. Lord Grenville's Bill was brought in, and after some conversation, strongly disputing the propriety of its form, it was permitted to be read a first and second time, and committed for to-morrow.

5th. — Mr. Fox carried through, with amendments, Lord Grenville's Auditor's Bill for enabling the Auditor to appoint a Trustee. Writs moved for in the room of Wyndham, Grey, and Lord H. Petty.

This day a council was held at the Queen's House, and the following persons sworn of the Privy Council:—

Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Lord Moira, Lord Temple, Lord Henry Petty.

The Ministers received their seals, and kissed hands.

9th. — News that the King of Prussia has taken possession of Hanover, and that the Brest fleet is out by divisions, and Sir Richard Strachan in pursuit of one.

General dissatisfaction at the changes in the Admiralty and Ordnance.

12th. — This day most of the remaining appointments under the new ministry were completed; in which *not one* of Mr. Pitt's friends was included. The following list shows the proportions in which the parties stood upon this arrangement.

THE CABINET.

Lord Grenville	First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord Spencer	Secretary of State (Home).
Mr. Wyndham	Secretary of War and the Colonies.
	Three.
Lord Sidmouth	Privy Seal.
Lord Ellenborough	A seat in the Cabinet without office.
	Two.
Mr. Fox	Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Grey	First Lord of Admiralty.
Lord Fitzwilliam	Lord President.
Lord Henry Petty	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Moira	Master-General of Ordnance.
Lord Erskine	Chancellor.
	Six.

OTHER OFFICES.

Lord Grenville's party.
Lord Temple.
Lord Carysfort.
Mr. C. W. Wynn.
Lord Althorpe.
Mr. Wickham.
Mr. King.
Lord Auckland.
Mr. W. Elliott.

Lord Sidmouth's party.
Lord Buckinghamshire.
Mr. Hiley Addington.
Mr. Bond.
Mr. Vansittart.

Mr. Fox's party.
General Fitzpatrick.
Lord J. Townsend.
Lord Derby.
Lord Minto.
Mr. Sheridan.
Mr. Piggott . . . . . Attorney-General.

Mr. Fox's party.

Mr. Romilly	Solicitor-General.
Mr. G. Walpole	Under-Secretary of State.
Admiral Markham, Sir C. Pole, Lord Kensington, Lord W. Russell	Lords of the Admiralty.
Lord Morpeth	Board of Control.
Mr. Calcraft, Colonel McMahon	Officers of the Ordnance.
Mr. Courtney	Lord of the Treasury.
Lord R. Spencer	Surveyor-General Woods and Forests.
Lord C. Spencer	Master of the Mint.
Lord Carnarvon	Master of the Horse.
Lord St. John	Captain of the Band of Pensioners.
Lord Ossulston	Treasurer of the Household.
Lord Albemarle	Master of the Buck Hounds.

Besides inferior places.

And in Scotland:—

Mr. Henry Erskine	Lord Advocate.

And in Ireland:—

The Duke of Bedford	Lord-Lieutenant.
Mr. George Ponsonby	Lord Keeper, or Chancellor.
Mr. Curran	Attorney-General.

A promotion in the Irish Peerage, upon recommendations in Mr. Pitt's time now took place.

Viscount Somerton (Archbishop of Dublin)	to be Earl of Normanton.
Viscount Gosford	to be Earl.
Viscount Oxmantoun	do.

And, according to the power reserved to the Crown by the Articles of Union upon the extinction of three Irish peerages to create one new peerage, Peter Isaac Thellusson, of *Suffolk*, was created Baron Rendlesham, to the great offence of the Irish nobility and great families amongst the gentlemen of Ireland, that he should be selected as the first object of the King's power.

Jekyll made the following lampoon upon it.

"Says Thellusson to Huskisson,
A real peer I am;
Says Huskisson to Thellusson,
You're but a Rendle-*sham*."

13*th*. — Strong disposition to make a formidable show of Opposition to the new Ministry, on the part of the discarded and excluded Pitt party.

SEVEN NEW PEERS.

Mr. Anson	To be Viscount Anson.	
Mr. Crewe	„	Lord Crewe.
Mr. Lygan	„	Lord Beauchamp of Burghe.
Lord Lauderdale	„	Lord Lauderdale [in England].
Lord Eglinton	„	Lord Ardrossan.
Lord Granard	„	Lord Granard [in England].
Lord Sligo	„	Lord Mountseagle.

Accounts from Dublin,—that in consequence of Mr. Fox's expressions in condemnation of the Union, when mentioned upon the motion for Mr. Pitt's funeral, some of the corporate bodies had called meetings for an application to Parliament to rescind the Union; and an intimation had been given to the Bank of Ireland to stop their alterations at the Parliament House, as it might be wanted again for its former use.

14*th.*—Met the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chancellor in the Prince's chamber, on the subject of electing a Secretary to the British Museum. The Archbishop recommended Mr. Beloe, one of the Under Librarians; and I urged Mr. Bray, the Solicitor to the Trust, as less in habits of intercourse with the officers of the institution, by not being resident among them; and, from his profession, being more accustomed to precision in forming minutes, &c. The Chancellor decided with me for Mr. Bray.

17*th.*—Sir John Newport was this day declared Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, and it was understood that Lord Grenville would be First Lord of the Treasury in Ireland, without the salary.

House of Commons. Mr. Fox, called upon by Mr. Alexander to explain his expressions (in the debate relative to Mr. Pitt's funeral), by which he had declared his disapprobation of the Union, and his concurrence in opinion with Mr. O'Hara that it ought to be rescinded; Mr. Fox repeated his disapprobation, but disclaimed ever having expressed an opinion or entertained a thought of proposing its repeal; that being now impracticable, although he regretted its ever having been effected.

20*th*.—Mr. Pitt lay in state.

22*nd*.—Mr. Pitt's funeral. A long procession of principal persons in both Houses of Parliament. Members of the House of Commons walking collectively (though not as a House) immediately after the esquires. My place was after the eldest sons of viscounts, and before barons' sons. The pall was borne by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Rutland, Duke of Beaufort, and Duke of Montrose. Lord Chatham was chief mourner; Lord Grenville and all the Buckingham family amongst the relations.

The whole procession was conducted in an orderly and solemn manner, and the day was fair; but in the church towards the north transept, where the grave was, the procession was crowded into a mob. The whole procession returned, but with little order, following the chief mourner to the House of Peers.

Previous to the funeral I had a long correspondence with Sir Isaac Heard, and many conversations with persons versed in the forms of my office, as to my own *place* and *dress*.

As the House did *not* go in the form of a *House*, not having resolved so to do, my *place* was clearly ascertained by Statute 1 W. & M. c. 21 to be after barons, and next before Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, not being peers. But some doubt occurred as to my dress, and attendants with mace, &c., this happening during the sitting of Parliament.

It appearing, however, that at Queen Caroline's funeral in 1737 the Chancellor had neither mace nor train, and the dress of Chancellor or Speaker being supposed not to belong to funerals, unless the Houses of Parliament went as *Houses* (which they did at Queen Mary's funeral), and no instance occurring of a Speaker attending a public funeral with his mace, &c., it was determined that I should walk alone in full dress court mourning, with sword and bag. Everybody except the mourners, &c., wore powder; and the Lord Chamberlain's office furnished scarf, hatband, and gloves.

CHAP. XXIV.

1806.

CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. — DEBATE ON LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S APPOINTMENT. — MR. PAULL'S ATTACK ON LORD WELLESLEY. — PLANS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY. — BUDGET. — EMBARGO ON PRUSSIAN SHIPS. — INCREASE OF PAY TO THE NAVY. — TRIAL OF LORD MELVILLE. — IMPROPRIETY OF *READING* SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE. — MIRANDA'S SUCCESS AT THE CARACCAS.

Monday, *February* 24*th*. — House of Commons. Mr. Secretary Wyndham and others took their seats on re-election. Notice given by Mr. Spencer Stanhope of a motion for this day se'nnight upon the impropriety of Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice of England, having a seat in the Cabinet.

25*th*.—Motion for papers relative to the Indian debt; and a debate between Mr. Paull, Mr. Francis, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Fox, Lord Morpeth, Mr. Hiley Addington, &c.

Read through the Dean of Raphoe's sermon for to-morrow [the Fast Day], and struck out a political passage, commending the wisdom and counsels by which the late confederate armies had been brought into the field.

27*th*.—News of our having taken the Cape.

House of Commons. Conversation on the necessity of notices of motion. Supposed rule of present practice "that there should be notice of *all* motions, *except* for customary accounts and papers; or such as the servants of the crown move to have produced from public offices; or such as they, being present, do not object to when asked for by any other member."

In the evening searched for precedents as to exhibiting *further* articles of impeachment under the Saving

Clause; and whether any further articles can be exhibited after answer put in to the first articles.

Monday, March 3rd.—Debate upon Mr. Spencer Stanhope's motion respecting the expediency of Lord Ellenborough, as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, being a member of the Cabinet.

Lord Castlereagh, Perceval, Canning, and Wilberforce supported the motion. Mr. Fox, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Temple, Sheridan, and Bond opposed it.

For the *legality* of the arrangement were cited all the Regency Bills from the Revolution, and the presumed practice of Lord C. J. Parker and Lord Hardwicke for short periods; and the established precedent of Lord Mansfield from 1757 to 1765; besides the instances of Lord Holt, Lord Loughborough, Lord C. J. Eyre, and Lord Kenyon having attended the Privy Council examinations of all the State prisoners, whom they afterwards tried. This latter class of cases was urged to show the groundlessness of the apprehension that the present arrangement would put the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in a novel situation, as a politician and judge, inconsistent with the right administration of justice.

It was also argued that the whole policy and course of our Constitution, especially of latter years, had presumed the Chief Justices to have assumed the characters, more or less, of statesmen; and consequently the prepossessions of party attachment, not only by their functions of Privy Councillors, which obliged them by oath to give their advice to the Crown upon State matters, but also by their having seats in the House of Peers.

Against the arrangement it was contended, *not* that it was illegal (although it was remarked that the Regency Bills introduced the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the Chief Justice, rather as Conservators of the Regalities of the Crown during Minorities, and rather as checks upon the political servants of the Crown, than as Ministers themselves; and to prove that this afforded no good argument for the propriety of their Cabinet appointment, it was shown that in twenty-four commis-

sions of Regency during the King's absence beyond sea between the Revolution and the death of George II., no Chief Justice had ever been of that description of Regency which was most like a Cabinet: it was also admitted that the specified cases of interference of a Chief Justice in the examination of prisoners were not injurious to the character of a Chief Justice, he being the legal adviser of the Crown as a Privy Councillor, and rightly called in upon such occasions); but that the *Cabinet* appointment was at all times an injurious junction of offices; as by making the Chief Justice of England a constant and habitual adviser of the Crown, besides that it put him into the situation of having to try the very prosecutions he might not only have examined, but might have *advised*, and thereby render himself suspected of being counsel for the prosecution instead of the prisoner, and, as it were, both party and judge; it would also involve him in the general obloquy which every Administration in its turn may incur, and so far lower the character of the judge, and render his services less valuable to his country.

That Lord Mansfield, the only Chief Justice who had for any length of time been a Cabinet Minister, had renounced the situation after the first few years of his office, and by his latter and more deliberate conduct negatived the propriety of his earlier example; and that his great character had sustained from his imputed political biases an injury which his transcendent talents and learning had never obliterated.

That the example also of holding out political power as an object of ambition to future judges, would have a pernicious effect in tinging their views and pursuits with motives and expectations foreign and repugnant to the true purity and impartiality for which the British Courts of Justice had been so long and so deservedly loved and venerated; that an *aspiring judge* would become naturally, and unfavourably for the country, a character too frequent upon the Bench.

At two o'clock the House divided, after the sup-

porters of the motion had expressed to many of their friends their intention not to divide.

For the motion, 64; against it, 222.

5*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Wyndham, in answer to questions about the intended measures for military defence, said, "*He had no plan*, and had never alleged he had one;" but His Majesty's Ministers were, from the first moment they came into office, occupied with the subject, and would, when prepared, submit their proposed arrangements to the House. The present Parish Act would have no place in them.

Mr. Trotter was committed to the serjeant for refusing to answer.

7*th*.—House of Commons. The Ministers, upon voting two months Army Estimates upon the former establishment, were questioned as to their preparation of new plans, to which they answered that none were yet ready for the consideration of Parliament.

9*th*.—Saw Lord Sidmouth, who had written overnight to Lord Grenville, upon the necessity of taking some consistent line upon the Parliamentary questions respecting India, and the motions for Indian papers.

10*th*.—House of Commons. Tierney moved for a Bill to explain and amend the Treating Act; Johnston for Indian Papers. This latter motion produced a long debate, in which Lord Temple, Hiley Addington, Wallace, and Sir Thomas Metcalfe took the part of Lord Wellesley. Johnson, Francis, Grant (Chairman of the East India Company), Lord Folkestone, and Mr. Paull blamed him. Mr. Fox adhered to the principles of Lord Cornwallis's Administration, but did not encourage any criminatory inquiries into Lord Wellesley's measures.

11*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Paull's motion, relative to Lord Wellesley's conduct in the war with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, for papers. The motion was, *pro formâ*, seconded by Lord Folkestone; and Lord Wellesley was defended by Lord Temple and Hiley Addington.

14*th*.—House of Commons. Motion for papers upon the American trade with the East Indies, opposed partly on the ground of inexpediency, without a complete inquiry into the East India Company's trade and policy, especially pending negotiations with America.

17*th*.—House of Commons. Questions put to Ministers, but not answered, as to their plans for defence; also debate on Mr. Paull's motion for papers to found a charge against Lord Wellesley respecting Surat.

18*th*.—Wickham came as the bearer of a message from Lord Grenville, to communicate his intention of offering himself as a candidate for the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, in case of the Duke of Portland's death, and to request any information *or assistance which I might be able to give him*. And this message Lord Grenville desired Wickham to bear to me, notwithstanding Wickham had previously apprised him of my situation as expecting the support (of which I had been assured) from Christ Church, to succeed Sir W. Dolben, in case of any vacancy of his seat in Parliament. Lord Grenville, nevertheless, conceiving that Christ Church was not likely as a body to oppose him, and that it would rather be left to itself, wished the message to be delivered to me, and that an intercourse might be opened between us.

After discussing the whole matter fully with Wickham, and telling him that it was quite impossible for me, not only for the reasons before stated, but also upon my own principles, either to vote for or assist Lord Grenville upon this occasion, with every sentiment of the sincerest respect for Lord Grenville; he proposed my seeing Lord Grenville, and talking over the matter between us freely and fully; to which I readily assented, but suggested that we should make our meeting more satisfactory if we met without any misapprehension, and that he had better know my sentiments beforehand.

He asked me whether he might say that I should not be hostile to Lord Grenville on this occasion; which I

authorised him to say I certainly should not be, nor should I vote at all, the situation of my office making it at all times more proper that I should abstain from taking an active part in contests of any sort without an absolute necessity for it.

19*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on adding words to an order for Indian papers, viz. "So far as the same may not be detrimental to the public service;" and these words, though subjoined to a like order of the last Session, and to another in the present Session, were given up by Mr. Fox, as not according to the former and better usages of Parliament.

20*th*.—Saw Mr. Traill upon the mode fittest to be taken by the Commissioners of Inquiry in Ireland, respecting the conflicting authority of the Treasury and Chief Secretary, with reference to the Revenue Department, or rather the usurped or growing independence of the Treasury and of the Chancellor of Exchequer in these matters. The mischief proceeding from the undue preponderance which an Irishman in the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer might obtain, in disparagement of the proper weight due to the British influence and power, as administered by the Lord Lieutenant. But, upon the fullest consideration, however important this consideration must be to the practical Government of Ireland, it seemed so entirely political, that the Commissioners, in reporting upon the Revenue Boards, and also upon the Treasury, would do most properly in abstaining from any discussion of it.

Dined at Willis's rooms to meet Lord Wellesley.

General Harris*, as President, and General Sir J. Stuart, Colonel Allan, Colonel Bannermann, &c., as Vice-Presidents and Stewards. Above 200 persons dined there. None of the Ministers were present, and only one of the Directors of the E. I. Company (Sir Thomas Metcalfe). None of the secondary persons

* General Harris had been the commander-in-chief at the taking of Seringapatam.

in Mr. Fox's party were there; but the following names will show the general attendance of the Grenville and Pitt parties:—

Lord Buckingham, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Auckland, Mr. Hastings, Lord Camden, Lord Fortescue, Lord Carysfort, Lord Bayning, Lord Grosvenor, Lord Dartmouth, Duke of Montrose, Lord Blandford, Lord Chatham, Lord Bathurst, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Buckinghamshire, Lord Sandwich, Lord Temple, Lord Braybrooke, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Carrington, Lord Cloncarty, Lord Tyrawley, Sir Alured Clarke, K.B., Sir William Scott, Canning, Steele, Rose, Vansittart, Hiley Addington, Wallace, Sir John Newport, &c. &c.

After dinner, when, in the course of the toasts, Lord Grenville's health was drunk, Lord Buckingham addressed the company, and assured them that he was charged by Lord Grenville to express his regret that indisposition prevented his being present to bear testimony of his affectionate regard and friendship for the noble guest of the day. And not only upon the strength of private attachment, from an intimacy of thirty or forty years, but also on the public considerations of the splendid and eminent services rendered by Lord Wellesley to the great interests of the empire, &c.

24th.—House of Commons. Message from the Lords with Lord Melville's answer (countersigned by the Clerk of the Parliaments), pleading not guilty to the further charge; to which answer (as well as the former) the Commons replied, and the replication was engrossed, and ordered to be carried by Mr. Whitbread to the Lords. Mr. Whitbread at the same time gave notice that he should, at the proper time, move to attend the trial as a Committee of the House, which amounts to having the trial in Westminster Hall.

25th.—House of Commons. The Lords sent a message appointing the 29th of April for Lord Melville's trial.

26th.—House of Commons. The House resolved to

be present at Lord Melville's trial, as a Committee of the whole House.

28*th*. — House of Commons. Lord Henry Petty opened the budget in a speech of about an hour and a half; going through the whole financial state of the country, in a clear, distinct, and comprehensive manner.

The loan was for 20,000,000*l*., whereof 2,000,000*l*. for Ireland; and of the other 18,000,000*l*., 6,000,000*l*. for deficiencies of former years, and 12,000,000*l*. only for the service of the current year. The terms of the loan 4*l*. 19*s*. 0*d*., and the interest to be defrayed principally by a duty on iron, besides a wine duty, made perpetual last year, but not then appropriated. The rest of the supplies for the year, viz. in the whole 43,000,000*l*., to be made good by war taxes, raising the property tax to 10 per cent., &c.

The budget was very favourably received, though with some objections to the mode of proceeding by opening it before the army establishment is voted.

29*th*.—Lord Auckland called about a Bill in the Lords for indemnifying West Indian Governors, &c., for allowing American vessels to trade with the islands in contravention of the Navigation Act during war.

31*st*. — The Dean of Christ Church made me a long visit, and talked over (among other matters) the King's reluctant acquiescence in the military plans submitted to him previously to their coming to the House of Commons.

Wednesday, April 2nd.—Mr. Fox, who was taken ill at the House of Commons on Monday last, grew worse yesterday; and to-day Cline, who had been called in as a surgeon, entertained a very bad opinion of his case, considering him to be in a state of extreme debility. His legs swelling at night, and not recovering their natural size in the morning; and general symptoms appearing of a dropsical habit.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Wyndham's long-expected motion respecting the defence of the country was postponed on that account till to-morrow, when it

was said, that Mr. Fox was confident he should be able to attend. He had certainly intended to be at the House to-day, having told his medical people they need not come to him in the evening, as he would go to the House if he was alive.

3rd. — An embargo was this day ordered to be laid upon all Prussian ships, in consequence of the King of Prussia having ordered all the ports of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, and certain Baltic ports, to be shut against us.*

House of Commons. Mr. Fox attended; and Mr. Wyndham opened his military plans: about 350 Members present. His speech lasted four hours. Lord Castlereagh spoke next—about an hour and a half. Mr. Fox about an hour, and Mr. Yorke the same; he was followed by Sir James Pulteney, General Tarleton, and Colonel Crawfurd, &c. The House rose at half-past one without any division; and leave was given to bring in four Bills. The first of which was for the repeal of the additional force, or Parish Recruiting Act; the others for further suspending the militia ballot; altering the levy en masse; or training Act, and for increasing the Chelsea Hospital privileges and allowances.

Mr. Wyndham's plan consisted in these points:— 1. To supply, maintain, and increase the regular army, by recruiting for term of years renewing the service at the end of seven and fourteen years: even for a further period; making twenty-one years in the whole. The second and third periods of renewed service to be attended with some small increase of pay, *e.g.* 6*d.* for the first, and 1*s.* per week for the second period, and an increased Chelsea pension to every soldier at the end of twenty-one years. Also an increase of widows' pensions, and of the Compassionate List; and this to be the only mode of recruiting. 2. To reduce the militia gradually to its original or lowest standard, viz. about 36,000 for England, by not filling up the vacancies. 3. The volunteer establishment to be reduced in expense, by striking off inspecting field officers, permanent duty

* Vide infra, p. 52.

pay, and lowering the high allowances to the lowest rate, called the August allowances. The clothing now due (being the fourth year) to be continued for this issue only, and no person hereafter becoming volunteer to have any assistance from Government but arms; and an exemption from the operation of the General Training Act. 4. All persons of military age, from eighteen to forty, to be liable to be trained to arms when called out by classes, but not to be embodied in corps; and to be relieved also from the training, either by entering into a volunteer corps, or paying a fine; and the numbers for training, *e.g.* 100,000 for one year, to be taken by lot out of the given classes.

17*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on the Witnesses Bill, from the Lords; afterwards a debate on Mr. Yorke's motion for copies of the military opinions given to Government upon the proposed measure of recruiting for a limited time of service. The motion negatived, but no division.

Mr. Wyndham brought in the Bill for repealing the Parish Recruiting Act, called the Additional Force Act; read a first time; and notice from Mr. Canning that he should move to defer the second reading until after the rest of Mr. Wyndham's plans were adopted or rejected; in order that the Parish Act might not be given up unless better measures were found.

18*th.*—House of Commons. Mr. Paull's motion for papers to substantiate a charge against Lord Wellesley respecting the nabob of Furruckabad; and a short debate upon the Slave Bill, to prevent their importation into foreign colonies.

Mr. Fox was at this time medically advised to give up all business.

19*th.*—Dined at Lord Grenville's. Talked [with him] upon the irregular, dilatory, and incorrect mode of transacting business by the Treasury clerks; and their loss of papers, which he said he had long ago felt; and so much so, that when Secretary of State, he had made a formal and peremptory order that no original

paper should ever be sent to the Treasury. Also talked over the condition of the State Paper Office, and the confusion which, he apprehended, had been introduced by Mr. Bruce, who was made Keeper by Lord Melville, &c.

20*th*. — The Chancellor, Lord Erskine, came by his own appointment. He said the judgments at the Cockpit upon neutral ships had been very mischievous; that America must be made our friend; that Mr. Fox was determined it should be so; that Lord Selkirk was a proper person to be sent there; that the Senate in America have thrown out the non-importation agreement; that they are our best commercial friends, as we export so largely to them, and their wants of us are growing, and their ties of blood, and language, and manners naturally attach them to us; that with their close alliance we shall over-shadow France, &c.

I urged him to bestow his attention in the House of Lords upon establishing some court of intermediate appeal to prevent the excessive number of causes brought up from the Court of Session, &c. He said that Lord Grenville had turned his thoughts to that subject most seriously; that a plan was prepared, it would soon be proposed, and lie over to another Session for the people of Scotland to become acquainted with it, and satisfied of its efficiency, and prepared to suggest amendments to it before it was definitively established.

With respect to France, he had flattered himself that the prospect of peace was favourable, but that Sheridan told him Mr. Fox said things were now very gloomy; and that there had been recent communications with France which Lord Erskine had not seen, but was going this morning to know.

21*st*.—House of Commons. Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion for the draft of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Board of Control, April, 1805, complaining of and censuring Lord Wellesley's conduct. The production opposed by Mr. Fox, and by Lord Castlereagh, *at this time*. Supported by Mr. Wyndham

and Dr. Laurence; but negatived by the previous question.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Mr. Paull presented his first article of impeachment against Lord Wellesley, viz., for profuse and unlawful expenditure of the Company's money upon his own luxury and ostentation as Governor-General.

I stated the course to be according to the precedents of Lord Arlington's, Lord Danby's, and Sir Edward Seymour's cases before the resolution; and Lord Coningsby's, Mr. Hastings's, and Sir Elijah Impey's, since the resolution; for any Member to *deliver* in articles and have them read, *without motion or question*. But that in all the cases down to Mr. Hastings's time inclusive, thereupon some question of practical proceeding had followed, viz., examining witnesses, &c., if no antecedent proof or evidence was before the House; or resolving to take the charge into consideration upon some future day. A long debate ensued, which ended at last in Mr. Paull moving for papers as evidence in support of his charge.

23*rd*.—The King's message on the Prussian hostilities.* An unanimous address of support to be presented by Privy Councillors; the King (privately) having preferred that mode for his own ease.

25*th*.—House of Commons. Vote of an increase in the pay of the navy to the amount of 300,000*l*. per annum, principally the warrant and petty officers, and

* France had won over Prussia by the offer of Hanover, which in March Prussia had declared by proclamation to be annexed to her dominions, as ceded by Napoleon, to whom it belonged by right of conquest; we in consequence (*vide supra*, April 3rd) laid an embargo on the ships, and blockaded her ports, while Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, whom he had lately made Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg, seized on several portions of her territory. In the summer of this year Napoleon, in negotiating with us for peace, offered to restore Hanover without consulting Prussia; and exasperated by Murat's conduct, this threatened deprivation of Hanover, and other acts of Napoleon, Prussia declared war against Napoleon in September; and on October 18th lost her army in the battles of Auerstadt and Jena. Berlin was taken on the 25th, and the independence of the nation annihilated, till the Russian campaign of 1812.

able seamen; with increased allowances from the chest, and Greenwich Hospital.

26*th*.—Whitbread applied to me to prove upon Lord Melville's trial words spoken by Lord Melville in the House of Commons when heard last year in his defence. Some phrases I distinctly remembered, but not enough of the context to undertake to give any testimony.

Mr. Fox's health continues to be in an unfavourable state. The mass of his blood broken. Sleepless nights, and drowsiness by day. Advised to retire for a time from his unceasing attention to business; which he positively refuses to do at this period.

Buonaparte's exposé appeared this day in the English papers; announcing evidently his intention to seize the government of Holland and Switzerland, and to remove the Pope from Rome. Also denying that Prussia occupied Hanover otherwise than until a general peace.

28*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on printing Mr. Paull's first article of impeachment. Motion withdrawn.

29*th*.—First day of the impeachment trial.

At ten precisely I went into the House after prayers. At a quarter-past ten the Serjeant was sent upon his three errands to clear the passage.

At half-past ten the Managers were called over and went forth. I then took my stand at the bar, and the Members went out of the House as their names were called over by counties, bowing to me as they passed. About 300 were present, and the House was cleared at ten minutes before eleven.

The Lords immediately began their procession into Westminster Hall, but owing to some accident or mismanagement, they were not completely seated in the Hall till half-past eleven. Most in passing my seat bowed to me, which I returned, rising forward from my seat. All bowed to the cloth of estate (viz. the throne). I intimated to the Commons, who were standing up, that it was their part to be *seated* when the Lords came in.

Mr. Whitbread opened all the charges in a speech of three hours and twenty minutes. At the close of which the Lords immediately adjourned to their own Chamber of Parliament; returning in the order they came.

The number of Lords present was about 180. All the Managers were present full dressed. They had been appointed originally of the Committee to prepare the Articles when they were in opposition. They now appeared as Managers: being also, most of them, in office, and several of them Cabinet Ministers.

Lord Melville came round from behind the bar whilst the last of the Peers were entering, and took his seat uncovered, and without his robes, but full dressed, on a fixed bench in front of the Counsel.

The Prince of Wales, and the Dukes of York, Clarence, Cumberland, Kent, Cambridge, and Sussex were present. The Duchess of York was in the side box allotted to the Royal Family.

At a quarter before four I returned with the Members to the House of Commons: and the House sat till six upon ordinary business.

30*th*.—Second day of the trial. Evidence for the impeachment. The Court met at eleven, and rose at a quarter past four. The House of Commons sat till near two in the morning, debating the repeal of the Additional Force Act. Division; for the repeal, 284; against it, 119.

Mr. Thornton mentioned to me, to-day, as First Commissioner for the Redemption of the National Debt, that the subscribers to Mr. Pitt's statue were desirous of erecting a building for the Commissioners to hold their meetings and keep the papers in; in which Mr. Pitt's statue might be placed. And he understood the Duke of Buccleugh would allow it to be built on his ground newly enclosed between Whitehall and his house. That he (Mr. Thornton) had mentioned it to Lord Grenville, who did not seem to have any objection to it; but said, as he was not a Commissioner, it must be mentioned to them.

I told Mr. Thornton that my feelings of respect, &c. for Mr. Pitt's memory would naturally lead me to favour the proposal: but at present we certainly had no fixed place of meeting. It was sometimes at my house as First Commissioner, and had been sometimes at that of the Master of the Rolls; though more generally at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's in Downing Street; while Mr. Pitt was not only a Commissioner (as a Chancellor of the Exchequer) but also a Prime Minister; and his time would of course be most consulted. But at the same time it was a proposal requiring consideration for various reasons; and that I was but one of the Board. He then desired me to mention it to Lord Henry Petty, which I did in the afternoon, but had only an opportunity of stating it very shortly, and as a thing certainly requiring consideration, and to which I had given no answer.

On the second of May, Long mentioned the same matter to me from his brother, the Governor of the Bank; and I repeated the same answer in substance to him; adding, that the sort of difficulty I felt was how we, as Public Commissioners by Act of Parliament, and in right of our respective offices, could have a partnership, as it were, with, and accept the donation of, a house from a set of persons at Lloyd's Coffee House, &c. &c. I begged him to turn it in his thoughts, with a wish on my part to find the project feasible, though greatly doubting it.

Thursday, May 1st. — The Court sat till near five, upon evidence.

2nd.—Fourth day of the trial.

3rd.—Fifth day.

4th.—News of the capture of Linois and his ships the Marengo and the Belle Poule, on the 13th of March, by the London, Sir H. Neale, and the Amazon, Captain Parker, in latitude south of Madeira. Wrote to Wickham, suggesting that the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, having no corporate capacity to hold lands, or to

take any property real or personal, the Treasury might *give possession* of any spot of Crown land to any persons who would undertake to build an office, &c. upon it, according to a plan to be approved of by the Treasury; which building would, of course, become the property of the Crown, and might be appropriated by the Crown to the use of the Commissioners, &c.

5th.—At eight A.M., I received a letter, very unexpectedly, from Mr. Whitbread; and his servant was ordered to wait my rising and carry back an answer.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. WHITBREAD'S LETTER.

. . . . . .

I am told, and it is true, that I have been guilty of an irregularity, and of disrespect towards the House of Commons, in having suffered myself to be sworn and examined as a witness on the trial without previous application for the consent of the House to such a proceeding. You will, I am sure, Sir, acquit me of all intentional neglect of the forms of the House of Commons; or the slightest idea of offending against its dignity.

It was my wish before the House adjourned to the Court this morning to make my apology, and to obtain leave to be further examined, should such examination become necessary.

In this stage of the trial it is my wish to call you as a witness, provided your recollection will allow you to give decisive answers to the following questions:

"Do you recollect the attendance of Lord Melville in the House of Commons in the last Session of Parliament? And do you recollect the date of that attendance?

"Do you recollect the substance of the speech delivered by him on that occasion?

"Do you recollect his avowal, in substance, of having taken possession of a certain sum of public money, to the amount of 10,000*l.*, or thereabouts, during the paymastership of Mr. Douglas?

"Do you recollect his having said, in substance, that he would not reveal the application of that sum?

"Do you recollect, in substance, the motives stated for such concealment?

"What were those motives?

"Do you recollect his having avowed with reference to the

last-mentioned sum, his avowal of having obtained possession of another sum of public money?

"To what amount, and at what period.

"Did you understand him to apply the same reserve, and from the same motives, to the last as to the first sum?"

I am so sure, Sir, that public duty alone weighs with you, that when I tell you public duty impels me to this course, I need not add one word of apology for the trouble I give you.

I shall be glad to have your answer generally whether you are able to answer the above questions; and, if you are, that you will be pleased to consider of the proper mode of obtaining permission of the House for your examination:

Which, I might presume, would simply be upon motion, that Mr. Speaker be permitted to give evidence on the trial, &c.

. . . . .

I am, my dear Sir,

Your very obliged and faithful servant, J. WHITBREAD.

I should wish to examine you very soon after the Court meets.

I sent an answer that, "Upon reading over his proposed questions, I recollected the transaction sufficiently to be able to answer some of them in substance; but to others I could not answer with any great degree of exactness." And afterwards I referred to my Journal of 11th June 1805, to refresh my memory.

Ten o'clock, in the House.—I told Mr. Whitbread, that if I was allowed a choice, I earnestly desired I might not be examined as to what Lord Melville had said in his defence in the House of Commons; but that if he insisted upon my testimony as a right, he must first obtain the sanction of the House for that purpose by motion. And that the only proper time for it was at the ordinary hour of business; and not at this time in the morning, when the House met only to proceed to the trial, and with no expectation of other business. He acquiesced in this, and we went to the trial. On the trial he offered himself as a witness to prove the substance of Lord Melville's defence in the House of Commons; and announced that he should, in the course of the trial, call another Member to confirm his testimony.

He underwent a long cross-examination. Trotter was afterwards examined and cross-examined for three hours and a half, and the Court adjourned at a quarter past four.

Romilly* told me that, to his utter surprise, Whitbread, this day, refused positively to give Lord Melville's printed defence in evidence, saying he had good reasons for so doing; although Romilly had considered that pamphlet as most important to the cause of the managers; and, equally without previous intimation, Whitbread had offered himself as a witness to prove what passed in the House of Commons, when Lord Melville was heard there on his defence.

The Prince of Wales told me of his intention to beg the use of my box one day for the Princess Charlotte.

6th.—In the Hall Whitbread told me he could not expose the dignity of the House of Commons by desiring me to be examined as a witness, after the rude cross-examination which he had experienced. This day was chiefly employed in examining Trotter.

8th.— The Princess Charlotte came to the trial, attended by her governess, Lady de Clifford, and Mrs. Udney; and, by the Prince's desire, Mrs. Abbot, and no other person was in the box with her. An arm-chair was placed for her in the front of the box. The Prince of Wales came from below to visit her in her box during the morning.

House of Commons. Debate on some of Mr. Paull's motions for papers; and a long debate afterwards in the Committee upon the Bill to repeal the Additional Force Act.

May 9th. — Impeachment. Evidence for the Commons closed.

Tierney claimed a right (when called as a witness) to be examined in his place among the House of Commons; but the Lords would not hear him; and he went to the usual place at the bar, when he again

* Sir Samuel Romilly, Solicitor-General, and one of the Managers of the Impeachment.

respectfully protested against being placed where he thought no Member of the House of Commons, present at an impeachment, ought to be required to go.

This was a claim, wholly without foundation either in principle or practice, and he knew my opinion. We had talked it over ten days before with Bathurst, who was also thus examined, and who went to the bar without objecting. We had also this day talked it over, and I had given him my written opinion upon it. The Lords having the right to arrange their own court as they please, had upon this, as upon former occasions, come to positive resolutions: 1. That Peers of Parliament should be examined in their places. 2. Peers, not being Peers of Parliament (viz., Scotch or Irish Peers, not elected to represent their respective peerages), to be examined standing by a chair near the Table, unless such Peers (viz. Irish) were Members of the House of Commons. 3. That all Commoners should be examined at the bar; besides which, Major Scott, being a M. P., had been, in fact, examined at the bar, all through Hastings's trial.

Corry told me that he collected through various channels that the Prince of Wales wished to have Tierney Speaker. That Tierney was reluctant to appear as stirring to put out a person in possession, and who was admitted by friends and enemies to be the best Speaker they had ever had; but, nevertheless, my seat was wanted, and that there was a disposition to accommodate my views in any other respect at present, in order to make the change easier to Tierney, and more palatable to me; that it had been suggested that all this should not be going on without my being made acquainted with it, and that he had undertaken it.

My question (and the only remark I made after hearing the whole) was, "who suggested that I ought to be spoken to?" This question he declined to answer, saying it was immaterial to me, and he was not at liberty to tell me. So the conversation ended, I being in the chair of the House of Commons, and he leaving me.

The next day, seeing Corry, I told him "upon the subject of our last conversation my resolution is fixed not to think of any other situation in life so long as the House of Commons will accept my services in this; and tell whoever spoke to you upon it, that you have too much respect and regard for me even to mention it. Indeed, if any friend of mine names it to me I shall be offended." He asked me, however, "should he report to me what passed upon this?" I said, "It was better not, for my determination was fixed, and I had rather never hear anything further on the subject." This conversation also was in the chair.

13*th*. — Impeachment. Mr. Plumer opened Lord Melville's defence, and spoke from half-past eleven to half-past three.

House of Commons. Committee on Lord Nelson's Grant.

14*th*.—Impeachment. Plumer spoke from twelve to four and finished.

House of Commons. Debate on Mr. Jeffery's charges against Lord St. Vincent till half-past two, when the motion for a Committee was negatived, and a vote of approbation passed.

Mr. Jeffery *having read a long written speech* without interruption, I mentioned it to Mr. Fox towards the end of it, and also to Mr. Canning, that I should take notice of this impropriety, which they severally agreed to be highly proper to do; and, accordingly, before putting the question, I called the attention of the House to it, and stated this to be a practice contrary to the received and established usage of debate, and necessary to be remarked upon *lest it should grow into a precedent*. To which interposition the House entirely assented. At the close of the debate Mr. Jeffery again reading written arguments as a reply, I was called upon to interfere; and it seemed to be agreed that this was not to be done at all, except so far as resorting to notes or figures.

I had in my mind the reprobation of this very practice of reading written arguments as mentioned in vol. ii. of Grey's Debates.

To-day Corry resumed his former conversation about the Speakership.

He now desired to be understood "that he had not been desired or authorised to make any communication whatever to me, and that he had no answer to carry from me; that all he had said was of his own accord, for my information."

I said that I supposed those persons must have been in some authority from whom he had understood that a desire was expressed to *gratify my wishes*, and who wished that I should know their good will to me. He said, "Yes, those persons at least were connected with others who had the power; and that the arrangement talked of was of the most respectable sort: A *Parliamentary retiring provision*, as had been usual in the case of persons retiring from my office."

This I laughed at; as if such a thing could be named at the end of my *five* years' service!

This (he said) had been felt as the difficulty in the business.

I told him my resolution was fixed, such as I had told him yesterday; and that I would not accept the hand of any friend to help me down out of the chair; nor would I be accessory to my own deposition; nor would I, nor ought I to, deal with the situation I now held by the favour of the House, as a matter about which I could, in honour, have any traffic. He might, therefore, consider himself as the depository of my intentions, without any request on my part to make it known to anybody, but with full liberty to state them whenever or wherever they came into question. The whole subject I thought better avoided by any person friendly to me, and least of all did I like this sort of intercourse, which was to make me by name a party to communications, which, on the other side, were merely *anonymous*. And so the conversation ended. This, like all the preceding, being carried on by him standing at one corner of my chair, in the intervals between private and public business.

16*th*.—Impeachment. Reply. The Attorney-General spoke to the construction of the Act of Parliament, and Mr. Whitbread afterwards began his reply upon the general case. At half-past three he desired to postpone the rest till to-morrow.

17*th*.—Impeachment. Mr. Whitbread concluded his reply; after which Mr. Plumer was heard shortly to observe upon law cases produced by the Attorney-General in his reply, and the Attorney-General, in his turn, to observe upon the remarks of the Defendant's Counsel.

In the House of Lords the further proceeding was adjourned till Wednesday se'nnight, upon an understanding that some interval was necessary for framing the questions for the Lords' opinion, and the week after next being Whitsun-week no earlier day could be fixed.

The impeachment had occupied fifteen days from the first day of opening to this the last day of the reply, and generally from about a quarter-past eleven to a quarter-past four. The Peers present, about 160 each day.

The impeachment witticisms were:—

1. That Lord Melville was "Whitbread's Entire Butt."

2. That Whitbread's eloquence had a good deal of *quassia* in it,—*bitter stuff*, with a *bad taste*.

3. That the Managers were mismanagers and imaginers.

4. That the Archbishops and Bishops walking in the procession were described to the country spectators to be "Peeresses in their own Right."

The House of Commons passed the Franking Bill, by which, for the first time, a Privilege was allowed by law to the Chancellor, Speaker, First Lord of the Treasury, First Lord of the Admiralty, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Great Britain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, to send or receive letters, &c., without limitation of weight or number.

20*th*.—Rode with Lord Sidmouth. Mr. Pitt (in a

conversation with Lord Sidmouth formerly) had expressed "his great surprise that Lord Melville, who was always so liberal and accommodating, should have made so many difficulties about giving up the Treasurership of the Navy, when it was wanted for Lord Harrowby. He was quite at a loss to understand his reluctance."

Lord Grenville, in a note which I saw to-day, said "he was determined to make the Treasury as remarkable for its punctuality in business as it had been heretofore for the contrary."

The Chief Baron Macdonald, in a large company, with many Peers, had declared his decided opinion that neither by common law, nor by statute, was there any offence or crime in Lord Melville's conduct; and that Trotter's evidence was such as would have made him (the Chief Baron) upon any trial shut his book at once, and tell the jury to acquit the defendant upon the prosecutor's own evidence.

The canvass amongst the Lords upon Lord Melville's business, and also upon the appeal respecting the guardianship of Miss Seymour, is public and indefatigable.

21*st*. — House of Commons. Lord Henry Petty moved his new Auditors' Bill, and opened his general plan for accelerating the audit of all public accounts.

22*nd*. — I mentioned to Lord Grenville my wishes that he would enable us to treat on behalf of the British Museum, for the purchase of Lord Elgin's Marbles imported from the Levant; and would enable us also to employ proper persons to arrange materials for reprinting our catalogue of printed books, in the form of a scientific or classed catalogue *par ordre de matières*, with an alphabetical index. Lord Grenville gave me the most liberal assurances of his assistance and sanction upon all these points.

23*rd*. — House of Commons. Thanked the Managers [of the impeachment].

28*th*. — House of Commons. Oude charge presented by Mr. Paull.

The Lords began to debate the articles against Lord Melville.

29*th.* — Sir Joseph Banks undertook to open a negotiation for the Elgin Marbles.

30*th.* — House of Commons. Committee on the Mutiny Bill. Mr. Wyndham moved his new clauses for the enlistment for term of years. Division; for the new clauses, 254; against them, 125.

Mr. Fox, in the debate on the Mutiny Bill, delivered his opinion "that unless this country ignominiously abandoned all connection with the political interests of the continent, it must become a more military power, and maintain large armies."

In the House of Lords a division took place on the mode of proceeding in Lord Melville's case, 56 to 72. Lord Melville's friends voted in the majority.

Ballot at the India House on a question for approving the conduct of the Court of Directors in maintaining their authority over the Government of India, restraining profuse expenditure and preventing schemes of conquest. For the question, 928; against it, 195.

This day a sign manual was sent to the India House recalling Sir George Barlow.*

It was reported on good authority this day, that a Bill was under consideration for vesting the appointment of Governor-General in the Crown.

Monday, June 2nd. — Lord Howick came into my room while Mr. Fox was drinking tea with me, and mentioned the news of Miranda's success at the Caraccas.

His expedition had been formerly countenanced by Mr. Pitt, but was latterly undertaken with aid from America. Our ships (the Cleopatra) had met Miranda on his passage, with 30 pieces of cannon, 10,000 stand of arms, and 300 soldiers; but, finding from papers his former correspondence with Sir Evan Nepean and Nicholas Vansittart upon these matters, had judged it proper to let him pass on. Miranda was supposed to

* He had succeeded Lord Cornwallis on the death of that nobleman, by virtue of his position as Senior Member of the Council.

have, besides his own ship, the Leander, four others of different sizes. His plan was to revolutionise the whole of New Grenada from the Orinoco to the Isthmus of Darien. Vansittart told me all that regarded his share in the business.

Miranda is a native of Santa Fé, in the mountains overhanging Peru. He served for the Americans in the siege of Pensacola, &c.; afterwards under Dumouriez in Flanders; afterwards went to Russia; returned to France, was put into the Temple by Buonaparte; escaped to England; was in communication with Mr. Addington, and had proposed his plan, when the peace of Amiens took place. Mr. Pitt had acceded to it, when his plans of continental alliance engaged his mind so entirely, as to make Miranda give up hopes of aid from England, and go with letters from hence to America.

He has a great ardour for literature; has always been collecting books for his intended library at the University of Santa Fé. He wrote an able tract three years ago on the military character of the European armies; and, after the peace of Amiens, took to studying Greek.

House of Commons. Debate in Committee on the clause for limited service. Division at one o'clock. For it, 206; against it, 105.

3rd. — House of Commons. Notices and motions about fixing a day for considering the Oude charge. Mutiny Bill reported. Bill moved for to open free intercourse of grain between Great Britain and Ireland.

5th. — In the Lords the Judges delivered their unanimous opinion, that Lord Melville had not broken the Act by drawing out the naval money from the bank, and placing it in private hands for the amount of *assigned* balances. But that the drawing money out for naval services and converting it to his own profit intermediately, although ultimately applied for naval services, would be an offence within the Act.

House of Commons. Motions for witnesses on Mr. Paull's Oude charge against Lord Wellesley.

6th.—Private Brewing Tax given up. Ten per cent. addition to Assessed Taxes announced. Mutiny Bill read a third time and passed. Division at three in the morning. For it, 195; against it, 103.

CHAP. XXV.

1806.

INQUIRY INTO THE CONDUCT OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES. — UNFURNISHED STATE OF OUR DOCKYARDS. — ACQUITTAL OF LORD MELVILLE. — CASE OF MISS SEYMOUR. — ILLNESS OF FOX. — SIR HOME POPHAM'S EXPEDITION AGAINST BUENOS AYRES. — EXPECTATIONS OF PEACE. — PROROGATION. — BATTLE OF MAIDA. — DEATH OF FOX. — BATTLE OF JENA. — DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT. — MR. ABBOT IS RETURNED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. — LETTERS FROM LORD AUCKLAND, LORD REDESDALE, AND LORD GRENVILLE. — MEETING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT. — TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES.

SATURDAY, June 7th.—This day, by virtue of a Commission from the King to the Chancellor, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Lord Ellenborough, an order was carried by the Duke of Kent to the Princess of Wales, requiring the attendance of six of her servants to be examined before them; who were accordingly sent from Blackheath to the Secretary of State's office, and there examined respecting charges of adultery by her Royal Highness with Sir Sidney Smith, Captain Manby, R.N., and a footman: all of which charges were understood, upon the result of the examination, to be unfounded.

9th. — The Lords proceeded in their debate upon Lord Melville's case. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke in his favour.

House of Commons. The ten per cent. Additional Assessed Taxes voted. The Ministers, in answer to a question, stated that there would be no Volunteer Bill this year.

The Election Treating Bill thrown out on the third reading — 43 to 17.

Mr. Fox said to me that he thought the Session now would not be long.

10*th.*— House of Commons. Slave Trade Resolutions for Abolition carried by 114 to 15.

Lord Howick told me that it was stated to him that all the large timber in the three eastern dockyards, viz. Deptford, Woolwich, and Sheerness, might be worked up in six weeks: so improvidently had the contracts been made, that all the timber latterly purchased had been received in small scantlings.

11*th.*— Message from the Lords, that they would proceed to-morrow further upon the trial.

12*th.*— Sixteenth and last day of Lord Melville's trial, who was acquitted by a majority of the Peers, and so declared to be; the Commons went as usual to the Hall at half-past ten. The Peers were unusually late in coming, and were not seated till a quarter past twelve.

The Chancellor collected the votes of the Peers, 135 being present, and the result upon each charge was—

	Guilty.	Not Guilty.	Majority.
1st Charge	16	119	103
2nd „	56	79	23
3rd „	52	83	31
4th „	none	un.	
5th „	4	131	127
6th „	48	87	39
7th „	50	85	35
8th „	14	121	107
9th „	16	119	103
10th „	12	123	111

The Dukes of York, Cumberland, Cambridge, and Gloucester, generally voted the same way, not guilty. The Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, generally guilty, except on the fourth article, on which all were unanimous for acquittal.

The Lord Chancellor generally voted guilty: those besides most remarked for giving the same vote, though with some variations, were Lord Stanhope, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Holland, and Lord Ellenborough.

The whole was finished, as to the votes, by three o'clock, and the casting up, and declaration of acquittal, before four o'clock.

14*th*. — This day the Lords, upon appeal, reversed the order for appointing Lord Euston and Lord Henry Seymour*, guardians of Miss Seymour, infant daughter of Lord Hugh and Lady Horatia Seymour. The case for appellant and respondent are extremely curious and interesting, from the circumstances of the question, and the parties whose affidavits are stated—the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Fitzherbert, Lady Euston, the Bishop of Winchester, &c.

16*th*.—Wellesley Pole called. I went to Lord Grenville to speak to him upon the interminable duration of the session if evidence was called upon Wednesday next on Lord Wellesley's charge; it being then difficult, if not impossible, to stop till all the evidence was completed.

18*th*.— Lord Grenville wrote to me to know my opinion upon the regularity of the House of Commons *ordering* Lord Teignmouth, a Peer of the United Kingdom for Ireland, but not a Peer of Parliament, to attend the House. I answered, with the instance of Lord Balcarras's case, May 10, 1779; and my opinion that the form and reason of the order, in cases of message to the Lords for leave, implied that the Lord whose at-

* This case, for which it has been already said (May 20th, *supra*) that there was great canvassing among the Peers, excited attention chiefly from the violent exertions the Prince of Wales made in respect to it. An orphan daughter of Lord Hugh Seymour had been left under the care of Mrs. Fitzherbert till she was five or six years old, when some of her uncles required that she should be given up to them; and, as Mrs. Fitzherbert refused, they filed a bill in Chancery, in consequence of which Lord Euston and Lord Henry Seymour were appointed her guardians. Lord Eldon, at that time Chancellor, confirmed this arrangement, but Mrs. Fitzherbert now brought the case by appeal before the House of Lords, the object being, not that the child should be by law remitted to her guardianship, which, as she was no relation, was out of the question, but that the Marquis and Marchioness of Hertford, as the nearest of kin, should be substituted for Lord Euston and Lord Henry Seymour, it being understood that they would leave her with Mrs. Fitzherbert. The Prince canvassed a great number of the Peers personally to vote for this arrangement, and easily persuaded Lord Erskine, the Chancellor, to adopt it, it being plausible enough, as Lord Hertford was unquestionably the head of the child's family. Accordingly, on Lord Erskine's motion, Lord Eldon's order was reversed, and Lord and Lady Hertford were appointed the guardians.

tendance was required, was also a Peer of Parliament.

House of Commons. Oude charge.* Evidence. Lord Teignmouth examined till half-past twelve. Minutes ordered to be printed.

19*th*.—House of Commons. Further evidence on the Oude charge. Mr. Fox drank tea in my room. He said the Lords' objection to our *order* for Lord Teignmouth's attendance was not that he was entitled to have his attendance requested by message to the Lords; that they gave up: but that Lord Teignmouth ought to have been *desired* to attend, and *not ordered;* and that the *ordering* implied that, in case of disobedience of such order, he might be taken into custody, which they conceived him not to be liable to. To this I objected that I saw no reason why a Peer so circumstanced should not be taken into custody if he disobeyed; and Mr. Fox admitted that he did not see any reason why he should not.

In the course of the afternoon's conversation we fell upon a variety of topics: the ignorance of the dark ages, which he denied to be so very dark as we were apt to represent them. He instanced their buildings, and the spirited and learned style of Pope Hildebrand. He agreed in the admiration of Livy's speeches, and instanced that of Philip of Macedon, &c.; but for the greater part of Livy he looked upon it as little better than a beautiful romance, with the history of the Horatii, Curiatii, &c.

* Lord Teignmouth, as Sir John Shore, preceded Lord Wellesley as Governor of Bengal. Mr. Paull, who made himself notorious by these attacks on Lord Wellesley, had been a tailor. This Oude charge, as it was called, alleged that though the Nabob Vizir of Oude had scrupulously performed all his engagements with us, Lord Wellesley, with a view to drive him to renounce his rights, had first excited his subjects to rebellion against him; had disbanded his troops without his consent; had poured the Company's troops into his territories; had occupied half of them; and ultimately, by threats and violence, had extorted from him a formal cession of half his dominions, to the great injury of our character in India for good faith and honesty. Lord Wellesley was vigorously defended on this occasion by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and in the course of the next year Mr. Paull killed himself.—*Pearce's Life of Wellesley*, vol. ii. pp. 428-437.

The Greek historians, even Herodotus, seemed to profess and to possess great appearance of diligent search for truth, and to have more verisimilitude. In talking of books upon political economy, he said (as I have often heard him say in debate) that he had but little faith in Adam Smith or any of them, their reasons were so plausible but so inconclusive. That theology had occupied a large share of the acutest intellects among the best writers of this country, whereas in Greece arts and arms engrossed the whole efforts of the human mind; and their progress and eminence in those pursuits had probably been the greater for their abandonment of all other pursuits, such as engaged modern nations in commerce, manufactures, &c. &c. In this desultory talk he was extremely pleasant, and appeared to please himself.

N.B. This was the last, or very nearly the last time of Mr. Fox attending the House of Commons.

20*th*.—Further examination of the witnesses on the Oude charge

21*st*.—Saw Wickham upon his Return to order for accounts of his disbursements in Germany.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. WICKHAM.

Bolton Row, June 20th, 1806.

Dear Abbot,

. . . . . .

With respect to the secret service money issued to me (which in the two last years* amounted to little or none, on my former mission to a great deal) by the *Secretary of State*, both Lord Grenville and Fox are clear in their opinion that it would be the height of imprudence and bad policy to have any account of it laid on the table. Such a measure would defeat the whole policy of that part of Mr. Burke's Bill which regulates the mode of accounting for it, and would, in truth, put an end to the use of *secret* service money at all. If it can be called for in one

* Mr. Wickham, as Secretary to the Treasury, had been more than once of late years sent into Germany on matters connected with the alliances we formed and the subsidies we distributed in that country.

case it may be called for in all, and then the House of Commons and the whole world immediately and necessarily know what bribes and donations the King's Government have distributed among the different courts of Europe.

However unpleasant it may be therefore to be placed in a situation where you are obliged to say I will not tell you what I have received and expended, yet I am quite persuaded that we cannot give way. Such a thing might, under certain circumstances, be very properly referred to a secret committee,—perhaps in this case; but no such account ought under any circumstances to be made public, unless the person receiving the money were accused of embezzling it.

Indeed I have no notion that Rose's motion was ever meant to apply to anything of the kind, but to the sum of 209,000*l.* applied to a secret expedition, of which you will find mention in other papers.

Now, with respect to this sum, you will be surprised when I tell you that it was drawn and received by me as secret service money, and that at my own express and earnest desire it was removed from that head of service *that it might be accounted for.*

. . . . . .

Ever yours,

W. WICKHAM.

23*rd.*—Lord Henry Petty opened his Auditor's Bill. Mr. Paull closed his evidence on the Oude charge, except Sir James Craig's* evidence, to be taken out of the House.

24*th.*—Bond came to relate to me that yesterday Lord Grenville had communicated to him the result of his arrangement with the King, the Duke of York, and the Secretary-at-War, viz., that the Judge Advocate should as heretofore have access to the King, and give his verbal opinions upon the courts martial; but that the King's pleasure should be signified through the Commander-in-Chief.

House of Commons. Debate till two in the morning on the General Training Bill. No division. Strong rumours of a dissolution of Parliament.

The general dissatisfaction among the Volunteers has

* Sir James Craig had commanded an army of observation on the frontier of Oude.

greatly increased. The Bloomsbury regiment, 1200 strong upon the establishment, did not muster more than seven privates at the last general muster.

26*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Fox still unable to attend. Dr. Vaughan called in, besides his family physician Dr. Moseley.

27*th*.—Lord Erskine called, and [among other matters] discussed with me the point of supposed privilege in Lord Teignmouth's case.

Lord Auckland came in. We talked of Mr. Fox's health. Lord Erskine said it was *not* a dropsy; but that he was certainly very unwell; would not attend the House of Commons any more this session; and had hydropical symptoms.

I afterwards went to Lord Grenville upon Lord Teignmouth's case; and strongly dissuaded any conference upon the subject; urging the ultimate right of the Commons to *compel* the attendance of any Peer (not being a Peer of Parliament), whether his attendance in the first instance were *desired* or *ordered*.

Lord Howick told me Sir Home Popham had left the Cape without a single ship of war, and was gone without orders against Buenos Ayres.

28*th*.—Mr. Fox went out airing to-day. The physicians report very ill of his case. He has not lain down in his bed for some time; his legs swell; the medicines to relieve him, though violent, have had no effect. Drs. Baillie, Moseley, and Vaughan attend him.

29*th*.—Mr. Fox's physicians last night had a consultation, and the result was that they acquainted him with the absolute necessity of his immediately giving up business, and retiring into the country; that no medicine could have its effect until he did so. To which he answered that "the business now in his hands was so pressing as to render that impossible; and that he would go on at all risks."

His state is described to be that of an actual formation of water in the chest; the mass of his blood broken and debilitated; no regular secretion of the kidneys;

and the strongest medicines for expelling the water have failed. His state of body is also such as to render it impossible to give vent to the water in his legs for fear of mortification ensuing.

This state is considered as incurable. It may last three months; it may terminate in twenty-four hours, and without the faculties being in any degree impaired unless any effusion of water should take place upon the brain, in which case a stupor of two or three days may precede death.

Dined at Wickham's with Lord Grenville, &c.

In the evening talked with Lord Grenville upon Mr. Fox's case. Lord Grenville had seen him yesterday in good spirits; but from Easter, when he heard from me through Wickham of Mr. Fox's state of health, he had apprehended and perceived the progress of his illness. I then told him what he was not aware of to the extent that I related; he said the state of things would become very difficult. Lord Howick would naturally have stept into Mr. Fox's place, if his father's great age, seventy-eight, and broken health, did not render that impracticable. That Lord Minto was to be recommended for India; and Thomas Grenville would be President of the Board of Control, with a seat in the Cabinet; but that his health made it very doubtful whether he would be able to stand the wear and tear of the House of Commons.

30th.—Mr. Wellesley Pole came up on the form of the Resolutions intended to be moved in the Committee on the Oude charge.

He told me that Mr. Francis* had sent a message through Lady Devonshire to Lord Wellesley that, if Wellesley would not oppose his going out as Governor-General to India, he, Mr. Francis, would extinguish Mr. Paull; to which Lord Wellesley returned for answer that he had nothing to do with the business.

Tuesday, July 1st. — Mr. Huskisson brought me

* Better known as Sir Philip Francis, the supposed author of "Junius's Letters."

his draft of Resolutions for establishing an uniformity of periods in all public accounts, &c.

Mr. Fox continues in the same state, but they cannot give him the foxglove any longer. His constitution is quite broken down, and nothing but his faculties remain sound. He works constantly, and airs occasionally in an open carriage. He is extremely irritable, and will not see Dr. Baillie, who spoke more plainly than was agreeable to him.

He was never more unpopular in the City. His pressing Lord Lauderdale upon the East India Company has given particular offence.

2nd.—Met Lord Hutchinson: he said the French were holding out Hanover to us as the lure for peace, and that the Prince of Wales was as much attached to Hanover as the King himself, but that he (Lord Hutchinson) thought Hanover was weakness to us, and not strength.

4th.—Went to see the East India House; the Bengal muslin warehouses, and the tea warehouses.

Mr. Wilkins, eight years ago, gave a pound of East India cotton to Sir Joseph Banks, which the natives could spin to a fineness of thread which would extend 119 miles; Sir Joseph Banks circulated the specimen through the English manufacturers, and they now spin it in England fine enough to extend 160 miles.

The teas imported annually are twenty-four millions of pounds; and of these sixteen millions are the Congo. The green tea-tree grows in a different part of China, and the leaves are pulled by the hand, rolled up and dried in the shade; the boxes in which they come are different from those in which the black teas come, and are all of another sort of wood; the one extremely brittle, the other soft and durable.

5th.—A general belief prevails that peace will take place; and as general an apprehension of its consequences.

Mr. Fox, it is understood, is fully aware of his own state of health. In a conversation about some black

swans of Mrs. Fox's, which were not now in good feather, but which it was said would become so in two or three months hence, Mr. Fox said, "Then I shall never see them so."

8*th*.—Debate on West India Trade Bill. Division at one o'clock; Ayes, 85; Noes, 30. The Master of the Rolls made an able and vehement speech against the Bill in reply to Lord Henry Petty and Lord Temple.

11*th*.—House of Commons. After debating the Nabob of Oude's Bill, &c., Sir Henry Mildmay's motion for thanks to the Volunteers occupied the House till three in the morning. Division, 41 to 75; and again on Sheridan's motion*, 39 to 69.

12*th*.—This day the report is to be made to the King upon the Princess of Wales's case. The Duke of York has advised the King, after reading it, to require the written and signed opinions of his Cabinet upon it. A dissolution is now considered as possible in the autumn, but not very probable; whatever may be Mr. Fox's state.

14*th*.—Conference in the Lords upon Lord Teignmouth's case. Debate on the Bill for excluding Militia Officers from increased pay of the army.

* Sir Henry Mildmay's motion was, "That the House doth thankfully acknowledge and highly approve of the services of the different corps of yeomanry and volunteers of the United Kingdom; and doth think it necessary to record its decided opinion that the due encouragement of the zeal and patriotism which the yeomanry and volunteers have so eminently displayed in the maintenance of their establishment, and the preservation of their discipline, would contribute in an essential degree to the defence and internal security of the kingdom." Wyndham, who always depreciated the volunteers, and argued that such a resolution would assert their efficiency to be equal to that of the regular army, supported the previous question, which he got Lord Ossulton to move. Sheridan wished to obviate his objection by moving, "That this House doth thankfully acknowledge and highly approve the services of the different corps of yeomanry and volunteers." However, the previous question was carried by 75 to 41. And then Sheridan moved, as a substantive resolution, "That this House continues to retain its cordial sense of the zealous exertions of the several corps of yeomanry and volunteers of the United Kingdom, associated for the defence of their country, and doth highly approve of the perseverance and patriotism they so eminently display in continuing to be associated for that object." Lord Howick, alleging the diversity of opinions already expressed on the subject, moved the previous question, which was again carried by 69 to 39.—*Hansard*, under proper date.

Lord Lowther's house was the place of meeting, where two separate overtures to opposition* leaders were considered; and an answer sent to Lord Grenville that the party would not separate.

15*th.*—Lord Nelson's Bill for purchase of an estate, &c. It was proposed to name Lord Spencer as one of the Trustees of the money granted; to this I objected, that, being a Peer, he could not be; and that the Speaker was necessarily a Trustee, and to be named first in the Bill. I stated this to Lord Grenville, and so it was settled; and the Bill passed through Committee accordingly.

Rode two hours with Lord Grenville.

A dissolution of Parliament is *not* in contemplation. It is intended to begin the next session in October. Our other subjects of conversation were Mr. Fox's state of health. Wyndham's utter unacquaintance with militia and country affairs, &c.

16*th.*—Debate on third reading of the Bill for excluding Militia Officers from increased pay of army. Division, 34 to 24, and 41 to 22. No Minister present but Mr. Wyndham. Lord Howick gone to Astley's, and Lord H. Petty to dinner.

23*rd.*—After the Prorogation, went down to Kidbrooke, and remained there till December 10th.

Public events during that time.

Saturday, August 2*nd.*—Lauderdale went to Paris to negotiate a peace.

3*rd.*—Buonaparte put himself at the head of the Confederation of the Rhine.

7*th.*—The Emperor of Austria abdicated the title of Emperor of Germany.

* We learn from Lord Malmesbury's Diary, vol. iv. p. 354, that these overtures were renewed in the autumn, Lord Grenville "making several attempts to disunite Pitt's friends," and especially to win over Canning, to whom "he offered splendidly, but Canning remained steady, and from *principle*." See also a long letter from Canning himself on the subject.—*Life and Times of Canning*, p. 96.

Tuesday, Sept. 2nd.—News of the Battle of Maida.

13*th.*—News of the taking of Buenos Ayres.

Mr. Fox died.

18*th.*—Buonaparte left Paris to put himself at the head of his army.

Tuesday, Oct. 14*th.*—Battle of Auerstadt, &c.

24*th.*—Dissolution of Parliament.

11*th.*—London. In consequence of a conversation with Wickham overnight, resumed to-day by Lord Grenville with me, and continued with me and Wickham, Lord Grenville called again for the Treasury accounts, and conceived it to be practicable to dissolve the present Parliament, and assemble another in time to pass the necessary money Bills and votes for providing the army issues in January.

12*th.*—Lord Grenville called a Cabinet. The Dissolution was resolved upon; and the King was written to.

Thursday, Nov. 6th.—I received intelligence of the issue of the Oxford University Election.* The poll lasted a day and a half.

For Mr. Heber†, 275. For me, 404.

The Vice-Chancellor, in his letter acquainting me with my being elected, also acquainted me with a previous resolution of the Heads of Houses, that the Member should be desired *not* to give the fee of 10*l.* (hitherto usual) to the beadle who brought his letter.

The customary attentions paid by the Members have been that one of them (latterly Sir William Scott) should send the votes regularly to the Vice-Chancellor, and the other Member supply him with the General Evening Post, which, having been paid for hitherto by Sir William Dolben, now fell to me to supply. I wrote also to the Vice-Chancellor, to offer him the communication of all interesting and important papers which should at

* Sir William Dolben, one of the old Members, had retired.

† Mr. Richard Heber, the well-known book collector, brother of Reginald Heber, the celebrated Bishop of Calcutta.

any time be printed by order of Parliament, which he accepted with thanks.

In October, Perceval told me a very recent opinion of Dr. Baillie's, respecting the Prince of Wales's dangerous state of health.

Letters, or Extracts from Letters, received during the recess.

FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Eden Farm, Aug. 15th, 1806.

My dear Sir,—I mentioned to you that a commission is issuing to Lord Holland and to me to negotiate a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States. On Wednesday last, at Lord Grenville's, I met the American Commissioners at a sort of state dinner. Mr. Monroe was already well known to me; and his colleague seems to be a gentlemanlike man. . .

You see that Lord Lauderdale's "coming short home" seems to be now thought probable. I have reason to believe that the last despatches were not of a promising kind; and yet Buonaparte may, some fine morning, be disposed to make what he would afterwards call "*une paix de fantaisie.*"

Very sincerely yours, AUCKLAND.

FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Newdywick, Northallerton, Sept. 18th, 1806.

My dear Sir,—I must confess I have forebodings of much ill, and fear that a bitter cup is preparing, which, though we may perhaps not be compelled to drink, our children will probably be forced to taste, and perhaps to swallow the very dregs. The events of a few months—the deaths of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Thurlow—all that we have felt or can observe—ought to wean us from too much fondness for the things which are, and prepare us to bear reverses, should they happen in our time. But our great men seem to think only of the power and wealth of the moment, and of their personal enjoyment of both; and are as anxious to obtain and to keep that enjoyment as if it was the only thing worth having. Your situation has one feature in it for which I highly valued it. Instead of obliging you to be of a party, it rather makes a forbearance from all party in some degree your duty; you look down, as it were, on the struggle, and see the combatants without feeling for them personally,

except as compassion or contempt may influence you in consequence of their conduct. The death of Mr. Fox must, I think, produce some consequences. Will it increase the influence and power of Lord Grenville, or will Mr. Fox's friends be able still to keep the lead? Will the *discussions* for peace be more or less supported in the Cabinet, or will those who dread any peace at this moment have more weight? Who will be the new Secretary of State*? Of what party of the three composing the present Administration? For, although Lord Sidmouth seems treated by his brother Ministers as a sort of Lepidus, the disagreement of the Octavian and Antonine parties may bring forward a connection of the third member of the Triumvirate.

Very faithfully yours, REDESDALE.

FROM LORD SHEFFIELD.

Sheffield Place, Sept. 21st, 1806.

I am returned from passing two days at Stanmer† by requisition to meet the Prince de Condé, the Comte de Damas, the Chevalier Conti, and the Comte de Cely. I was highly satisfied with the poor Prince, who undoubtedly has conducted himself with more true spirit, dignity, and propriety, than any of the princes or men of high rank in the whole French empire. His appearance and manner are much in his favour, and the circumstance of his resembling an Englishman more than a Frenchman is of some advantage to him in the opinion of John Bull. When he was told that Buonaparte had levelled Chantilly with the ground, except the stables, of which he had made barracks, he said "What signifies that compared with the destruction of the French monarchy?" of which neither he nor his friends seem totally to despond, on the principle that the extravagant atrocities of Buonaparte must overthrow him.

The principal circumstance I have to communicate is a most interesting letter received on Friday morning by them, enclosed by one of the ablest generals of the time. It is the copy of a letter from a very intelligent diplomatic person at Dresden, dated the 3rd inst., and forwarded by the General from London. I had almost desponded in respect to the Prussians coming forward with firmness, resolution, and also in good time. The letter states that the Prussians urged the Saxons; that the Saxons doubted the Prussians; the King of Prussia communi-

* Lord Howick succeeded Mr. Fox at the Foreign Office, and Mr. Thomas Grenville took his place at the Admiralty.

† Lord Chichester's.

cated to the Saxons, that the French intended to make an irruption into Saxony to turn the left of the Prussians, and that, if the Saxons did not take a part, he must occupy their country. The Prussians are on the march. They are 21,000 men strong, besides artillery. The Saxons have 30,000 men, and 15,000 more are raising. The Russians form a reserve of 120,000 men. The letter says the King of Prussia peremptorily insists that the French troops shall quit Germany; but the circumstance that pleases me most is that all the particulars show that the Russians are actually in motion, which, I flatter myself, cannot prove equivocal.

So much I could communicate per secretary.

This morning I received, per Duke of Richmond, the copy of a letter from Lord Spencer, conveying His Majesty's acceptance of our resignation *, and a letter from the office of Ordnance, directing the arms, &c., to be sent to the Ordnance Magazine at Horsham. . . . . .

Lord Spencer does not notice the suggestion that some independent companies might be formed from the wreck. So much the better, as Streatfield writes, that he could not recommend the attempt.

A letter from my lady this morning says that H.R.H. desires her to tell me that M. Hohnhorst, the Duke of Brunswick's chamberlain, whom he has sent to England, and who dined at Blackheath the preceding day with the Duke of Portland, brought letters from the Duke of Brunswick to the King, to the Duke of Portland, to Lord Grenville, and to Lord Malmesbury, begging them to use their influence, that his unfortunate and unhappy daughter's innocence may be cleared and made public to the world as soon as possible. The Princess showed my lady the copies of the letters, which, she says, are remarkably good. The Duke of Brunswick does not mention the Prince in any one of them. The Duchess of Brunswick also has written a most piercing letter to the King; the Princess has written her own defence, entirely herself, remarkably well, on 200 pages, which is to be laid before the King. It is a narrative of her life for the last seven years. Yours ever, S.

FROM LORD GRENVILLE.

[Private.] Downing Street, Oct. 4th, 1806.

My dear Sir,—It is now settled that Parliament shall meet before Christmas to pass the annual duties before the adjourn-

* The North Pevensey Legion.

ment. We think this may be done by meeting on the 27th or November, and the proclamation will accordingly be ordered in Council next Wednesday for the 27th, unless you think a day or two more will be necessary.

Will you allow me to trouble you on another subject. Among the plans which have been under discussion for ways and means in the next Session, is that of a General Registry to be established throughout the kingdom, on the same principles as in Middlesex and Yorkshire; I believe that you have turned your mind much to this subject. The advantage of a plan of taxation which combines with revenue a considerable public benefit is sufficiently obvious; the only objections I see likely to be stated are, 1. Disclosure of property. 2. Present expense of building and establishments. 3. Local difficulties, and detail of the regulations.

To the first of these, less weight will undoubtedly be given now than before the Income and Property taxes; nor does it appear sufficient to counterbalance the many advantages which such a plan holds out. The second may, I think, be considerably obviated by placing the formation of the establishment in each county in the hands of the Magistracy; and charging the expense on the county rates. How far the third may extend, it is difficult to say without some previous consideration of particulars of the plan itself.

I should feel myself particularly obliged to you for your suggestions and communications on this subject; and if it should happen that you should be in town any time in the course of the next fortnight, I would beg you to allow Lord H. Petty and myself an hour's conversation with you upon it.

I am, my dear Sir, most faithfully and sincerely yours,

GRENVILLE.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

Continuation of the Diary.

10*th*.—Returned to London.

12*th*.—Saw Wickham; heard of the supposed difficulty respecting the Irish writ being made returnable to the Crown officers in Ireland on or before the *same* day as that appointed for the meeting of the new Parliament at Westminster.

Wrote to Wickham; and he sent my letter to Lord Grenville.

13*th*.—Received a note from Lord Grenville, desiring me to call upon him; we discussed the question of the want of Irish returns.

The Chancellor by letter expressed his opinion in concurrence with me, that the Parliament was a good and lawful Parliament, notwithstanding the non-arrival of the Returns as directed by the Act of Union to be sent from the Irish to the English Crown Office. It then become a mere question of discretion whether, for want of the formal returns of about sixteen Irish members (twelve or fourteen of whom we knew to have been actually elected), the King should prorogue the Parliament on Monday for any number of days, to allow for the arrival of them; and these very returns might even yet arrive on or before Monday. Lord Grenville was clear that it was *not* advisable to do so at this time.

Lord Spencer, Lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Grenville afterwards arrived, and the discussion was renewed, and all but Mr. Grenville were satisfied to go on with the Parliament on Monday next. Mr. Grenville continued to think that not only the actual non-arrival of the returns, but even the possibility of the noncompletion of the elections in Ireland, was a sufficient ground for proroguing, and that the theoretical possibility of this circumstance, even if the fact had not occurred, ought to cause a prorogation.

15*th*.—[The new Parliament met.] I was elected Speaker. Bathurst moved it; Wilberforce seconded it. Mr. Grenville congratulated [the House and me]; and the motion passed unanimously, with much apparent cordiality.

19*th*.—The Lords' Commissioners delivered the speech opening the causes of calling the Parliament. Mr. Lamb* and Mr. John Smith moved and seconded

* Mr. W. Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne.

the Address. Canning moved a long amendment.* Lord Howick answered in a powerful and eloquent speech, after which Lord Castlereagh was very indifferently heard.

22*nd*.— Cowper came to discuss fixing days in the Lords and Commons for acceleration of private business, with a view to close it always before 4th June, and we agreed upon days; for a new limitation in the Lords as to receiving Private Bill Petitions, viz. Feb. 12th, in addition to their present limitation of time for receiving Judges' papers, and always to fix that for the Thursday in Easter week. We, in the Commons, in addition to our present usage of limiting the time for receiving Private Bill Petitions to the last Friday in February; also to limit the time for receiving reports from Committees on Private Bills to the last Monday within three weeks of June 4th.

Thursday, Christmas Day.—By appointment, called on Lord Wellesley, who desired to state to me his views and feelings respecting his own situation as to Mr. Paull's Impeachment. 1. That when he left India, at his own desire (and not by any supersession as for misconduct), he had Mr. Pitt's assurances of being recommended to his Majesty for the highest honours the Crown could bestow. 2. That he had reason to believe the political opponents of Mr. Pitt's Government had meant to press measures hostile to him (Lord Wellesley), as being in fact hostile to Mr. Pitt, and were considerably pledged to that end. 3. That subsequent events, and particularly Mr. Fox's death, had apparently changed the disposition of some of them, and rendered them indifferent to the thing, and desirous of being fairly rid of it; but that others remained in their original dispositions of

* Canning declared that the Address implied "a particular and distinct declaration that all those who had preceded the present administration had been in the wrong." He also blamed the Ministry for having, by the demands made on Prussia by this country, through our negotiator at Paris, compelled Prussia to plunge into a war with France, on which account he also objected to the angry mention of Prussia in the Address, and proposed an entirely new Address, without, however, intending to press it to a division. — See *Hansard*, under date.

hostility to his Indian administration. Of those who were become desirous to be rid of the question as inconvenient to the present composition of the Ministry, Lord Howick might be instanced: and of those still hostile, Mr. Wyndham might be considered as the principal; but that even these would be ready to put the business out of Parliament, with more or less of stigma upon Lord Wellesley's conduct, and more or less of an expression of opinion that it might be prosecuted before the East Indian Judicature of Lords, Commons, and Judges.*

As to himself. He had never desired, invited, or provoked inquiry or trial: for no man who had filled so high an office, for seven or eight years, in most difficult times, could be supposed to court a hostile or accusatorial investigation: much less could he, who had rather looked for honours and rewards; but that he had no desire to withdraw from inquiry or trial from any apprehension of the consequences, and would rather choose impeachment itself than have this matter ended by any termination which involved any imputation on his honour.

That what he could have wished, next to its not having been agitated, was, that the whole business had ended with the last Parliament; and he was content that it should have been so. But, if it is now to be renewed, his desire would be, next to a full discussion, and the issue of such discussion declared by a vote of Parliament, that at least it should be set aside by what he might call a *blank negative*, unaccompanied with any intimation that his conduct ought to be tried before the East Indian Judicature, or any other tribunal. If it could all be put an end to by a vote *simpliciter*, he was satisfied: but he deprecated most earnestly the being delivered over for endless prosecution elsewhere.

* By Act 24 Geo. III., sec. 2. c. 25, sec. 66, &c., a tribunal was appointed for the trial of certain cases connected with India, to be called the East Indian Judicature, consisting of thirteen Peers and twenty Members of the House of Commons, to be chosen by ballot, and three Judges, one from each of the courts of law, to be appointed by their respective courts.

That he had learned a sort of suggestion, that, if Parliament refused to proceed in the discussion, at least the private prosecutor before the East Indian Judicature should be indemnified and reimbursed his expenses on prosecuting to conviction. This appeared to him objectionable in a high degree, on grounds of general policy; but monstrous, if to be made law on this particular occasion, and then turned against him.

With this exposition of his views and feelings, and my occasional remarks upon the several forms which belonged to each course of proceeding, and a very intelligible intimation of my own personal opinions (so far as they were of any consequence), our conference occupied about an hour.

On my return home I met Lord Grenville: we rode together for half an hour. On the business of Lord Wellesley we had a short conversation. He was to see Lord Howick to-morrow on the same subject. We discussed more particularly my proposition about the arrangement of private business, which very much met his ideas of what was desirable.

26*th*.—A remarkably high spring tide. It rose in the Courtyard above four inches against the door of the House, and was only prevented from entering the House by boarding across it, and closing all round with Parker's cement. It was at its height about three, and retired by half-past four entirely. In front of the north door of Westminster Hall it rose nearly to the level of the step. It was supposed to be owing to the great land-floods meeting the ordinary spring tide. The rains of the last three weeks had fallen seven inches, i. e., one third of the ordinary quantity in a whole year. All the neighbours said there had been no tide so high since 1789.

27*th*.—Lord Howick, &c., dined with me. Lord Howick in a separate conversation much inclined to proceed no further upon Lord Wellesley's impeachment, if renewed, but to leave it to the East Indian Judicature, where a private prosecutor had his option to pro-

ceed, although neither the Board of Control nor the East India Company choose to do so.

31*st*.—This evening a treaty was signed with America.

LETTER FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Palace Yard, Thursday, Jan. 1st, 1807.

My dear Sir,—We yesterday evening signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States, and in the actual circumstances of this troubled world it is an event certainly of importance to us, more especially as we have not admitted any article that is open to any material attack. (Private.—In truth we have postponed the principal difficulties to quieter times.)

. . . . . Yours ever, AUCKLAND.

CHAP. XXVI.

1807.

DEBATE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. — BUDGET. — SLAVE TRADE ABOLITION BILL PASSES THE LORDS.—DISCUSSIONS IN THE CABINET ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.—LETTERS FROM LORD HOWICK AND LORD GRENVILLE. —MEETINGS OF THE OPPOSITION. — RESULT OF THE INQUIRY INTO THE CONDUCT OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES.—THE MINISTERS ARE TURNED OUT.

Thursday, *Jan.* 1*st.* — General Porter came to me upon the subject of his proposed motion for expelling Mr. Cawthorne, by a vote similar to that of 1796, by which Mr. Cawthorne was formerly expelled, upon the ground of a sentence of a court-martial, declaring his conduct to have been "scandalous and infamous, and unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman."

In the House of Commons. Lord Howick moved the resolutions which I had recommended and prepared for him respecting the limitations of time for presenting Private Bills. They were received with general approbation.

2*nd.*—House of Commons. Last day of Election Petitions. In all 42 presented, being the exact average of the six Parliaments since 10 George III., when the Grenville Act took place.

5*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on the Negotiation Papers, till five in the morning.* Lord Howick

* Lord Howick detailed the whole progress of the negotiation with France. They had insisted on treating in conjunction with the Emperor of Russia. Talleyrand had expressly authorised Lord Yarmouth to offer the *uti possidetis*, and had subsequently further recognised that principle by offering us Sicily for Hanover. Lord Howick also defended the Ministry on other points connected with this negotiation, by reference to the conduct of Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Whitworth in 1803; and having reiterated his assertion that "No other basis than that of the *uti possidetis* had ever been admitted by this country," and having argued that, "unless we could by a

moved an address. Lord Yarmouth, Whitbread, Canning, Lord Henry Petty, Perceval, and others spoke, and Lord Howick closed the debate. No division; but an amendment moved by Mr. Whitbread (for treating with France), was rejected. Mr. Fox's last political Act was stated to be his letter of the 26th of June, requiring Lord Yarmouth to bring France to an explicit recognition of the basis of the *uti possidetis*. Lord Howick in his reply delivered his deliberate opinion that "until the Government of France changed its principles and character, there was no hope of peace for this country, but that we must persist in the contest till we prevailed or perished." About 300 members were present.

21*st*.—Lord Howick came up to my room to communicate to me his intention of moving for a Committee to search for precedents in cases of expulsion, and to assign that as a reason for moving the previous question in Cawthorne's business.

Held Board of Commissioners on Prince of Wales's debts.

22*nd*.—General Porter told me he had just seen the Prince of Wales, who wished Lord Howick's motion for a Committee on Precedents to supersede General Porter's motion, and to have no case stated against Cawthorne, if Lord Howick's motion could have that effect.

23*rd*.—House of Commons. General Porter's motion for reading the proceedings upon Mr. Cawthorne's expulsion; a debate on the power and fitness of the expulsion; general and desultory; all sides agreeing in the propriety of Lord Howick's motion for a Com-

peace secure the peace of Europe, we did nothing," moved an Address which, among other things, stated that "The House felt the fullest conviction that the failure could be ascribed only to the injustice and ambition of the French Government." Whitbread objected to this, and moved an amendment omitting the blame of the French, and merely assuring His Majesty of our determination to do every thing necessary for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Canning supported the original Address, guarding himself against being supposed by so doing to imply an approval of the conduct of the Ministry.

mittee to search for Precedents. Mr. Cawthorne spoke shortly, and only upon the want of precedents to justify any *repetition* of the expulsion.

At ten o'clock the report upon the Army Estimates was received. A debate ensued which lasted till three in the morning. Lord Howick argued to-night (as on a former night) that Lord Sidmouth's military measures were the only ones which hitherto had produced any speedy and large augmentation of the army.

N.B.—An opinion now allowed to be just (almost universally), however much controverted and derided by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, when in opposition to Mr. Addington.

24*th*.—News of the defeat of Buonaparte in Poland, after fighting three successive days between Warsaw and Ostroleska on the river Narews. Lord Howick sent me a note of it in the afternoon, and I forwarded the news to Oxford.

N.B.—This did not turn out to be true.*

25*th*.—Buenos Ayres; despatches received this day from Sir Home Popham, of the recapture of it by the Spaniards on the 12th of August, and of his having taken the town and port of Maldonado, near the mouth of the river Plata.

26*th*.—Mr. Yorke, as Chairman of the Weymouth Committee, came to settle the best mode of obviating the difficulty arising from Mr. Freemantle, who (though petitioner for Saltash) had been sworn of the Committee. Agreed to do as in Sir Frederick Rogers's case, in Feb. 1781, and by consent of all parties proceed, and not take notice of the defect.

House of Commons. Lord Folkestone's motion to

* There was, however, some foundation for it, as at the battle of Pultusk, Dec. 26th, 1806, the French lost 1000 more men than the Russians, and left them the possession of the field of battle for the day, without attempting to molest their further retreat; and after a short rest in winter quarters at Ostroleska, on the 14th of January, Bennigsen attacked all Ney's detachments, and gained some considerable advantages over them, till Napoleon himself arrived from Warsaw at the scene of action. The battle of Preuss-Eylau took place on the 8th of February.

reprint the Oude papers. He disclaimed all intention of proceeding *criminally* against Lord Wellesley; but professed to desire an opinion of the House upon Lord Wellesley's conduct; for which purpose, after the papers were printed, he should move certain resolutions.

29*th.*—House of Commons. Lord Henry Petty in an able, perspicuous, and eloquent speech of two hours and twenty minutes, stated the supply and ways and means for the year; and the plan for providing the ways and means for the next twenty years to the extent of annual loans of 12,000,000*l.* each.* After moving the first resolution *pro formâ*, the Committee reported progress, and was ordered to sit again on Wednesday, February 11th.

31*st.*—At Lord Grenville's met Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Davison, Mr. Haywood, and Mr. Walpole, as trustees of the Parliamentary grants of 9000*l.* and 20,000*l.* to Lord Nelson's family. Ordered the two sums (which Mr. Davison produced in Exchequer Bills) to be lodged in the bank, and appointed the solicitor to the Treasury to act for the official trustees.

Wednesday, February 4th.—House of Commons. Perceval's motion upon the Order of Council to prevent navigation from port to port of France, and countries under French influence.

5*th.*—House of Lords read Slave Trade Abolition Bill a second time. Division; 100 to 32.

10*th.*—House of Commons. On Mr. Middleton Biddulph's motion, a Committee appointed on the same terms as the Finance Committee of 1797, in respect to controls and checks of expenditure, and reduction of

* Lord Henry's exact proposal was to borrow 12,000,000*l.* during each of the next three years. In the fourth year, or 1810, 14,000,000*l.*; in the ten succeeding years 16,000,000*l.* each year, appropriating ten per cent. of the extra war taxes to pay the interest of the loan, and to form a sinking fund, which, if interest continued at five per cent., would redeem the debt so created in fourteen years; and he intimated that this process might be continued, so as to enable us to carry on the system of raising loans at no greater disadvantage, even if the war should last twenty years.

offices. Slave Trade Bill from the Lords read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday se'nnight.

12*th.*—House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh in a speech of two hours and a half opened his objections and counter resolutions upon Lord Henry Petty's finance plan.

18*th.*—The Prince of Wales's Commissioners met here. A statement signed by Mr. Fordyce and Sir Henry Strachey respecting the mode of reducing the tradesmen's bills, was read and entered upon the minutes of the Commission. We read and agreed to our final report according to the provisions of the Act; and directed it, when signed, to be presented to the Treasury.

House of Commons. Debate on Solicitor-General's Bill for making real estates assets to pay simple contract debts.

20*th.*—House of Commons. Mr. Grenville acquainted the House with Sir Home Popham's arrest, and delivered in a copy of the warrant.

Heard counsel on the Slave Trade Abolition Bill till half-past twelve. Negatived the admission of evidence.

23*rd.*—Adjourned debate on the question for committing the Slave Trade Bill. The principal speakers were, for the Bill, Lord Howick, the Solicitor-General, Lord Mahon, Mr. Roscoe, Lord Milton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c. Against it, General Gascoyne, Mr. Hibbert, and also Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Hiley Addington, who however, spoke but partially against it, and voted for it. Division; for the Bill, 283; against it, 16.

28*th.*—Lord Hawkesbury called on the Catholic clauses in the Mutiny Bill, to express his alarms, and those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Perceval and Sir William Scott, about the apprehended extension of the Irish law of 1793, by now enabling Catholics to be Generals on the Staff.

Sunday, March 1*st.*—Lord Sidmouth called. He desired to deposit with me his determination not to agree to granting the Catholics liberty to hold staff com-

missions. The King had with difficulty been persuaded by Lord Sidmouth to consent even to extend the Irish Act of 1793 to Catholic officers in the army, when coming to England; but had acceded to it at last, as a strict consequence of the Union; the Irish law then in force being virtually adopted for England. Lord Howick admitted that in the House of Commons he had given no other intimation of his notice. The Duke of Bedford and the Irish Government had understood the same things, and explained the concession on this ground to be only to the Catholics in Dublin. That it was now proposed, because the minute of Cabinet had been worded generally, that it should be carried into effect in its largest sense; and the King was again to be asked for his consent. The Cabinet were about to meet this day upon that express topic.

2nd. — Lord Sidmouth called. The Cabinet had parted yesterday upon a resolution to proceed with the Catholic clauses, although they admitted that the King had not been specifically acquainted with that part of the measure which enabled Catholics to become Generals on the Staff; and although Lord Sidmouth had consented only to the application of the law of 1793; and although Lord Henry Petty, and Lord Holland, and Lord Howick allowed that he had never consented beyond that; and although Lord Howick admitted that, in his notice to the House of Commons, he had not in his own mind, any larger measure, &c. &c. But Lord Grenville declined to be the person who should state the subject again to the King or ask his consent upon it. Lord Sidmouth said he certainly would not interfere by volunteering his advice to the King; but, when he should see the King on Wednesday, he should, if asked by the King, give his own opinion and act upon it, whether sanctioned by the King or not; and so the Cabinet parted.

In the House of Commons Lord Howick first mentioned to me the Catholic clauses, and asked whether I thought they must necessarily pass through a Committee of the whole House, as being of religion. I told him

that had really never occurred to me, but I would look into it and let him know; and although I entirely disapproved of what he was about, it was no reason why we should not freely converse about all the forms of proceeding.

The House engaged from six in the evening till six in the morning, hearing counsel and witnesses on the Westminster petition, complaining of Mr. Sheridan for having tampered with witnesses.

3rd. — Searched precedents for Catholic clauses. Lord Howick postponed the Mutiny Bill Committee. I showed him the precedents I had collected. He hoped "I should not take any part in the Committee." But I told him that "I must inevitably do so."

4th. — Lord Howick wrote me the following note: —

[Private.] Stratton Street, March 4, 1807.

My dear Sir,—I believe I shall alter my course of proceeding respecting the new clauses, and introduce a new Bill instead. As the *measure* is the subject of a notice for discussion to-day, though in another form, I take it for granted there can be no objection to my moving for leave to bring in a Bill, if I should ultimately determine to do so, instead of moving an instruction on the clauses in a committee.

I am afraid I have been guilty of an omission in not moving for an address in answer to the King's message, which I see was done in the House of Lords yesterday; but, as the treaty was not laid before the House, and the only matter on which a proceeding of the House was to be had was voting the money, I thought it was the best way to refer the message to the Committee of Supply; in which it was proposed to vote to-day the sum advanced to the King of Prussia. Will you have the goodness to let me know, when I come to the House to-day, whether this has been the usual course of proceeding; or whether, if it should not be deemed sufficiently respectful, anything can now be done to correct the error.

I am, my dear Sir, ever yours sincerely,

Howick.

He drank tea with me in my room behind the chair. I told him I wished he would confine his Bill to the Irish Law of 1793. To that I could agree; but not

without the same exclusion from the high military offices. He said, "That was but *a small object.*" I replied, "But the principle is large. You will never satisfy Mr. Keogh." He said, "Oh, I did not think of trying at that. But I have said too much on this subject to let things remain as they are; we must do what satisfies us, whether it satisfies Mr. Keogh or not."

House of Commons. Lord Henry Petty brought forward the Loans agreed for at 70*l.* Consols, 70*l.* Reduced, 10*l.* 12*s.* 5 per cent. Navy.

The Contractors are Barnes and the Stock Exchange List. All the other bidders upon three lists required more than 11*l.* 5*s.* per cent. Navy. Those lists were—1. Thellusson; 2. Angerstein; 3. Robarts. The interest upon this loan was 4*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* per cent., whereas the interest in 1806 had been 4*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and in 1805 5*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD.

Palace Yard, March 4th, 1807.

Dear Sir,—The business which was expected to come before the House of Commons this day respecting "Commissions in the army to be holden by Roman Catholic officers, and the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion by the soldiers," is not likely, as I am informed by a note from Lord Howick, to come on by way of clauses to be introduced into the Mutiny Bill, but probably will be made the matter of a Bill entirely separate.

Upon the first mention of this proposed measure, I acquainted Lord Howick with my strong objections to it, both in principle and form; and yesterday I again communicated to him that with my distinct and settled opinions upon this subject I should feel it to be an indispensable duty on my part to oppose the introduction of any such clause in the Committee.

Upon the alteration which it is now proposed to make in the course of proceeding, I have reason to think that my declared opinion may have had some weight; and, if a separate Bill is resorted to, I think the question will be put into a train of discussion more advantageous for those who think it ought to be resisted. More time, and more frequent stages for debate will arise; and Parliament and the country will be more fully

possessed of the whole nature and probable consequences of the change which it is proposed to make.

My own opinion upon the general question, as at present advised, is this: that the Irish statute of 1793 having allowed Catholics to hold commissions in the army, we by the Union have acceded to take the law of Ireland for our rule in this respect, so far as to render that which is lawful for the army when in Ireland, lawful also for the same persons when the army is in any other part of the empire. And I go no farther.

The Irish law expressly prohibited Catholics from becoming generals upon the staff; and that exclusion I think should not be done away. It is a concession of power, and military power, to which I cannot consent; and I should hope that the friends to the Protestant constitution of our monarchy will resist it to the utmost.

I have thought it my duty to state to you thus explicitly my sentiments upon this occasion; and will not fail to give you any further information which it may appear necessary for me to communicate to you, or which you may be desirous of receiving in the further progress of this important question.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedt. servant,

CHAS. ABBOT.

The Rev. the Vice-Chancellor, Oxford.

5th. — Lord Howick moved for his Bill to enable Roman Catholics, &c., to hold Commissions in the Army and Navy. A long debate, but no division. Examined witnesses for Mr. Sheridan.

6th. — House of Commons. Committee on the Slave Trade Bill. Division in the Committee upon the amendment for postponing the operation of the Bill for five years 175 to 17.

8th. — Sunday. Lord Sidmouth called. The Cabinet having resolved *not* to press the Catholic clauses in the Mutiny Bill, and having also resolved to acquaint the King with their intention to propose the Bill without any such exclusions as those of 1793, Lord Howick on Wednesday last mentioned it to the King, who expressed his displeasure with strong emotions, and his entire disapprobation. It is not clear that he knew the naval service was to be included. The contrary is the most probable.

He inquired of Lord Sidmouth what he meant to do? Lord Sidmouth told him he should certainly oppose it, even if it had the King's concurrence. He told the King he had spoken to none but me, Bathurst, and Bond, besides his brother. The King asked what I thought of it? Lord Sidmouth: "He had reason to believe me decidedly against it." The King said earnestly that he was glad of that. He was evidently much disturbed and agitated. Other matters passed which Lord Sidmouth could not relate.

9th. — The Slave Trade Bill, by consent, was reported without opposition, the preamble being amended.

10th. — Lord Howick's grandmother being dead, and Lord Henry Petty being unwell, it was agreed to put off the report of the Mutiny Bill till Thursday.

Cochrane Johnston's petition complaining of the Duke of York was presented by Mr. Whitbread.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF THE DEAN OF CHRIST-CHURCH.

The Duke of York in a letter to me, plainly and in the strongest manner, contradicts the report of a certain person being altered in his sentiments on the Catholic question.

11th. — Lord Sidmouth saw Lord Grenville yesterday and the King to-day, on the Catholic Bill. The King is most determined and adverse to the admission of Catholics into the high military offices in the army, and to any admission of Catholics into the navy. Lord Sidmouth has acquainted Lord Grenville with his own resolution to oppose the extension of the Irish Act of 1793 to the high military offices, and has left it to Lord Grenville to say whether, under these circumstances, he chooses that Lord Sidmouth should continue a Member of the Government.

At the Antient Music the Prince of Wales asked me if we were not likely to have a long session, and whether I did not see *some things in train* which were likely to make it so? I answered only, "that I never

looked beyond the business of the day." He smiled, and perceived that I turned off the conversation, and then talked about Sheridan, &c. He looked much reduced in size, and his countenance was very considerably thinner than formerly. He seemed in good spirits.

12*th*. — Lord Ellenborough called, on the Roman Catholic Bill, to say that it appeared to him that this measure would break up their Ministry if they persisted in it. The King, he was persuaded, would refuse the Royal Assent rather than it should pass. The King had declared himself against it explicitly. Lord Howick, with the most perfect frankness, lamented that such a question had arisen, but declared his determination to support his own opinion in its favour.

Lord Eldon called, to say that Sir William Scott was ill and kept his bed, but would probably be down in his room to-morrow, and would in that case be glad to see me on the Curates' Bill. Lord Eldon, for him, had answered a letter from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford yesterday, and had intimated that if the University petition waited for Easter term it would probably be much too late.

House of Commons. Debate on the Mutiny Bill report. Division at half-past twelve on Lord Castlereagh's motion for an amendment, by inserting words to allow soldiers to enlist at once for life. Ayes, 60; Noes, 178.

The total of these numbers was 238; but there had been in the House on the ballot this day 326, so that nearly 100 Members had avoided dividing on either side.

Just before the division took place Lord Howick gave notice that he should postpone the second reading of the Roman Catholic Bill from the next day to Tuesday next.

I beckoned Lord Howick to me, and told him I hoped this postponement was a sign that he was coming nearer to my opinion. He said, "Yes; but he was

sorry to say not nearer to his own opinion." He still thought, however, that there could be no objection to extending the Irish law to the navy.

13*th.* — Lord Auckland came to show me a letter which he proposed to write to Lord Grenville, assigning the reasons why he should not vote for the Roman Catholic Bill, and strongly dissuading him from persisting in it.

Lord Sidmouth was to see Lord Grenville again today upon it.

It was understood that the King sent for Lord Grenville yesterday, and spoke out upon the business, declaring his peremptory disapprobation of the present Bill.

House of Commons. Lord Howick again postponed the second reading of the Roman Catholic Bill from Tuesday to Thursday, intimating that St. Patrick's Day was on Tuesday, and the Westminster petition stood for Wednesday next.

14*th.** — Lord Sidmouth called, and told me that since Wednesday he had repeatedly seen Lord Grenville on the Catholic Bill; and had also seen the King, who had seen Lord Grenville and Lord Howick, and told each of them that he never would go beyond the Act of 1793, and even that he had consented to with much reluctance. That he would not hear of the navy or of the high offices in the military service. Before he returned to Windsor he gave them to understand, if they had any further communication upon the subject to make to him, he should receive it.

The Cabinet are to meet this evening to consider of what that communication shall be.

Lord Sidmouth has urged Lord Grenville and all of them most strenuously not to press the point, nor risk the existence of the Government, which they them-

* Lord Grenville's account of these transactions, varying in no important particulars from that given above, except so far as it would naturally be tinged by the personal position and political opinions of the writer, is to be found in *Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, vol. iv. p. 134 and seq.

selves think is on the point of dissolution if this is persisted in.

Another occurrence has recently taken place, but which Lord Sidmouth has desired to lay wholly out of the question at this time. It will be for him to act upon hereafter, but not until this is distinctly disposed of; and then, if there should still remain that other point of difference, he shall, without hesitation, quit the Government for that, as a private and personal consideration.

This latter occurrence is this: Lord Grenville has acquainted Lord Sidmouth with his opinion, that, in the event of Lord Grey's death, which must remove Lord Howick from the House of Commons, the Government must dissolve, unless by some *previous* arrangement Canning is brought forward to supply his place, and become *a* leading, if not *the* leading, Member of the House of Commons, viz. as Lord Grenville's proxy there, it being understood that Mr. Grenville declares his own inability to undertake that lead in debate. To this Lord Sidmouth has answered, and has told his colleague that such has been his experience of Canning, and such the injuries he suffered from him in Mr. Pitt's time, and such his conviction of Canning's worse than want of principle (a sentiment which Mr. Fox had not concealed on his own part), that he never can or will sit in the same Cabinet with him.

15*th*.—Lord Ellenborough told me the Cabinet had broken up without coming to any final decision overnight.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. CHARLES YORKE.

[Private.] Bornington's, March 15th, 1807.

Dear Mr. Speaker,—I exceedingly regret the turn this Bill of Lord Howick's is likely to take; indeed, I am much alarmed at some circumstances I have heard. I certainly blame the Ministers for bringing such a measure forward at such a time (as it is very unnecessary), without being distinctly apprised of all its bearings; but, on the other hand, I cannot approve of the

manner in which it seems likely to be opposed. It seems to me as if there was some *fatality* or *judicial blindness* affecting all we do. How people can pass by and overlook the *immediate* and *pressing* dangers of the State, to turn their attention to what is *remote*, and, at the utmost, *possible*, is to me amazing. May Heaven grant us common sense, and common charity with one another. Yours most truly, C. YORKE.

16*th*.—This day it was understood that Lord Grenville went to the King, at Windsor, to acquaint him that the Bill was entirely given up. Bond told me confidentially that he so understood from Lord Sidmouth.

House of Commons. Third reading of Slave Trade Bill. Passed the Bill with its amendments. No division.

17*th*.—Received the University Petition. Went to Burlington House; left it with Lord Titchfield, who presented it this day, no abandonment of the Bill having yet been announced.

House of Commons. Lord Percy moved for a Bill to abolish slavery in the colonies. House counted out at half-past eight.

Perceval promised to send me some papers in the Princess of Wales's case.

18*th*.—Lord Auckland called on me. By his account Lord Grenville on Monday communicated to the King that his Ministers abandoned the Catholic Bill, but reserved their individual opinions; and a liberty to recommend the state of the Catholics to his consideration at any subsequent time, &c. In answer to which the King had required a pledge from them that they would never mention the subject to him again, which pledge the Ministers would not give. And to-day the King is to be in Town.

Wickham afterwards came. His account is that Lord Grenville had, in abandoning the Bill, proposed to the King some mezzo-termine, which the King took, *ad referendum*; and yesterday, about noon, sent his answer rejecting their proposition; whereupon Lord Grenville

had sent a private note to Wickham to pack up his awls. And he now conceives that they are all virtually out.

The Duke of York, Duke of Portland, and Lord Eldon have been very busy for the last ten days*; and the tone at Windsor very triumphant over the yielding Ministers.

A new Parliament is looked for.

House of Commons. Proceedings on Mr. Paull's Westminster Election Petition. The petition voted false and scandalous. Drake, the principal witness, voted guilty of wilful falsehood and gross prevarication, and sent to Newgate.

Third reading of Bill to make Freehold Estates Assets for the Payment of Simple Contract Debts. Debate: opposed by Master of the Rolls and Canning; supported by Solicitor-General and Lord Advocate.

Division: For it, 49; against it, 67.

SUPPOSED NEW MINISTRY, ACCORDING TO WICKHAM.

Duke of Portland.	Lord Eldon.	Perceval.
Lord Hawkesbury.	Sir William Grant.	Canning.
	Lord Castlereagh.	

LETTER FROM LORD GRENVILLE TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private.] Downing Street, March 18th, 1807.

My dear Sir,—The interest which you have shown in the success of the Government in which I have been engaged, makes me believe that you will not hear without some regret of its termination.

On the merits of the measure which has led to this consequence, I fear we are not wholly agreed in opinion. But that measure is not the point on which the Government is now at issue. We had decided to let it drop; but there has been since

* As early as March 12th, the Duke of Portland had addressed a long letter to the King on the subject, offering his services to form an Administration in the event of His Majesty discarding his existing Ministry. — See the letter itself, *Lord Malmesbury's Diary*, vol. iv. p. 360. And Lord Eldon was consulted by the Duke at least as early as the 14th. — Ibid., p. 368. Lord Malmesbury's comment on a conversation he had with the Duke of York on this latter day is (curiously enough), "Duke of York *seemingly* right on the Catholic question, but not so *heartily* and decided as usual."

required of us a written and positive engagement never, under any circumstances, to propose in the Closet *any* measure of concession to the Catholics, or *even connected with the question.*

We remember a friend of mine who swore in evidence what would *always* be his opinion, but I never yet heard of Ministers being called upon to promise what should always be their advice.

I have experienced much personal kindness during the course of this business from the King, but the return I have endeavoured to make has been that of a conduct marked with the utmost temper, and with a deference to his feelings, pushed to what many will think a very blameable extent.

Even now we have not *resigned*, but have left it to him to judge how to act on our declining to give the pledge required.

The decision is, I believe, taken to look elsewhere.

I thought this statement due to the friendship I have experienced from you, and to the very great desire I have to stand well in your opinion.

Ever, my dear Sir, most truly yours,
GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. the Speaker.

19*th*.—Lord Sidmouth called at noon, and related to me the particulars which had passed since our last conversation.

The Cabinet broke up on Saturday night last, after much unpleasant conversation, without determining anything. On Sunday there was a meeting of the Grenville part of the Cabinet, who sent a paper to the King, which was not communicated to Lord Sidmouth, or to Lord Ellenborough. On Monday Lord Grenville went down to Windsor. The King took their paper into consideration. On Tuesday he sent them his written answer. This paper was to say, that they dropped the Bill and the whole subject entirely; but reserved to themselves to propose it if out of office. And, if, while in office, the Catholic petition should be presented, Lord Grenville would move the previous question; but each of the Ministers was to be at liberty to speak his individual sentiments in favour of it.

The King's answer was such as Lord Grenville's note

to me states it to have been. On Wednesday the King saw his Ministers; they submitted their reasons for declining to give the pledge required. And Lord Howick desired leave, in postponing his Bill, to state to the House of Commons his reasons for so doing. But the King said, "You had better not." And his Ministers all understood that he would think of another administration; but they did not resign, nor were dismissed.

Lord Sidmouth had a full and gracious audience; but the King did not speak to him of eventual arrangements.

In the House of Commons Lord Howick told me that Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Eldon were gone down to Windsor. Wilberforce afterwards told me the same thing; and that he had since received a later account that they were come back to Burlington House*, with full powers to the Duke of Portland to form an Administration.

Mem. During the past week overtures for a communication upon the best means of defeating the Catholic Bill were made from Lord Sidmouth, through Lord Arden, to Perceval; but as the second reading was finally postponed, Lord Sidmouth declined an actual conference, and they never met at all.

The dates were these —

Monday, 9th.—Lord Sidmouth wrote to Lord Grenville, tendering his resignation, upon the grounds that he should, whatever were the King's opinion or determination, oppose the Catholic Bill.

Tuesday.— Lord Grenville desired him not to send in his resignation to the King; but they had a parting conversation, and Lord Grenville expressed his unqualified satisfaction in all his intercourse with Lord Sidmouth.

Wednesday.— Lord Sidmouth, through Lord Arden, desired to see Perceval, upon this measure exclusively.

* The Duke of Portland's.

Thursday.—Perceval agreed, and pressed for a meeting, which was fixed for Friday.

Friday.—When Lord Sidmouth knew of Lord Howick having, over-night, postponed the second reading of the Catholic Bill, he wrote to postpone the interview with Perceval.

All this was explained to Lord Grenville on Saturday, and to Lord Howick on Sunday, and again to Lord Grenville on Tuesday, and avowed to be done under the previous declaration of a resolution to resign, which was declared for the very purpose of leaving Lord Sidmouth at liberty to take his own measures for opposing the Bill, and was limited to that object, and ceased with that object, so far as that ground of difference extended.

Read the printed case of the Princess of Wales, which Perceval lent to me upon the strict promise of not lending it, or leaving it open to inspection. This octavo volume contained, 1. The original statement by Lady Douglas, and the examinations in support of it, which were laid before the King in May, 1806. 2. The warrant appointing the Chancellor, Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Lord Ellenborough (dated May 29, 1806), to inquire and report to the King. 3. Their report, dated August 12, 1806. 4. Correspondence between the Chancellor, and Princess of Wales, and the King. 5. The Princess of Wales to the King, containing her full defence in answer to the report. 6. The subsequent correspondence between the Princess of Wales and the King, ending with the letter dated March 5, 1807.

Upon the whole of the documents it appears—1. That the four Lords fully and entirely acquit the Princess of Wales of the charges of pregnancy and delivery of a child in 1802; but animadvert upon circumstances in her conduct, as proved "by witnesses above suspicion," in a manner to create very unfavourable impressions of her character, until decidedly contradicted. 2. That the Cabinet concurred in the same opinions.

3. That the answer on the contrary renders the evidence on which the Lords have relied very incredible, from its inconsistency and absurdity. 4. That the King had agreed to receive *her after the whole inquiry* was closed and reported upon by the four Lords, and subsequently by the Cabinet. 5. That the Prince of Wales then stepped in, and prevailed upon the King to revoke his promise of receiving the Princess until all the proceedings should have been submitted to his counsel. 6. That *the Princess*, complaining throughout of the injurious treatment which she had received from the four Lords, upon their ex parte inquiry, and protesting against their conclusions, against the conclusions of the Cabinet, and against the King's revocation of his promised reception, *insists upon the restitution to her public rank, and residence at Carlton House, or in one of the King's Palaces;* which, if refused, she will lay her whole case before the nation and posterity.

20*th*.— The reports were, that the Duke of Portland had declined being minister himself; but was occupied in forming an administration; in which he was to take Lord Lowther, and some said Lord Melville, to his assistance: others said, Lord Lowther and Lord Chatham.

CHAP. XXVII.

1807.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND BECOMES PRIME MINISTER. — MINUTES OF THE LATE CABINET. — SPEECH OF LORD HOWICK. — LETTER OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD MOIRA. — DEBATES ON THE CHANGE OF MINISTRY. — STATE OF IRELAND. — DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT. — MEETING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT. — BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND. — EXPEDITION TO COPENHAGEN. — DEFEAT AT BUENOS AYRES. — AFFAIRS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY IN SPAIN. — FRENCH INVASION OF PORTUGAL.

21*st*. — The Duke of Portland has accepted. The projected arrangement goes to the King to-morrow.*

Duke of Portland	First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord Castlereagh or Tierney	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Melville	Admiralty.
Lord Chatham	Ordnance.
Lord Eldon	Lord President.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State, Home Department.
Mr. Canning	War and Colonies.
Lord Castlereagh or Lord Mulgrave	Secretary of State, Foreign Department.
or	
Lord Mulgrave	Privy Seal.
or	
Lord Mulgrave or Perceval	Chancellor of the Duchy.
Rose	Treasurer of the Navy, &c.

The main difficulty is how and where to place Perceval, who professes to wish only to be Attorney-General.

Wickham brought me from Lord Grenville full

* The variations ultimately made in this list are — That Mr. Perceval became Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the lead in the House of Commons; Lord Camden, President of the Council; Lord Mulgrave, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor; Mr. Canning, Foreign Secretary; Lord Castlereagh, War and Colonies; Lord Westmoreland, Privy Seal; Lord Bathurst also had a seat in the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade; and Sir Arthur Wellesley became Chief Secretary for Ireland.

copies of the cabinet minutes, and the King's answers, viz.:—

1. The cabinet minute of Sunday 15th.
2. The King's answer, Tuesday 17th.
3. Cabinet reply, Wednesday 18th.

Each minute, as usual, naming the ministers present. The minutes were very long, and so was the King's answer. I was obliged to read them very hastily at a quarter to six, my dinner company assembling, and Wickham carrying them away directly.

It appeared to me that, with the principles professed by the Ministers, they could do no otherwise than state them to be such as they were, if it was necessary for them to volunteer that statement to the King; and it was equally natural that the King, when this statement was pressed upon him, should (with his principles) make his stand, and require security against having his opinions openly or secretly counteracted by his own servants.

The first paper announced to the King that those of his confidential servants who had promoted the Bill in Parliament, now abandoned the whole measure; but proceeded to state that it was intended, as the first step towards a system of policy which they thought essential to the interests of this empire; that, although they had all endeavoured to prevent the Catholic petition from being brought forward, they must necessarily declare their own individual opinions in its favour whenever agitated in Parliament, and that their sense of duty required them to propose at any time, from time to time, such measures towards the Catholics, as should in their judgment most contribute to the security and tranquillity of Ireland. This paper consisted of several folio pages, very respectfully, but very plainly insisting upon this line of conduct on their part.

The second paper, containing the King's answer, though very full, was not so long. It expressed his satisfaction that the Bill was given up, and stated moreover his invariable determination not to consent to

further concessions to the Catholics, &c., as being inconsistent with the security of the Protestant constitution of the State, and concluding with an expectation that they would enter into a positive engagement with him never to propose to him any such measures.

The third paper contained their reply at very considerable length, dated as from a cabinet held at Lord Spencer's House on Tuesday night, and declining to give the pledge required.

Why the Ministers thought it necessary to apprise the King of their intentions to bring forward at any future time that system of which they now abandoned the first part upon this occasion, is not very obvious as a matter of prudence. But it cannot be very surprising that, against such a declared intention the King should desire to have a positive security for not being disturbed with the repetition of such measures in his declining years. That it was equally impossible for them to give such a pledge consistently with their sentiments is equally clear, and that, in such a state of conflicting opinions and intentions, they could not and ought not to remain his servants, seems unfortunately to be the inevitable conclusion.

Why, knowing the King's principles and steadiness, they originally proposed the Bill, which they might have foreseen could not be carried through, and why, when they abandoned it, they again obtruded on the King, *unnecessarily*, a declaration of their intended policy, to which, they must have known, he would not agree, is quite incomprehensible upon any notions of practical prudence. The issue has produced what I think a serious calamity to the country, by dissolving a powerful Government; but the Ministers have dissolved it by their own acts.

Sheridan said upon this occasion that he had known many men knock their heads against a wall, but he had never before heard of any man who *collected the bricks* and *built the very wall* with an intention to *knock out his own brains* against it.

Wilberforce said, they were without excuse, for they had run upon a *rock which was above water*.

The Prince of Wales is materially worse. His last course of medicine has lost its effect. His stomach is quite enfeebled, and his spasms have returned. His countenance is greatly altered.

NOTE FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

[Private.] March 21st.

My dear Sir,—Incredible as it may appear, I believe it is too true that the Duke of Portland has received the Royal command to join the new Ministry in connection with Lord Lowther and Lord Melville.

The predicament to which we are tending is an odd mixture of the ludicrous and the lamentable. Yours ever,

Auckland.

22*nd*.—The American Treaty is concluded in detail, and ready for signature.

23*rd*.—House of Commons. In answer to a question put by Mr. Dickenson upon the state of public affairs, Lord Howick acquainted the House that the present Ministers considered themselves as only holding their offices until his Majesty should have formed another administration, upon which it was understood that he was employed.

24*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Bankes's motion against granting reversions.

25*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Henry Martin's motion for an address against granting the Duchy of Lancaster for life. Perceval attended and stated the circumstances under which the office had been made to him, and which he had declined to accept until the House should have expressed its opinion.

Division: for the address, 208; against it, 115.

Lord Howick gave notice that he should to-morrow state the circumstances attending the dissolution of the late ministry.

28*th*.—I wrote to Lord Howick upon the subject of

his intended statement; and received his answer proposing to introduce it upon the question of adjournment.

House of Commons. Huskisson moved to adjourn till Wednesday se'nnight. Whereupon Lord Howick, though he did not press for a shorter adjournment, proceeded to state the transactions belonging to the change of ministers, which put the country in a situation to render the shortest adjournment the most desirable.

In this narration he stated: First, that Lord Grenville and himself came into office with known opinions on the Catholic claims. Also with a knowledge of the existing difficulties, on the part of his Majesty, to the success of those claims. That no stipulation or engagement had then been required of them to abandon all measures in favour of the Catholics; and that none would have been given if required: but that there had been from the first an earnest desire and hope that the Catholic claims might not be urged.

Secondly. That towards the end of 1806, this hope was much abated; the disturbances in the West of Ireland were put down indeed by the rigour of the law. But the necessity of conciliatory measures grew daily more evident; and then the measure was under consideration for admitting the Irish Catholics into the Army and Navy.

The subsequent measures in Ireland for reviving the Catholic petition increased the necessity; and, to meet this also, the measure of opening the military service appeared to be well suited. The extension of the Irish Law of 1793, to the British service had indeed been expressly promised by Lord Buckingham, as appeared from his correspondence when Chief Secretary, with the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Thirdly. That, (about the 12th February) a cabinet minute was prepared, and a copy of a despatch for the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, upon the general subject of opening the naval and military services; which minute and despatch were submitted to the King, who

returned them with strong expressions of dissent; but that when again pressed upon his consideration with the reasons in favour of the measure, his Majesty had reluctantly consented, and the despatch was accordingly transmitted.

That the Chief Secretary, in the presence of the Irish Chancellor, had communicated the proposed measure to the Catholics in Dublin; but the Catholics, conceiving that he hesitated upon the meaning of the cabinet to do more than adopt the Irish Law of 1793, further instructions had been desired by him; accordingly a further despatch had been prepared, stating that it was meant to carry the measure beyond the law of 1793; namely by opening all the Staff Offices &c., from which the Catholics were by the law of 1793 excluded; and in like manner to open to them all naval appointments without reserve. That this despatch had been submitted to his Majesty; and being returned by his Majesty *without comment*, had been understood in this (as in all other cases) to carry with it his Majesty's assent; and had been transmitted to Ireland accordingly.

Fourthly. That, when the mode of granting these privileges to the Catholics (or rather of removing from them the pre-existing restrictions), was proposed in the cabinet to be by the introduction of clauses to that effect in the Mutiny Bill, a marked difference of opinion had certainly been stated by some of his colleagues; and it was thought proper on the Monday to lay the clauses before his Majesty, who returned them on the Tuesday, also *without comment*. And on the Wednesday following, at an audience, when informed by Lord Howick of the clauses being intended not to be introduced that day in the House of Commons, but to be converted into a separate Bill, he had not expressed any such dissent to the larger measure as had conveyed to Lord Howick's understanding any prohibition to its proceeding. Upon the same day the King had given an audience to Lord Grenville; but had not even mentioned the subject to him.

Fifthly. From that time till the following Wednesday he had heard nothing to make him doubt of the propriety of the Bill proceeding as a measure of His Majesty's Government. On the Friday he had accordingly brought in the Bill; but a family loss had prevented his proceeding with it on the day for which its second reading was fixed. And it was not until the Thursday following that he had, at an audience, understood from the King his peremptory disapprobation of every part of the measure beyond the mere extension of the Irish Act to Great Britain.

Sixthly. From that time His Majesty's Ministers had applied themselves with the most anxious desire to consult His Majesty's feelings, and at the same time to preserve their own honour and act up to their own sense of duty.

This had led them, upon the fullest consideration to abandon the whole measure; finding that the mere extension of the Irish Act, without further provisions could not be placed upon any grounds satisfactory to their own principles; they had therefore (on the Sunday) laid before His Majesty a Cabinet minute, submitting to His Majesty their determination to abandon the whole measure; but, at the same time, with every respectful expression of reverence towards him; reserving to themselves the exercise of their own right in Parliament to declare their individual opinions upon every Catholic question, and upon the Catholic Petition if brought forward, and also to propose to His Majesty *from time to time*, for his Majesty's decision, any other or further measures upon the subject of the Catholics which should, in their judgment, become necessary for the security of that most valuable but most vulnerable part of the United Kingdom.

Seventhly. That to this they had received an answer from His Majesty (on Monday the 17th inst.), accepting their abandonment of the measure; but requiring that he should at no future time be pressed again upon the subject of Catholic Claims, and re-

quiring also a positive (*written*, Lord Howick said) engagement from his Ministers not to bring forward those claims nor any measure connected therewith.

(N.B.—The King's letter may be construed to import that it was a written engagement that he required. But I did not see the word "*written*" in the copy of the King's letter communicated to me by Wickham from Lord Grenville, although Lord Grenville in his note to me uses the word "*written*" as well as Lord Howick in his speech.)

Eighthly. To this the Cabinet had very respectfully replied, laying before His Majesty all the reasons which rendered it impossible for them to give the pledge required.

(This must have been the minute of Cabinet at Lord Spencer's.)

Ninthly. That the next day, Wednesday the 18th, the King had entered upon this subject with His Ministers at their separate audiences, and had, with gracious expressions of satisfaction at their services on every *other* occasion, nevertheless given them to understand that he must look about him for other servants.

He concluded his speech with short animadversions upon the advisers of His Majesty in these transactions, and argued against any long adjournment, as the conduct of the late Ministers, and the conditions of service upon which the new Ministry was formed ought to receive the earliest judgment of the House.

After he had concluded, Mr. Brand gave notice that he should to-morrow fortnight submit to the House certain resolutions expressive of his opinion of the conduct of the late Ministers, and of the present state of the country.

In the Lords the same sort of statement was made by Lord Grenville.

27*th*.—Good Friday. I saw Lord Sidmouth. He showed me the King's letter, written to acquaint him with the change of Ministry, and releasing him from his service, but with strong and reiterated expressions

of His Majesty's entire satisfaction with the whole of Lord Sidmouth's conduct, and particularly for continuing in office during the whole of the last fortnight at the King's particular request, &c.

When Lord Sidmouth had his audience of leave, the King mentioned his having made this distinguishing difference between Lord Sidmouth and his other Ministers, and said, "All will come right yet."

28*th*.—Perceval called. Talked over the state of public business in Parliament, the probability of dissolution, &c.

30*th*.—The Prince of Wales wrote the following letter to Lord Moira.

Carlton House, March 30th, 1807.

My dear Friend,—Although I think it perfectly beneath me to notice with any degree of personal anxiety the unfounded and calumnious reports, which, I have reason to believe, have been industriously propagated respecting my motives and purposes in the present important and unfortunate crisis, yet I think it fit to place in your hands, to be used at your discretion, the only notice or *refutation of the misrepresentations* I allude to, which I conceive it becomes my character and my sense of my own rectitude to give to any one.

No one, my dear friend, knows better than yourself, how much and how long I have been used to find myself the mark of the most false, contemptible, and, at the same time, the most malignant slanders; nor how little disposition has ever been shown to feel for me, suffering under these attacks, or to afford me the redress which I could not but conceive myself entitled to. The motives upon which I have acted, and my future intentions, I will explain to you, my friend, in a very few sentences. From the hour of Fox's death — that friend, towards whom and in whom my attachment was unbounded—it is known that my earnest wish was to retire from further concern and interference in public affairs; still, however, I was induced (upon what grounds, what arguments, and what application is not now the question, but certainly upon no personal consideration) to continue my endeavours to give every countenance and assistance in my power to the new arrangements, and to persevere to place my trust in an Administration still formed of men whom I respected and esteemed; and this most sincere and warm disposition of my mind and views I communicated in a letter to Lord

Howick, written a very short time after the death of my ever to be lamented friend. From that period, I must declare to you with the frankness with which I have ever opened my mind to you, I have conceived myself to have experienced the most marked neglect (to use no stronger term) from the newly constituted Administration; having been, according to my own conception, neither consulted nor considered in any one important instance; a proceeding the more observed by me on account of the contrast it exhibited to the conduct of my dear friend Fox. But of this I desire distinctly to observe that I am not now complaining, because the recollection of it has no influence whatever on my present decision; nor on the course I have thought it incumbent on me to adopt.

For the same reason I waive entirely all observations, however painful I feel those which at this moment arise in my mind, upon the extraordinary condition in which I have been so long kept, while a victim to the most envenomed attacks of malice and falsehood, during the investigation commanded by His Majesty, respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales; so far am I from blending any feelings (and I wish they may have been mistaken ones) which may have arisen in my breast during the discussion, with the present question. The only remark I shall make is, that I consider the last minute of the Cabinet on this subject, as evincing the justice and decision of men of the highest honour, entertaining a due interest for my private character and public estimation.

I am at all events incapable of allowing personal pique or disappointment, whether such opinions have been entertained through my own misapprehension or otherwise, to interfere with the great duties of my situation.

On the subject which has occasioned the unfortunate, and, I fear, irreconcilable difference between the late Ministers and my father, my opinion was ever known to themselves respecting the agitation of this question; yet neither was my advice asked when it might have been of use in the commencement of the discussion, nor my interposition desired when it might possibly have prevented an ultimate mischief. Ministers quitting office on this ground of dispute with the King, it was not possible for me to appear as the advocate and defender of the ground they had taken. I determined to resume my original purpose, sincerely prepared in my own mind on the death of poor Fox, to *cease to be a party man* (although in alliance with him it had been the pride of my life to avow myself to be so), and to retire from taking any active line whatever, at least for the present, in political affairs.

To this extent I deemed it my duty to communicate my resolution to the King, accompanied by such expressions of duty and affection to his person as I thought proper to use on the occasion. Whoever by insinuation or assertion has given a different turn, or ascribed a different motive, to the course I have adopted, and to the communication above referred to with His Majesty, has most ignorantly and presumptuously misstated the fact and misrepresented me.

I have only to add, my dear friend, that you are too well acquainted with my heart, and the steadiness of my attachments where I have once professed a friendship, not to be convinced that I continue to cherish strong sentiments of regard and esteem for many of the late Ministers individually, and which I trust I shall never have any occasion to alter; and still more confident am I that it is not necessary for me to renew to you any declaration of those sentiments of unalterable affection and regard which never have yet been interrupted, and never can cease but with my life. I am, my dearest friend,

Most affectionately yours, G. P.

Earl of Moira, &c.

Wednesday, April 8th.—Returned to town.

Rose called about the Christ Church petition being withdrawn. He thought the numbers would be near run to-morrow, perhaps within ten, which is about the number of the Ministerial members whose seats are now vacant. The only offices not filled are Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests, and one of the Post-masters. Lord Dalkeith will be called up to the House of Lords, and Gibbs, the new Attorney-General, will come in for his seat.

House of Commons. No public question put. The King's answer was delivered respecting the Duchy grant for life, in which "His Majesty acquainted his faithful Commons that he would take the subject of their address into his most serious consideration, and thought it proper at the same time to inform them that he had thought fit to provide that in a grant now to be made of the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the office should be conferred only during the Royal pleasure."

Lord Howick desired my opinion how far it ought to

satisfy the House of Commons. I have now read it, and am satisfied that there is nothing in it of which the House of Commons have a right to complain. The King says He *will consider* of the address of the Commons, and although this simply might be interpreted to be the same as *Le Roi s'avisera*, and so far a declaration that he will not comply, &c.; yet as the very next sentence states actual compliance with it in this particular instance, it is too much to construe the whole to be a *refusal* of complying with it in every subsequent case.

The news of the day is this:—

That Lord Grenville came to town on Tuesday, and thereupon the meeting, which was appointed for yesterday at Lord Henry Petty's House, was turned over to Lord Grenville's house, viz. still in *Downing Street!!* Mr. Grattan there stated to the persons assembled that he, having been desired to present the Catholic Petition, had given his opinion against such a step at this time, but had promised his correspondents to acquaint them with the opinion of those whose friendly disposition to their case was equal to his own, and whose authority and assistance were more powerful. Thereupon it was agreed by Lord Grenville and Lord Howick to be given as their opinion that Mr. Grattan's advice was perfectly proper, and their concurrence in it to be so reported.

Next it was understood that the business of Thursday should be (with all proper respect towards the King), to propose a resolution that to require a pledge for and against offering any specific advice to the Crown, was highly unconstitutional, &c., that the Catholic claims were to be put quite out of sight, &c., and no vote (at least not at first) to be proposed in approbation of the conduct of the late Ministry.

9th.—News of the day: That the Lords will be for the new Ministry about 140, and for the opposition 80 or 90. But the issue depends upon the House of Commons, where it is expected that the Ministers will be beaten.

House of Commons. Mr. Brand's motion, "that the

pledge, &c., required, &c., is unconstitutional, &c." Seconded by Mr. Lamb. Supported, among others, by the Knight of Kerry, Plunkett, Grattan, Whitbread, Lord Howick, Lord Henry Petty, &c.

Motion for the order of the day by Perceval. Supported by Mr. Wharton, Bastard, Dr. Duigenan, Secretary Canning, &c. &c. Division at six in the morning.

For the order of the day, 258; against it, 226. Majority, 32. Total, including Speaker and Tellers, 489, being less by four than the division upon the question for engrossing Mr. Pitt's Army Bill in 1804.

The best speech in style of eloquence was Plunkett's, Attorney-General for Ireland. Grave, impressive, and argumentative, delivered with great apparent sincerity and earnestness, and an imposing but unaffected solemnity. A few Irish idioms, but nothing of Irish accent, or Irish logic. Grattan much fallen off, and not well heard.

The result of the division was equally unexpected by all parties.

The opposition, while in the lobby, supposed themselves to be the majority, and Lord Howick harangued them, giving out what were the proposed motions of which notice should be given this very day, for an address to turn out the new Ministers.

The Ministers, while their own side was telling in the House, still believed (I did not) that they were beaten.

The issue of the debate itself was highly important to the monarchy as well as to the reigning King, inasmuch as it determined that the House of Commons would not entertain a question by which they were to call, as it were, the King to their Bar, and pronounce upon the merits or demerits of his personal conduct in conversation and correspondence between him and his Ministers, and upon the propriety of his motives for changing his servants.

The House agreed on all sides that no pledges should be required from Ministers that they would abstain from advice of any sort; but refused to inquire whether any

such, and under what circumstances, and with what previous stipulations from the Minister, the King had called upon his Ministers to give such pledges; which could only be judged of by documents which passed in confidence, and never ought to be produced in Parliament, &c.

10*th.*—Perceval wrote to the King (as usual) an account of the debate. The King's answer was short; saying "it confirmed the opinion he had always entertained of the good sense of the country."

Mr. Lyttelton gave notice for next Wednesday of a motion expressing the sentiments of the House upon the late change of administration.

11*th.*—Called on the Duke of Portland, and obtained his sanction to the purchase of the Burleigh papers (according to the proposition previously approved by Lord Grenville) for the British Museum; the supposed cost being about 1200*l.* for the Burleigh papers, and 250*l.* for other miscellaneous articles.

At the Museum meeting of Trustees I communicated this authority; whereupon the principal librarian was ordered to make the purchase. Also obtained their concurrence in a resolution to apply to the King for a *military guard* to protect the Museum at night,—a sergeant's guard; and I was desired to lay this request before the Secretary of State for the Home Department. I stated to the Trustees that I had obtained the previous approbation of the Duke of York, if we thought fit to apply for a guard.

Dined at Lambeth. The Archbishop told me that when he heard of the introduction of the Catholic clauses into the Mutiny Bill, he had desired an interview with Lord Grenville; and again upon the general Bill, which it was proposed to substitute in lieu of the clauses.

13*th.*—In the Lords, division for Lord Grenville's side, proxies included, 90; for Ministers, or rather for the King, 171.*

* This was a motion made by Lord Stafford to nearly the same effect as that previously made by Mr. Brande in the House of Commons.

City of London, for an Address to the King, thanking him for his support of the Protestant establishment, 123; against it, 49.

15*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Lyttelton's motion upon the late change of Ministry. Debate, in which several young members spoke: Mr. Milnes, Mr. Robinson*, Mr. Ward, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Gore, &c. Division at half-past five in the morning. For the orders of the day, 244; against it, 198.

17*th*.—It seems the new Ministry had computed their strength for the late division at 308, with a probable defalcation for casualties of about 50, leaving 258, or thereabout, for their actual numbers: which proved to be so. Their opponents they had reckoned at 240, and their expectation was not higher than a majority of 10 or 12.

A dissolution is probable towards the end of May; but there yet remain the Irish Insurrection Acts to continue, which expire on the 1st of August. The late Government had resolved upon bringing in the continuing Acts by Plunkett, their Attorney-General; and have left their draft of amended Bill ready for presenting.

The Ministers expect that even after a dissolution the Opposition may muster 180 in a new Parliament.

18*th*.—Lord Lansdowne's executors wrote to me, offering his MSS. to the public at a fair price.

Perceval approved of purchasing them for the British Museum, upon a petition to the House of Commons, and an inquiry into their value by a Committee.

22*nd*.—Rode with Dillon; who gave me a full account of the "*Threshers in Ireland*;" and a copy of one of their proclamations, which he had taken down from the doors of one of the mass houses in the county of Mayo, where he had acted as grand juror upon the late trials, and had been resident during the last twelve months, in the course of which he had seen the whole progress of the disturbances. It appears to have been a sanguinary republican fanatical insurrection, headed by

* Afterwards Lord Ripon.

rebels and deserters, who travelled through the northern counties into Sligo, Mayo, Longford, and Roscommon, stirring up all the malcontents, and forming them for a time into bands from fifteen to thirty, all well armed, and mounted upon their neighbours' horses for the night. Their first grievance to redress was a late increase of dues demanded by the Catholic priests; and in their way to redress this, they nailed up the doors of the mass houses in some places for three weeks together. Another grievance was the old story of tithe proctors; and another occupation which they undertook, was to do better justice between individuals, and settling their debts, by giving one man's horse or cow to another, according to their opinion of his right. There was no trace of connection with France; and the Catholic priests, *being the first object of their fury*, gave such effectual information and assistance to the gentlemen and magistrates as enabled them to suppress the disturbances with more success and promptitude than could otherwise have been expected. Upon the first trials the disturbers were acquitted, because the witnesses coming from towns, &c., not garrisoned by the King's troops, were intimidated and would not speak out.

House of Commons. A Report from Penryn Election Committee. Sir Christopher Hawkins, M.P., and eighteen others were ordered to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General for bribery. According to law and usage of Parliament, Sir Christopher Hawkins ought to have been first expelled.

N.B.—In 1808, they were all acquitted.

24*th*.—Lord Sidmouth called. No communications have been had with him. The object of Lord Wellesley, by his own professions, is to be reconciled to the East India Company, and to go back to India as Governor-General.

25*th*.—Perceval came to tell me that the dissolution was resolved upon, and by this night's post I might give any intelligence of it which was material for me to give.

Parliament will be prorogued on Monday with a speech from the King by his Commissioners, announcing his intention to dissolve, &c.

It is proposed that the new Parliament shall meet at the earliest possible day, viz., the dissolution taking place on Tuesday, the fifty-second day (from Tuesday exclusive) will be Friday, 19th June.

The calculation is that the new Parliament will produce 200 in opposition to the present Government.

27*th*.—Whilst I was preparing to count the House, Black Rod knocked at the door.

On my return from the Lords, before I read the speech, Lord Howick, who, it seems, had been in great wrath, stepped up to me to know if he could say anything, but I told him it was impossible.

30*th*.—Parliament dissolved last night by proclamation.

Went down to Kidbrooke.

New Parliament.

Monday, June 22*nd*.—Parliament met.

25*th*.—Dined at Perceval's in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he read the King's speech after dinner to his company. N.B.—Mr. Secretary Canning *excused himself*, and dined with a private invitation at Mr. W. Bootle's.

26*th*.—The debate began at five, and the House rose at six the next morning. The division took place about five o'clock. For the amendment, moved by Lord Howick, condemning the dissolution, 155; against it, 350. Total present in the House, including Speaker and Tellers, 510, which exceeds any known division in size. The highest division since the Union was 488, and the highest in the preceding century was in 1742, when there were present 508, on the motion for referring the Silesian papers to a committee, the division being 250 *v*. 253, + 5 Speaker and Tellers, 508. Sheri-

dan, although he had been in the House during the preceding days, did not take the oaths nor attend.

The Princess of Wales, attended by Lord and Lady Sheffield, came through my house at nine in the evening, and sat in the gallery. At one o'clock she went down to sup in my great dining-room. At two o'clock she returned, and stayed till four, when she retired and took her coffee in my library.

30*th.*—News of Buonaparte's battle with the Russians.*

Wednesday, July 1*st.*—Caley, having received a letter from Harrison, the Under-Secretary of the Treasury, calling for an account of the moneys issued to Topham, late Secretary to the Record Commissioners, went by my desire to obtain a copy of the Treasury order, directing the issue of all moneys to the Record Commission without account, except such as should be required by the Lords of the Treasury; and tendered the vouchers for examination, upon a discharge for the issue, or a receipt for the vouchers, to be particularised in a schedule, and closing the account to the latest period.

2*nd.*—Occupied in motions about clothing the Veteran Battalions.

3*rd.*—Army Estimates voted.

4*th.*—House of Commons. Report of Supply, and passed Irish Revenue Bill. Mentioned to Perceval the propriety of appointing an Accountant-General to the Court of Exchequer, and a Record-keeper. He agreed in principle, but, on account of the absence of the Judges on the circuit, and the state of the present short session, we thought it better to postpone the Bill to another session, he taking the interval to communicate with the Court, and the persons most interested.

5*th.*—Rode to Putney Heath, and with Sir Arthur Wellesley part of the way; talked upon the system of Government for Ireland.

6*th.*—House of Commons. A debate till four o'clock

* The battle of Friedland, in which Benningsen was defeated, June 14th.

in the morning, on the state of the nation. Strangers excluded at the instance of Mr. Dennis Browne. Division: For going into a Committee of the whole House, 136; against it, 322.

7th.—House of Commons till twelve, on a motion of Lord Cochrane, for an account of all places and pensions, &c., held by members of the House of Commons; for referring the matter generally to the Committee on Public Expenditure and offices, 60; against it, 91; and for an amendment to the same effect, 61, and 132.

8th.—Lord Howick told me that he was tired of debating in July. In a conversation with Mr. Perceval, in Downing Street, he asked me about the objection raised by Lord Henry Petty to the officers waiving their fees on private Bills, whereby the Serjeant, for instance, whose salary is fixed, would, by not taking his fees over again, come upon the Consolidated Fund to make good his deficiency; and so the dissolution of Parliament would have produced, *pro tanto*, an expense to the country, &c. This objection, Perceval observed, would apply to my office also, the salary being fixed. I told him that certainly it would, and that I had no intention (besides that) of bringing over to the account of my new Speakership any surplus of fees in my hands when my old Speakership ceased, as I considered the Act not to apply to the case of a ceasing Speaker, but to a continuing Speaker. This contingent and accidental surplus, in the last quarter, I also considered as the more reasonably belonging to me in my character as Ex-Speaker, and not to be carried forward in a continuing account to my New Speakership, because, if there had been a deficiency instead of a surplus, the public would not have considered or dealt with me as a continuing Speaker, to make it good to me for the intervening period. I looked upon the Speaker's broken account as a case omitted by the Act, and that substantial justice required it to be left to operate in his favour sometimes, as in the case of an interval between two Parliaments of six months, as might happen by a

dissolution upon a deficient quarter, he would be left without support or salary for the intervening period. Perceval said of course it must depend on the construction of the Act, to which I agreed entirely, saying, if the Act be so, then *cadit quæstio*, but if not, justice and usage require it to be as I, and, I believe, my predecessor, have considered it.

10*th*. — Lord Sidmouth called to express his deep apprehensions upon the last continental news, and his determination to call the attention of Parliament to the state of the country.

House of Commons. Lord Cochrane's motions upon abuses and discontents in the navy negatived.

11*th*. — House of Commons postponed all election petitions till next session.

12*th*. — We dined, by command, with the Princess of Wales, at Blackheath. The company were the Duchess of Brunswick, the Duke of Cumberland, the Chancellor, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Dartmouth, Perceval, the Attorney-General, Sir William Scott, the Master of the Rolls, William Eliot; besides General and Miss Garth, and two gentlemen and a lady of the Duchess of Brunswick's household.

The Duke of York, the Duke of Portland, &c., had been in the morning to pay their compliments to the Duchess of Brunswick.

The Duchess, who is about a year older than the King, exceedingly resembles him in countenance, and still more in conversation and manner. She talked to everybody, and seemed to know everybody.

We sat down to dinner about half-past six. The Princess remained at table till between eight and nine, and the carriages were all ordered at ten, at which hour she dismissed her company. She was magnificently dressed, and wore some ornaments which had belonged to Mary Queen of Scots.

The Chancellor told me that the late Ministers had not allowed any person to see the King upon his levee days at the Queen's Palace, without a Secretary of

State's order for their admission, and Lord Redesdale, not having one, had been turned back. That the King had not been suffered to see the Foreign Ministers for a twelvemonth together.

13*th*. — House of Commons. Debate on Whitbread's Poor Bill. Perceval also gave notice of military measures to be brought forward on Friday next.

Perceval proposed to me to be at the head of a Commission for inquiry into the state of foundations for school education in England.

14*th*. — House of Commons. Debate on Lord Henry Petty's Finance Resolutions respecting the excesses of the Sinking Fund. Negatived going into a Committee.

15*th*. — Debate on Maynooth Grant.

16*th*. — House of Commons. Debate on the Bill for enabling the East India Company to raise money by bonds, instead of increasing their stock.

W. Pole * told me to-day that Admiral Gambier was to command the fleet of twenty sail of the line, now assembling in the Downs, for the Baltic expedition. Sir Home Popham to be Captain of the fleet, and Sir Samuel Hood, Sir Sidney Smith, and Commodore Keats to command under them.

17*th*.—The Lord Chancellor came upon the subject of excluding Lords and Commons from each other's houses reciprocally, when strangers are ordered to withdraw.

Dr. Jenner called, upon the distribution of the report of the College of Physicians upon vaccination.

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh, on account of indisposition, postponed opening his military measures till next Wednesday.

18*th*.—This day received my allotment of the Government Constantia wine from the Cape of Good Hope, viz. five dozen red, and five dozen white pints. The King takes forty dozen; the Prince of Wales, and each of the Princes of the blood royal, twenty dozen; the Cabinet Ministers have each fifteen dozen; the Speaker

* Mr. Wellesley Pole, Secretary to the Admiralty; afterwards Lord Maryborough.

is classed with the Treasurer of the Navy, &c.; and the demand upon me was 10*l.* for duties, carriage, &c.

This distribution was made under the order of Lord Castlereagh as Secretary of State for the Colonies, and conducted by Mr. Plaskett, wine merchant, in Clifford Street.

21*st.*—House of Commons. Committee on Whitbread's Parochial School Bills; amended to make it voluntary in parishes to set up such schools.

22*nd.*—House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in his two Bills for drafting the Militia, and completing it by ballot.

27*th.*—Wrote to Perceval upon the suggestion of a Bill for carrying into effect so much of the 43rd Eliz. c. 4, as relates to the education of the poor by a Commission to visit and regulate all foundation schools.

Went with Mrs. Abbot to pay our respects at Blackheath, to the Princess of Wales and the Duchess of Brunswick.

The Princess of Wales met us in an outer room, and showed us into a small dressing-room, where the Duchess of Brunswick was sitting in a sick chair, having been indisposed for a day or two We stayed about half an hour. The Princess of Wales left the room first, and the Duchess of Brunswick continued the conversation for some time longer. Her subjects were chiefly her dread of Buonaparte following her here, her perpetual dislike of all Germans, the persons she had known in England before her marriage, and the anecdotes of George II.'s Court. She had Coxe's memoirs before her.

In the House of Commons the debate on the second reading of the Militia Transfer Bill lasted till four o'clock in the morning; and the Irish Insurrection Act was then debated, and passed about six in the morning. This was the last day for receiving reports on private Bills, and nearly all the private Bills were read a third time and passed.

29*th.*—Debate on Dr. Jenner's additional grant. The Committee of Supply voted him 20,000*l.* instead of

10,000*l*, as moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Also debated Whitbread's Port Bill in Committee till half-past one, when he abandoned his Bill.

31*st*.—House of Commons. Debate on vote of Credit, Grants to Prussia, and Army Estimates, till half-past one.

Tuesday, August 4th.—House of Commons. Parochial School Bill—a division on the preamble—33 to 28. Afterwards Irish Disarming Bill in a Committee. Afterwards, on third reading of Irish Militia Transfer Bill, a division, 71 to 13, against adjourning, and 75 to 14, that "*now*" stand part of the question for the third reading. And then, upon a further question of adjournment, 70 to 13, after which it was agreed to postpone the third reading till Wednesday.

Upon the proposition to repeat the question of Adjournment (without any intermediate proceeding), I stated my opinion to the House, that this was irregular and not warranted by any settled usage and practice of the House. Notwithstanding it had been done so in a Committee of the whole House on a previous occasion, by the motion for the Chairman leaving the chair. That Mr. Fox had, at that time, fallen into the opinion of its being regular; and so the House had all thought at that time; but upon the search and investigation I had since made, it was clearly wrong. This led immediately to Sir John Newport getting rid of the objection by moving to read an entry in the Journal of 1772, (about some matter avowedly irrelevant), and then repeating the question of adjournment. This he did in imitation of the proceeding of March 9, 1772, and the House then, finding that this mock proceeding would evade the rule, yielded to the adjournment.

8*th*.—House of Commons. Sheridan's Bill for licensing Alehouses. House told out at half-past six.

14*th*.—Prorogation of Parliament.

Went to Kidbrooke.

LETTER FROM SIR HOME POPHAM.

Prince of Wales, Elsinore Roads, Aug. 9th, 1807.

Sir,—At the very moment a vessel was weighing for England I had the debate of the 31st of July put into my hands; and I observe, with extreme astonishment, that Lord Henry Petty has asserted "The Expedition to South America originated in a bargaining transaction." I do not know, Sir, how far I may, consistently with the rules of the House of Commons, address you on this subject; but if it is not irregular, I request you will express my wish, that Lord Henry Petty should make his motion. It will be for him to prove to the House of Commons the charge he has made. And I freely give him all the advantage of my absence; resting, as I do with confidence, on the justice and liberality of the House, which I consider the most honourable tribunal in the world.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HOME POPHAM.*

The Right Hon. Charles Abbot,
Speaker of the House of Commons.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Richmond Park, Sept. 17th, 1807.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . The account of the surrender of Copenhagen reached Town a few hours before me, and it was evident, from what I saw, as well as from what I heard, that the satisfaction created by it, was not unqualified. "We have done a deed which will make our name hereafter quoted in competition with all ill ones."

At least so I fear. And though I have received letters and visits since yesterday morning, from persons who were active abettors in the business, I have obtained, on the main point, no satisfaction whatever. One of them told me that a considerable quantity of French stores had been found in the arsenal at Copenhagen, which, he said, was in itself a justification; and though I brought him to acknowledge, in a minute afterwards,

* This refers to the expedition against Buenos Ayres, which Sir Home Popham had undertaken without any authority from England, and for which, on his return, he had been brought to trial before a court-martial.

that there was no reason that he knew of to suspect an understanding with France previous to this discovery, which, besides, rested on no other authority but *on dit*. . . . . .

Ever truly yours, SIDMOUTH.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Eden Farm, Sept. 19th, 1807.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . Great credit is certainly due to the secrecy, promptitude, and efficiency, with which the Copenhagen business was planned, conducted, and completed. Nor can it be denied that the success is very important, both as a preservation against invasion, if any attempt against Ireland from the Northern Seas were intended; and also for the immediate purpose of maintaining and improving our naval preponderance.

With respect to the national morality of the measure, and also its probable and eventual results on the continuance, combinations, and character of the war, we shall be able to decide when we are better informed.*

The Buenos Ayres† catastrophe is most vexatious; and the more so, as an old friend, in the confidence and conduct of the Government, writes to me, that nothing but the senseless absurdity of Whitelocke could have produced what has happened. That "it is the more mortifying, because, at Monte Video, our garrison was living on the best possible terms with the Spaniards; that our trade was increasing rapidly; and, if we had chosen to play the game of independence, we could have placed all the Spanish provinces on their legs without bloodshed or revolutionary convulsions." My correspondent adds, "Many important

* The British expedition had reached Copenhagen in the middle of August. The successful bombardment of the city was already known, and the whole expedition returned, with the Danish fleet as its prize, at the beginning of October. It was not till ten years later that the Ministers were enabled, by the death of the person from whom they had received information of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, fully to justify the act of sending the expedition.

† After Sir Home Popham's original capture of Buenos Ayres, we had been expelled from it; and our Government, thinking our honour concerned in recovering the place, sent out a fresh expedition, which had some success till General Whitelocke arrived, as the first division of the force under Sir Samuel Achmuty took Monte Video; but Whitelocke was defeated in an assault upon Buenos Ayres, and concluded a convention to evacuate the whole country. On his return home he was tried by court-martial and cashiered.

and feasible projects which we were indulging are gone for ever." . . . .

My dear Sir, ever most sincerely yours, AUCKLAND.

[*Journal.*] News of the defeat at Buenos Ayres, and evacuation of the River Plata, arrived about the 18th of September.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF LORD SIDMOUTH.

Richmond Park, Sept. 22nd, 1807.

My dear Sir, ... With respect to the Copenhagen business, I have formed a general belief, as well as hope, that there was a justification behind, of which as yet we know nothing, and of which I fear, and believe, we shall hear nothing, and that for a reason that is obvious. Troops are said to be assembled at and near Antwerp; but, it is quite as probable, from the apprehension of an attack, as with the view of making one. There are eight ships of the line upon the stocks there, which are a tempting object for a *coup-de-main*. . . . .

Yours most truly, SIDMOUTH.

EXTRACTS FROM ANOTHER LETTER.

Richmond Park, Oct. 18th, 1807.

My dear Sir, ... On the northern expedition he [Sir Wm. Scott] did not say much, though I have, no doubt, he was consulted upon it and approved it. From what he dropped, I inferred the intentions of Government with respect to America*, to be such as appeared to me to be well adapted to the crisis; but it is in vain to speculate on the result when we have to bear with a country in which there is little authority in the rulers, and as little public spirit and virtue in the people. America, however, is no longer a bugbear; there is no terror in her threats; and I am confident that to insure public support, Ministers only have to assert all those maritime rights which, in the opinion of the best civilians, are incontrovertible; and to take all the care they can, that they

* In June 1807, the British 50-gun ship "Leopard" boarded the American frigate "Chesapeake" to search for British sailors, and took away four of her crew as such; and the President in October sent a warlike message to Congress, denouncing the act and the pretensions in which it originated.

may be exercised with moderation. If next Wednesday passes without a council for summoning Parliament, we may reasonably hope to remain unmolested to January.

Ever truly yours, SIDMOUTH.

EXTRACTS FROM ANOTHER LETTER.

Richmond Park, Oct. 23rd, 1807.

My dear Sir, — I cannot forbear troubling you with a line, just to say that the hope expressed in my last letter to you, has been in some degree disappointed by the proclamation. It seems to me that, if our Government were of opinion that the search of neutral ships of war was not maintainable as a right, they should have disclaimed it, as soon as they were regularly informed of the affair between the "Leopard" and the "Chesapeake"; and if, thinking the right clear, or even doubtful, they determined to abstain from the exercise of it, the waiver should, as it appears to me, have been matter of negotiation, and not of preliminary and gratuitous concession. I am, however, getting into a * with which I had no thoughts of troubling you. My only purpose was to obviate an impression which you may have received from my letter with respect to my own opinions concerning the conduct which I thought Government would pursue; opinions of no consequence in themselves, but which were communicated under a misconception of what was actually intended.

I am still, however, inclined to think, (I would rather say to hope) that with respect to other litigated points, Government will steer clear of any compromise of our own rights, and interests, and honours, on the one hand, and of any injustice to neutrals on the other. My dear Sir, most truly yours,

SIDMOUTH.

In November came news of the alleged plot of the Prince of Asturias against the King of Spain.

Brantôme says, speaking of the death of Don Carlos, "L'on disait qu'il avoit voulu faire mourir son père; car cela se disait pour lors en notre cour de France. Mais c'était en risée."

NOTE FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Nov. 25th, 1807.

Amiable times. This morning brings the Paris intimation that,

* Blank in MS.

1. The House of Braganza has ceased to reign.
2. That Austria is also to be at war with us.
3. That the story of Don Carlos is revived in Spain.

Being, I suppose, the prologue to the fall of the remaining branch of Bourbon.

Tuesday, December 1st. — Received the following letter from Perceval.

Dear Mr. Speaker,—The Parliament will not meet till the Thursday after the birthday. I am culpable in not having sent you earlier intelligence, but the day was not fixed till Wednesday last, and, of the determination not to meet till near the birthday, unless circumstances particularly required it, you were apprised by me before. . . . .

The business of recasting the law of trade and navigation, as far as belligerent principles are concerned, for the whole world, has occupied me very unremittingly for a long time; and the subject is so extensive, and the combinations so various, that, even supposing our principles to be right, I cannot hope that the execution of the principle must not in many respects be defective; and I have no doubt we shall have to watch it with new provisions and regulations for some time.

The short principle is that trade in British produce and manufactures, and trade either from a British port or with a British destination, is to be protected as much as possible. For this purpose all the countries where French influence prevails to exclude the British flag shall have no trade but to and from this country, or from its allies. All other countries, the few that remain strictly neutral (with the exception of the colonial trade, which backwards and forwards direct they may carry on) cannot trade but through this being done as an ally with any of the countries connected with France. If, therefore, we can accomplish our purposes, it will come to this, that either those countries will have no trade, or they must be content to accept it through us.

This is a formidable and tremendous state of the world; but all the part of it which is particularly harassing to English interests was existing through the new severity with which Buonaparte's decrees of exclusion against our trade were called into action.

Our proceeding does not aggravate our distress from it. If he can keep out our trade he will; and he would do so if he could, independent of our orders. Our orders only add this

circumstance: they say to the enemy, if you will not have *our* trade, as far as we can help it you shall have *none*. And as to so much of any trade as you can carry on yourselves, or others carry on with you through us, if you admit it, you shall pay for it. The only trade cheap and untaxed which you shall have, shall be either direct from us, in our own produce and manufactures, or from our allies, whose increased prosperity will be an advantage to us.

. . . . . .

Yours, very truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

The greater part of the application of this principle must of course be by new *Parliamentary* provision.*

14*th*.—Returned to London.

16*th*.—Lord Sidmouth called. He was decidedly adverse to the measure of the Danish expedition. I told him my reasons for not thinking it objectionable, but, on the contrary, indispensable. If the Danes would not, or could not, maintain their neutrality and preserve their fleet, this country had no security but in taking possession of it.

* In November 1806, Buonaparte, by a series of decrees, taking their name from Berlin, whence they were dated, declared these islands to be in a state of blockade, and prohibited all commerce with them. We, in January of this year, had retaliated by order in Council, directing the capture of all vessels trading between any two ports from which British trade was excluded. And in November we issued further orders, reciting the Berlin decrees, and proclaiming a blockade of France, and of the various states under French dominion in obedience with France. Before the close of the year Buonaparte issued a further decree, known as the Milan decree, declaring all vessels which submitted to be searched by our cruisers, &c., to have lost their neutral privilege; and ordering that all ships going to or from any port in Great Britain, or any British colony, should be considered as lawful prize. — See *Alison in loco*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1808.

EMBARGO LAID BY THE AMERICANS ON ALL TRADE. — DEBATE ON THE COPENHAGEN EXPEDITION, AND ON THAT TO THE DARDANELLES. — MR. TIERNEY'S ATTACK ON THE SPEAKER. — GRATTAN'S SPEECH ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — RISING OF SPANIARDS AGAINST THE FRENCH. — MR. PALMER'S CLAIMS ON THE POST-OFFICE. — VOTE APPROVING OF LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT IN INDIA. — LETTERS FROM MR. PERCEVAL, AND FROM THE BISHOP OF KILDARE, ON THE CONDITION OF THE IRISH CHURCH. — PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT. — SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY'S EXPEDITION TO PORTUGAL. — CONVENTION OF CINTRA. — LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. PERCEVAL.

Jan. 1st, 1808.

. . . . . I have just seen a "Moniteur," in which there is a new commercial decree, *re*-retaliatory. I fear it will hardly be in time for the evening papers of to-day, but will probably appear in the papers of to-morrow. It is very *angry*, and very *sore*.

Yours very truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

Friday, Jan. 15*th.*—Saw Perceval, and settled the arrangement of days for private business and election ballots in the approaching session. A war with America did not seem to be very certain.

20*th.* — Canning came, upon the Under-Secretary Bagot's disability from sitting in Parliament, under 15 George II., which did not appear to me to affect his seat; although it had been doubted upon some occasion, viz. in debate, 1797; and by Colonel Crawfurd, 1806.

Went to the levee at the Queen's House.

The King talked to me at length about the forms of the House of Commons, and the conversion of the Speaker's house in Palace Yard. He looked remarkably

clear and well; rather grown larger within the last twelvemonth. Very cheerful.

The King having asked me very particularly about the Speaker's house, and its being now finished, I wrote to the Duke of Portland to desire he would ask the King for his portrait, to be placed as the only picture in the principal of those apartments which the Members of the House of Commons are accustomed to visit in the course of the session.*

21*st.*—Parliament opened. The Speech was delivered by Lords Commissioners at three. At half-past four the Address was moved in the Commons; Mr. Ponsonby, as leader of the Opposition, made a short and cold speech; deferring his opinion on the topics of the Speech until he should at a future day move for Papers on the Copenhagen expedition; and upon other days have an opportunity of discussing the Orders in Council, and other papers promised by the Speech. A desultory debate followed. No division, or amendment.

22*nd.*—Debate on the Report. Yorke spoke in favour of the Copenhagen expedition.

24*th.*—News of the Rochefort squadron being out.

25*th.*—The Prince of Wales sent Tyrwhitt to me recommending Mr. Starch as a candidate for the vacant office at the Museum. I desired Tyrwhitt to express my most respectful acknowledgments to H. R. H. for the honour of this communication, and the gratitude of the Trustees for the interest he condescended to take in the affairs of the British Museum; that I could not fail to mention Mr. Starch as a candidate, when I met my colleagues for the purpose of filling up the vacancy; and that I was persuaded we should best fulfil H. R. H.'s own wishes by electing the candidate whose qualifications should appear to be *the best suited* to the office.

This day Mr. Thornton applied to me, as one of the Palace Yard Commissioners, for our approbation of

* The picture was given and painted by Lawrence.

placing a bronze statue of Mr. Pitt in the new square made by the late opening in front of St. Margaret's Church.

20*th.*—House of Commons; Notice of motions upon various subjects of Foreign negotiations; Orders of Council; Peace, &c.

News from America that a general embargo was laid by the Americans upon the whole of their own trade.

28*th.*—House of Commons. Thanks were given to the Army and Navy for their services at Copenhagen: on a Division; 100 to 19.

Monday, Feb. 1*st.*—I delivered the thanks of the House for the Copenhagen service to Major-General Finch, Major-General Grosvenor, and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley conjointly, standing up uncovered; and they rising as they were called to and remaining on their legs during my address; after which, all being again seated, they rose successively, and made their acknowledgments to the House.

Afterwards I thanked Sir Home Popham (Navy) in the same form.

None of them were in uniform; but in their morning dress, &c.

2*nd.*—Attended a Meeting of Commissioners upon the National Debt; the quarterly issues for the redemption amount now to nearly 10,000,000*l.* sterling annually, this quarter (not the largest) 2,497,702*l.* 4*s.*

3*rd.*—House of Commons. Debate on the Copenhagen expedition. Mr. Ponsonby moved for papers. Division between five and six next morning; Ayes, 108; Noes, 253. Supposed about 40 more to have paired off.

5*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on Orders of Council till two in the morning. No division.

7*th.*—News of the capture of the Danish islands in the West Indies.

8*th.*—House of Commons. Motion for production of a despatch of Lord Howick to Mr. Garlike, about the disposition of the Danes in December 1806, of

which Mr. Secretary Canning had read an extract in his place on Wednesday last. Negatived*: 127 to 75.

11*th*.—House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett's motion on droits of Admiralty and application of the proceeds. Mr. Lushington made an attack on Sir Home Popham which produced much heat. A division: for the motion, 57; against it, 82; after which it passed with an amendment.

This day I received from Ireland a small pamphlet, entitled "A Sketch of the State of Ireland past and present," with a letter from Mr. Michael Brooke. The sketch appears to me to be Grattan's. It is anonymous and dedicated to Lord Wellesley. It is Grattan's best style, and best sense (if it be his), approaching nearer to the truth than anything I have yet seen.

[Note added at a later period]. Supposed afterwards to be by Mr. Croker, M.P. And was so.

15*th*.—Debate on the Dardanelles papers till past twelve. Two divisions†: 80 to 114; and 82 to 142.

16*th*.—Whitbread's motion for papers, and particularly for minute of Lord Howick's conversation with the Emperor of Russia: the latter negatived without a division.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Debate on the proceedings on the Oude Charge till ten. Division: 34 to 210.

25*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Sheridan's motion for Copenhagen papers. Division: 84 to 184.

26*th*.—House of Commons. Army estimates till three in the morning. In debate on Canning's motion for address for copies of despatches about Copenhagen, &c., Tierney said "the Right Honourable Gentleman had forfeited the good opinion of the country; the House, and, as I believe, of His Sovereign." This I held to be such an introduction of his personal opinion of the Sovereign into debate respecting the conduct of

* But Mr. Canning, having defeated the Opposition, "immediately granted the despatch asked for, in his own exculpation, to prove that the extract he had read was supported by the context." — *Stapleton's Canning*, p. 136.

† This refers to Sir John Thomas Duckworth's expedition to the Dardanelles, in February 1807.

a member of the House, as justified his (Tierney's) being called to order.

Tierney also insisted that a Petition from the City of London ought to be read at the table without a question put; which is contrary to all precedent. Ley, the Deputy Clerk, said to me, "Sir, did you see? Mr. Tierney falls upon you like an assassin."

29th.—House of Commons. Whitbread's motion for Peace, till five in the morning. Ponsonby and Lord Milton divided against the motion. Divisions: 70 to 216, on Russian mediation; 67 to 211 on Austrian ditto; 58 to 217 on previous question. "That there is nothing to preclude negotiation."

In supply a grant of 2000*l.* a year to Lord Lake and two next heirs male, with retrospect to 1803 (battle of Delhi) and for providing out of that arrear some provision for the late Lord's daughter.

30th.—House of Commons. Debate on negligent supply of the Rochefort squadron.* The communication of the Orders in Council to our allies. And lastly, on the Liverpool Merchants' Petition against the Orders in Council Bill for duties. This latter question of receiving such a petition against such a Bill was debated till three in the morning. Division: 80 to 128.

At the opening of this debate I stated the established usage to be for not receiving petitions against Bills for levying duties towards the current service of the year. That it was for the petitioners to show that this was not such a petition against such a Bill, and that upon the question for bringing up the petition the House would pronounce its own determination.

After the debate was closed, and the strangers had withdrawn, before the question was put, Sheridan addressed me, saying, "that he understood I had given an opinion upon this question, and being a point of order in some degree, he should be glad to know that opinion if I had given one."

* Sir R. Strachan's squadron, watching Rochefort, v. infra, p. 149.

I answered that "I was placed by this question in an unusual situation. That I conceived a Speaker had two duties to discharge. One, out of that House, which required that, in courtesy, he should give his personal opinion to any individual member, upon such case as any member should state to him. Another, but quite distinct duty, in that House, which required him to refrain from delivering any opinion there which might sway the debate and vote of the House, unless, and until, upon a balance of voices he should then have to deliver his opinion and vote. That upon the present subject I certainly had communicated my opinion when applied to out of the House, and that I should have no hesitation to deliver the same opinion now, but that I conceived my duty to preclude me from so doing, and that, for that reason alone, I should not have that opinion extracted from me by this proceeding at this time." And then I put the question, and the division ensued.

Friday, March 4th.—House of Commons. Division against receiving another Liverpool petition. Division for the orders of the day, to supersede the motion against Canning: *168 to 67.

7th.—On account of Tierney's indisposition no debate took place on the Report of the Orders in Council Bill.

8th.—House of Commons. Mutiny Bill in Committee, and clauses for volunteering to serve for life. Division: 100 to 169.

9th.—Debate on Oude papers at half-past one; adjourned to Thursday next.

10th.—Attended meeting of Commissioners for Reduction of the National Debt in Downing Street, and gave directions contingently for purchases to prevent disproportionate depression of the funds into which the

* The motion against Canning was brought forward by Mr. Adam, who desired the House to express its disapprobation of Canning having read to the House despatches, and parts of despatches, from Ministers at Foreign Courts, &c. &c., none of which had then been communicated to the House by His Majesty's commands, and some of which the House had determined should not be produced.

4,000,000*l.* of Exchequer Bills were voted yesterday to be subscribed.

House of Commons. Debate on Orders in Council Bill till five in the morning.

15th.—House of Commons. Oude debate till half-past six on Wednesday morning. Eleven motions negatived by Previous Question and twelfth by direct negation; and a vote of approbation of the zeal and public spirit, &c. of Lord Wellesley carried: 180 to 29.

16th.—Perceval called to consult upon mode of hearing Counsel and Evidence upon the Orders in Council.

House of Commons. Upon a question put by Lord Henry Petty to Mr. Foster about the Irish Duty Bill, a conversation arose which ended with a declaration of Mr. Tierney "that he would take an opportunity of bringing before the House the circumstances under which I had stopped him from proceeding."

The House then went into some Committees, and during that of Supply upon the Swedish Subsidy, I withdrew to my room, when Long came and related what had passed in the Lords, of which, as well as of the whole of the preceding business, I immediately made the following note.

Notes of what passed between me and Tierney, &c.

Wednesday, March 16th.—Lord Henry Petty rose to ask Mr. Foster when he meant to bring in a Bill for duties in support of the Orders in Council for Ireland.

Mr. Foster answered, as soon as the Bill for England was sufficiently advanced and settled to enable him to make the Irish Bill conformable to the English.

Mr. Tierney hoped it would be according to the resolution of Ways and Means, and would contain no regulations of Trade.

Mr. Foster said it would contain such clauses as were necessary for levying the duty.

Mr. Tierney said, he did not know why it had been so long delayed, &c.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer remarked upon the objection now made to the Bill having been so long delayed by those who had all along argued *for* delay.

Then Lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Foster rose.

I called upon Mr. Foster.

Mr. Tierney insisted upon being heard.

I answered that Mr. Foster had risen first, and was in possession of the House.

Mr. Foster proceeded, and moved the order of the day for a Committee on the Fourth Irish Council Report.

I put the question.

Mr. Tierney rose, and I called to him.

He said he did not mean to avail himself of the subterfuge which the favour of the House would afford him of speaking upon *this* question. But "that he would take an opportunity of bringing before the House the improper mode in which he had been stopped by me."

The business then proceeded, and he went away.

Upon my quitting the Chair, Long, and Perceval, and Sturges Browne immediately said "they saw there was to be an attack upon the Chair, and it should be their business to have the Chair supported.

"That Tierney was perfectly wrong, and I was perfectly right: that he had begun the irregularity by his taunts and sarcasms, and when those were answered (which never should have been made), the matter was properly stopped. It could not go on indefinitely."

C. W. Williams Wynn came and sat by me; and said, if he was at liberty to criticise, I was in the wrong at first to let Tierney begin his remarks, there being no question, but it was quite right to end it.

I told him his criticism was perfectly right, *if it could have been foreseen* that Tierney rose for the pur-

pose of extraneous remarks. But as the usage and indulgence of the House allowed of questions being mooted about the arrangement of business, without any formal motion being proposed to the Chair, it was impossible for the Speaker to *presume* that the Member was about to exceed the limits of that indulgence; and, when he had uttered the irregular words, it became, of course, impossible not to admit of the answer. To this he assented.

Afterwards I went up to my room.

Long came to my room during the Committee of Supply, to relate that he had just been in the House of Lords; that he was standing by Tierney, who was relating to Lord Grey* what had passed, and was complaining of the ill usage he had received; when he had finished, Lord Grey turned to Long, and asked him, (if he had been present) to give his account of it. That he had done so, and quietly mooted the matter with Tierney before Lord Grey, who said that he thought Tierney was in the wrong, and "had first run out of the course," and gave him no countenance.

Tierney seemed to admit that he had begun by being irregular, but went away muttering that this was not the first time that the Speaker had not behaved to him as he ought, during the present session.

Long added, that he knew the Chair had formerly been a great object with Tierney; but was not aware of its being so now. That Tierney had formerly told him that the Prince of Wales had promised him to be Speaker. That Tierney† had played his cards ill with all parties, and seemed to be now in an extraordinary degree of ill humour. That he was now brought into Parliament by the Duke of Devonshire on an understanding that he was to be an active Member.

Upon my return to the House, Canning told me that he thought Tierney ought to be brought to a specific

* Lord Howick had recently become Earl Grey by the death of his father.

† Both Tierney and Whitbread were much discontented at Mr. George Ponsonby being adopted as the leader of the Opposition.

declaration of what he intended to do, upon his declared intention.

And after the Bank Bill Committee was over, he immediately rose, and put the question to Tierney, who entered into the particulars of what had occurred. An earnest conversation ensued, in which Canning and Perceval took part for me; Lord Henry Petty took rather a neutral part, not indeed excusing Tierney, but contending that the propriety of stopping irregular conversation must always rest with the Chair.

I then rose and stated, "As my conduct was brought in judgment before the House, upon no indistinct charge of partiality, I must be permitted to offer a few words."

I then stated the usage of putting questions without any formal notice, as a practice adopted by the House for the convenience of arranging business. "That such a proceeding had taken place to-night, and, after the question had been put by Lord Henry Petty, and answered by Mr. Foster, Tierney had risen, but had not (as it might have been presumed he would have done from his long parliamentary habits) confined what he said within the limits and scope allowed for such questions; but had, as he himself now admitted, departed from that line, and had certainly ended with remarks which had called up the Chancellor of the Exchequer to observe upon these remarks. That then it was my opinion that the conversation ought to have terminated; and I was free to declare that I should have put an end to it at that moment, even if nothing more had occurred.

"But that several Members rising at the same time, as well as Tierney, and, amongst them, Mr. Foster, who, being called to and in possession of the House, had observed upon the irregularity of their conversation, and concluded with moving an order of the day. That I had then no option, and I had accordingly put the question for reading that order. Upon which Tierney had declared his intention, &c. &c.

"Upon this state of facts the charge was made of 'partiality,' and it was for the House to judge whether deservedly or undeservedly.

"That having been four times placed in that chair by the free choice of the House, and having sat there towards seven years, I had at least the consolation to know that this was the first instance in which such a charge had been brought against me; and that I was not conscious of having merited it in any degree whatever."

Canning then rose and said, "It was now become impossible to let this matter so end;" and he moved "That this House does highly approve of the upright, able, and impartial conduct of the Rt. Hon. C. Abbot, in the chair of this House," which passed by acclamation with the single loud "No" of Tierney. Adjourned at twelve.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE FOREGOING OCCURRENCE.

I had fully made up my mind to something of this sort happening, and of its being carried to the utmost length.

. . . . . .

I the more expected this, because on the day of my leaving town, (Saturday) I went from Palace Yard by appointment to Carlton House, where I had half-an-hour of *éloge* upon you. I mentioned the circumstance immediately afterwards, and before I left town, at Burlington House, and drew my conclusions from it.

These are the ways by which sharp cunning men called princes, think they can blind such simple folk as myself: alas! alas! how are they mistaken.

But this, remember, is under the seal of confession.

17*th*.—William Smith (calling upon other business) told me that Tierney was quite in the wrong, and that he, W. Smith, had said as much to him at the time, and was himself an "aye" in my favour.

Whitbread came to me in the House, and said that

he regretted having gone out of the House before Canning mentioned the business of last night; that he had himself told Tierney that he was wrong; he thought Canning had pushed the matter further than was necessary, but that, upon a division, he, Whitbread, should undoubtedly have been one of the ayes.

Foster told me that the same sort of occurrence had twice happened to him in Ireland. Upon one occasion, the resolution of approbation had passed with the unanimous concurrence of all the parties; upon the other the objectors had gone away, and had in that way suffered the resolution to pass with unanimity. He entirely approved of all that had been done in consequence of Tierney's threat.

21*st.*—House of Commons. Debate on Copenhagen till six o'clock: against Vote of Censure, 224 to 64; in approbation, 216 to 61. The Princess of Wales, with Mr. St. Leger and Lord and Lady Glenbervie, came to the debate, and stayed it out.

22*nd.*—House of Commons. Orders in Council Evidence till twelve at night.

23*rd.*—House of Commons. Examined Evidence in Orders in Council till one.

24*th.*—House of Commons. Proceeded on evidence respecting the effect of the Orders in Council till nine.

Monday, April 4th.—R. Dundas called, to consult about converting the East India Committee into a Secret Committee. I showed him the precedent of the South Sea Committee, 1720.

8*th.*—House of Commons till ten, on Whitbread's motion for Lord Granville Leveson's private letter to Mr. Canning, respecting Russian intentions of war, &c. &c.

14*th.*—Went to Kidbrooke for the Easter Recess, and returned the 26th.

Sunday, May 1st.—After church, Sir William Scott came by appointment on the Curates' Bill. He allowed that *he remained of his original opinion when he himself brought in the Bill in* 1803, but seemed very much

alarmed by the hostility which some of our constituents have expressed towards it. I told him my opinion, as decidedly concurring with his in favour of the Bill, and that I thought that we should abide by what *we* thought best for the Church, &c.

3rd.—Attended a Board of National Debt Commissioners, in Downing Street. After the meeting broke up, Perceval desired to know the result of my conference with Sir William Scott, which I told him; and, upon further conversation, I stated to him my only doubt whether the operation of the Bill should not be directed to take effect only from after the next avoidance of each benefice; and I desired we might meet before the Bill went into Committee.

He afterwards mentioned, at parting, the idea which he had in contemplation, of proposing to grant *life annuities*, upon fixed rates, to all persons subscribing Stock at the present price of 66 per cent.; the effect of which would be to redeem at a future day so much stock upon the extinction of the lives; the benefit being that, upon a supposition of the Stocks rising higher hereafter, and the purchase being made at the present price, a redemption would be obtained now at a cheaper rate than by waiting for the ordinary progress of the Sinking Fund. The charge of the annuity would be borne in the first instance by the dividend itself of the Stock subscribed, and the rest to be taken out of the Sinking Fund, in aid of which the redemption would be made.

5th.—House of Commons. Maynooth Debate till two in the morning; carried on the Report for the lesser sum 9000*l.*, towards 250 priests, instead of 13,000*l.* for 400 priests. Neither Lord Castlereagh nor Canning attended. Division: 106 to 87.

Alice's Coffee House. Excise officer came to know if it was considered that this house was like Bellamy's, and did not require any *license* as a general victualler's. I answered Yes; it was so to be considered, as only for Lords, Commons, and Barristers. To this the Ex-

cise officer replied he was quite satisfied, and would so explain it to the Commissioners of Excise.

9*th*.—House of Commons. Debate * on the Rochefort squadron till half-past 10. Previous question, 146 to 57.

11*th*.—Dr. Duigenan called respecting his conduct on the motion against him appointed for this day.

House of Commons. Motion for correspondence respecting Dr. Duigenan's appointment to the Privy Council in Ireland: all the leaders of opposition made violent speeches, but nobody spoke from the Treasury Bench, except Sir Arthur Wellesley, in a few words upon the opening of the debate. Divided at half-past ten. For the motion, 107; against it, 172.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Mr. Palmer's Post-Office Agreement. Division; for his claim, 137; against it, 71. And so the Chancellor of the Exchequer lost the question.

13*th*.—House of Commons. Life Annuity Plan opened; and debate on Local Militia till half-past one.

16*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Bill for new valuation of First Fruits in Ireland. For it, 50; against it, 67. A long and angry debate on report of Mr. Palmer's claim. For it, 137; against it, 87.

17*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on the Carnatic. Sir Thomas Turton opened it in a speech of four hours, without a pause or hesitation. Wallace, Lord Archibald Hamilton, &c., followed; and at one in the morning the debate was adjourned till next Tuesday.

Perceval told me he should not bring forward his School Bill this session. Harrison had at last drawn it; but, as Whitbread had not stirred in the business of education, he should not.

I told him that of course I could have no great

* This debate was occasioned by a motion made by Mr. Calcraft, condemning the Admiralty for the insufficient way in which, in spite of Lord Gardner's having pointedly called its attention to the subject, it had left Sir Richard Strachan's squadron, so that at last he had been compelled to leave his station for want of provisions, and in consequence the French fleet had been enabled to escape from Rochefort.

anxiety for such a Bill, so far as it would give me infinite trouble; and also that if such a Bill were ever brought in, it would come better at the beginning of a session, when all the intended Commissioners being in London, it might be set agoing better than in the summer, when they would all be dispersed or dispersing.

19*th.* — Debate on stopping of distilling from barley and oats, upon the West Indian Committee Report. Division; for my leaving the chair, 122; against it, 108.

25*th.*—House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett complained of Lord Ellenborough's language upon the trial of the cause against him for costs of hustings at the Westminster Election; upon which occasion Lord Ellenborough had said that, "Sir Francis Burdett, having taken his *seat, thereby* became liable to the high bailiff for his share of the costs of erecting hustings."

The words and the occasion were explained as not maintaining any such doctrine generally; and the words were finally disavowed for Lord Ellenborough. No question was moved.

Catholic Petition. Mr. Grattan, in a very able and temperate speech of two hours, moved to refer it to a Committee of the whole House. He was supported by Ponsonby, Wyndham, Lord Henry Petty, Whitbread, Maurice Fitzgerald, &c. Opposed by Canning and Lord Castlereagh, upon the score of time; and by Perceval in toto. Opposed also by Wilberforce and Yorke. Two divisions. First, for adjourning the debate, 118 to 298. Secondly, upon the main question. For the Committee, 128 to 281. Adjourned at six in the morning.

The chief novelty was a sort of offer by Grattan and Ponsonby, on the authority of Dr. Milner*, for the Catholic bishops in Ireland, that in future the King should have a negation upon the three names usually

* Dr. Milner was at this time the chief of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland.

transmitted to the Pope for his approbation upon every vacancy of a Catholic bishop in Ireland.

26*th*. — House of Commons. Closed examination of witnesses on the Orders in Council.

Wednesday, June 1*st*. — House of Commons. Budget, and debate on the Carnatic*, till two. Division for Lord Wellesley, 124 to 15.

2*nd*. — House of Commons. Debates on East India Company's affairs; and on the Bank of Ireland, with a question upon admitting Catholics to be Governors or Directors. Division for their admission, 83; against it, 96.

9*th*. — News from Spain of the States of the Asturias and other provinces having declared against the French. M. Materoga and another Spaniard of distinction arrived from Gijon with a letter to the King soliciting assistance.

11*th*. — Kent came to propose the purchase of Burnham Hall for Lord Nelson, being the next parish to his birthplace. I authorised Kent to make all inquiries of fact for the consideration of the trustees.

12*th*. — Wrote the following letter to Perceval in answer to his questions about Palmer's grant:—

[Private.] Palace Yard, June 12th, 1808.

Dear Perceval,—I have looked into the question which you desired me to consider, and, so far as I have been able to discover by my own examination, and the searches of others, the result is this:—

1. No instance occurs in which the Lords have ever amended the Appropriation Acts; and, had they done so, it would have been a direct violation of our rule, established in 1678.

2. If any amendments were made in such a Bill by the Lords, expressly contravening any grant of the Commons, it could not be agreed to by the Commons; nor could a second Bill upon the same subject be brought in during the same session.

* The Carnatic question was one raised by Sir Thomas Turton, who moved a series of resolutions condemnatory of the conduct of Lord Wellesley in the matter of the deposition of the Nabob of the Carnatic, which conduct, however, was on every occasion approved of by the House of Commons by a large majority.

3. Four instances of short prorogations occur, viz. 1553, from 21st October, for three days; the Lords having amended the Tonnage and Poundage Acts. In 1689, 24th October, for two days; understood to have been on account of the Succession Bill having been lost in the Lords. In 1707, 8th April, for six days; the Lords having rejected a Bill for importing foreign commodities into Scotland. And in 1721, 29th July, for two days; to allow of bringing in a Bill upon the South Sea business, contravening some other Bills of the same session.

4. In a new session all the forms of the former session must be gone through, viz. King's speech, vote of Supply, Estimates, Committee of Supply for Army and Navy, miscellaneous services, &c., and also the Committee of Ways and Means, so far as relates to the surplus of the Consolidated Fund. For these purposes the number of days necessarily will be (Sundays included) about twenty-four, by which time another Appropriation Act may be passed. That is to say, if a House can be made every day, and no other controverted question of foreign or domestic policy should occur to create other impediments.

This is the result of all I can find applicable to the subject.

Believe me, ever yours truly, C. ABBOT.

15*th*. — Mr. Ley's doubts about the Lords' message respecting Mr. Palmer's* agreement occupied my whole morning.

House of Commons on Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill for repealing stat. Eliz. on Privately Stealing. Sheridan's †

* Mr. Palmer had been Comptroller and Surveyor-General of the Post-Office, and though at one time he had been suspended for disobedience, he had introduced some great improvements in the working of the office, for which he had received a pension of 3000*l*. a year; but it appeared that in 1793 he had convinced Mr. Pitt that by the original agreement made with him, when his new arrangements were first adopted, he was entitled to a far larger sum, and a motion had been made in the House of Commons, the effect of which would have been to increase his pension by nearly 10,000*l*. a year (by giving him 2½ per cent. on the net revenue of the Post-Office beyond 240,000*l*. a year), and to give him nearly 100,000*l*. by way of arrears. The message from the Lords was one desiring a copy of the Report of the Committee appointed by the Commons to examine these claims. Eventually Mr. Perceval brought in a Bill to grant him a sum of something more than 50,000*l*.

† Sheridan's motion was for an Address to His Majesty for copies of any Proclamations received by the Secretary of State, issued since the arrival of the French army at Madrid, either by the Spanish Government, or by the French Commander-in-Chief, or by persons claiming to act on behalf of the Spanish nation; but as Canning objected to produce the papers, Sheridan withdrew his motion.

motion about Spain; and Bankes's about Exemption of Foreigners from Property Duty, kept us in debate till half-past one.

17*th*.—Mr. Bramah came to state and explain the evils of the accumulated drainage from the upper part of London through Westminster by Tothill Fields and Millbank into the Thames. The probable cause of the higher rise of tides within the last three years, namely, the removal of the many tiers of shipping out of the river below bridge into the new docks—(the London, the West India, and the East India Docks)—whereby the obstructions to the flowing of the tide being removed, it necessarily flowed higher than formerly: he proposed also certain remedies by new cuts of drainage, &c.: all which I referred to Lord Grosvenor, whose estates these drains intersected.

In the House Perceval told me that he had resolved upon Mr. Palmer's business to keep back the Appropriation Act till it was seen how the Lords disposed of the Bill. That, if they passed it, the rest would follow of course. That, if not, he would not insert the grant into the Appropriation Act, but would have a Committee to search the Lords' Journals, and when their disagreement to the Bill appeared, he should, upon that manifestation of the Lords' opinions, not consent to put the grant into the Appropriation Act, but would let it go, if desired, into a special Bill.

House of Commons. In debate on the Carnatic question—final resolutions approving the motives of Lord Wellesley and Lord Powis.*

18*th*.—Wrote to Perceval the following letter, and received his answer:—

[Private.] Palace Yard, June 18th, 1808.

Dear Perceval,—Since you spoke to me in the chair yesterday evening, upon the subject of Mr. Palmer's business, and mentioned to me the course you intend to take, I have turned

* Lord Powis was son of the great Clive, and had lately been Governor of Madras.

the matter very seriously in my thoughts; and I feel that I ought not to lose any time in acquainting you with my view of it.

If the Lords differ in opinion from the Commons upon the Bill now before them, they will of course exercise their right of throwing it out; and upon the expectation that they will hold the same opinion upon the grant of the sum in gross, which has been voted by the Commons, it will be for the Commons to consider how they will act.

Now it does not appear to me to be right or fitting for the Commons, in such a case, to surrender or abandon their own vote; or that the apprehension of its being rejected by the Lords, can justify or excuse them for not maintaining the exercise of their own undoubted right in matter of supply. For the Commons to retract, rescind, or give up their own absolute and unqualified grant of money by not inserting it in the Appropriation Act, and for such a cause, appears to me, so far as I have had the means of information, to be a manifest departure from the uniform practice of Parliament, and an abandonment of the highest privileges of the Commons.

Viewing the question in this light, you will not, I am sure, be surprised that, in the progress of the proceeding, I shall think it my duty, in my situation, openly to declare that opinion, which on every account it will be very painful for me to do. And although I am aware that the circumstance may not, and ought not, to vary any determination which you may have come to upon grounds sufficient to satisfy your own judgment, I am very desirous that you should have the earliest and fullest knowledge of my sentiments upon a proceeding which appears to me to be so dangerous and important in its consequences. And I shall ever regret that such an occurrence should have happened in your time or mine.

God knows I have no wish, for your sake or my own, to have an additional session at this time of the year; but I think that even such an inconvenience cannot be put in competition with those evils which may arise from such a breach in the power and authority of the House of Commons.

Believe me, ever most truly yours, C. Abbot.

MR. PERCEVAL'S ANSWER.

Downing Street, June 18th, 1808.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—I am much obliged to you for communicating so promptly and so distinctly your opinion upon this

very important and embarrassing question. I will give that opinion all the attention in my power. At present I confess, that in the degree in which I feel the necessity of upholding as undoubted the privileges of the Commons with respect to all grants of supply, I feel it important not to mix in any Bill of general supply, separate matters of grant, upon which the Lords may reasonably be supposed to entertain a different opinion from the Commons; and upon which they have an unquestionable right to give their negative.

When that is likely to be the case, and when the Commons, with their eyes open to such a case, do mix such a grant with their general supply for the services of the year, I conceive they do offer a violence to an undoubted right of the Lords, and of the Crown, not to have any question of any sort so tacked to the supply, as to disable them from exercising an unfettered judgment upon the propriety of the grant itself.

However, the subject evidently is of extreme importance, and I can only promise that I will give it my best consideration.

I am, my dear Mr. Speaker, yours very truly,

SP. PERCEVAL.

19*th*.—I passed all this morning in searching for precedents upon the question in Mr. Palmer's case, and wrote again to Perceval.

[Private.] Palace Yard, June 19th, 1808.

Dear Perceval,—This communication will be more grateful to you than my last; and so far, I assure you, it is much more satisfactory to myself.

I told you this morning that if any new lights occurred to me I would not fail to communicate them to you; and upon resuming my search this afternoon some have occurred which bear materially upon the business in question.

Although it has certainly been the general practice that all absolute and unqualified grants in supply should be inserted in the Appropriation Act, even if they were also made the subjects of separate Bills, yet there appears to have been some exception to this practice, and particularly in the case of Rye Harbour, in 1745; the proceeding upon which is so distinct that I have sent you an extract from the journals. I should also mention the following cases, in which absolute grants have been made by separate Bills, and not inserted in the Appropriation Act: 1762, Westminster Paving Bill; 1767, Bill for Additional Building to the House of Commons; and 1781, Dr. Smith's

Compensation Bill; which Bill was not returned from the Lords. In 1779 there had been a vote of supply to Dr. Smith; but neither a separate Bill, nor any mention of it in the Appropriation clause; which must have been irregular. These are certainly exceptions to the general practice; and of these I have also enclosed a note.

How far it may be proper to follow these precedents in the present instance is for you and the House to determine. Considering at the same time the wide gate which this course of proceeding may set open for gradually drawing all the mass of grants of supply, and more especially the various and increasing grants for miscellaneous services, into the form of so many separate Bills, with all the consequent debates, delays, and embarrassments, which such a practice may bring upon the conduct of all the public business in future sessions and future Parliaments.

I am heartily glad, however, that you have given up the idea of searching the Lords' journals for the purpose of bringing their determination forward as grounds for controlling our votes, more especially of supply; as I think this would have been most subversive of our privileges and independence.

When we meet to-morrow you will probably have made up your mind on the whole matter.

Believe me, ever most truly and faithfully yours,

C. Abbot.

23rd.—House of Commons. Debate on army clothing, and afterwards on Palmer's grant. Perceval brought in a Bill upon the arrears, instead of inserting it in the Appropriation Act, by a division of 186 to 63.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER RECEIVED FROM THE BISHOP OF KILDARE.

Glasnevin House, June 15th, 1808.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . The Acts passing through Parliament for the benefit of the Church of Ireland have not been circulated among those bishops who are not in Parliamentary rotation; I am therefore, for one, unable at present to form any opinion of their efficacy; yet it must be presumed that we shall derive great advantages from them; and in this view of the good that may ensue, I am willing to suppress the regrets natural to men of strong professional feelings when they are overlooked in affairs concerning which their opinions ought

to have some weight. It is essentially necessary to religion and morals that there should be a resident clergy; that scandalous unions of benefices should be restrained; that parsonage houses and glebes be provided; and that the clergy should be encouraged in exercising their just rights as well as their duties.

I observe in the public prints something like an admission from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Perceval, that the plan of tithing in Ireland by the clergy is not right, and that a new one is under consideration. I admit that it is not right, but it is wrong, not to the advantage, but to the disadvantage, of the clergy. That inconvenient unions may be dissolved, and parishes reduced to their proper limits, it is necessary to consider how the incumbents respectively shall be paid; otherwise the bishops' charges as to residence will continue to be considered as mere professional talk. Whenever the day shall arise when bishops may be permitted to communicate their opinions founded on actual knowledge and observation, his Majesty's confidential servants shall have mine at the least delivered with plain sincerity; and I pledge myself to show that if we are not protected in our tithes as the clergy of England are protected by law, all human efforts to dissolve unwieldy benefices and to recompose their members must be nugatory and illusive. I have already offered my plan for the reformation of the diocese of Kildare, to which, so far as I have reason to know, there will be no considerable opposition on the part of the incumbents; but this cannot be effected if the Government shall lend themselves to the vulgar opinion that the clergy are to be depressed in income, and yet required to keep and maintain the appearance of gentlemen, and the decent hospitality of householders.

We have made a great reformation in the cathedral of Christ Church in Dublin; and we can safely report ourselves now as a body performing our duty.

. . . . . .

I remain, my dear Sir, most truly your obedt. humble servant,

CHARLES KILDARE.

To the Right Hon. the Speaker.

24th.—House of Commons. Debate on report of Consolidated Fund Bill; Whitbread commenting on the business of the session, and putting questions to the Ministers.

27th.—In the evening went to the Princess of Wales's ball and supper. None of the Royal Family present except the Duchess of Brunswick.

Monday, July 4th.—Prorogation. King's Speech, announcing his intention to give every support to Spain, his new ally. The most laborious session for hours of sitting ever known within living memory of the oldest members or officers of the House.

There were 111 sitting days, amounting to 829 hours, averaging seven and a half hours a day. Since Easter to the close of the session rarely less than ten or eleven hours every day.

6th.—Dined at Lord Camden's. The Duke of Cumberland before dinner and at dinner talked about Tierney's intended attack upon the expenditure of 70,000*l.* upon the Speaker's house. I told him that Mr. Tierney must look to Mr. Wyatt for those matters.

8th.—Went to Kidbrooke. Remained in the country till January 1809.

EXTRACTS FROM TWO LETTERS RECEIVED DURING THAT INTERVAL FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Dec. 5th, 1808.

My dear Sir,— . . . The news from Spain has of late been considered as gloomy. It has never appeared to me in that light. On the contrary, I have been astonished that the French have not long ago poured such armies into Spain as to overrun for a time all the plain countries; and the slowness of their advance has convinced me that they had expended their strength in the conquest of Germany, and could not easily collect their hundreds of thousands to send into Spain.* The resistance too which the large army (for so I suppose it is) which they now have in Spain, has met with, and their inability to penetrate into the mountains on each side of the road to Madrid, leads me to doubt whether Buonaparte will ever perform his promise of carrying his brother Joseph to that capital. I think he will be stopped by the mountains which

* Sir Arthur Wellesley, after the victories of Vimiero and Rolica, had returned to England in September; and at this moment Sir John Moore was advancing into the northern part of Old Castile, Napoleon himself was hastening to take the command in person against him, with Soult as his principal lieutenant, and at the end of a month Moore was forced to retreat into Gallicia.

divide Old and New Castile, should he get so far. But should he arrive at Madrid, I cannot consider Spain as nearly lost. I should consider him as little master of Spain, as Sir William Howe was master of America, when he took Philadelphia. I cannot conceive that such a country as Spain can be subdued, if true to itself, which at present it seems to be.

I suppose you will have much talk in the House about the *Convention of Cintra*. I find in Portugal the dissatisfaction was amongst the soldiers and junior officers, but that the more experienced seem to think it on the whole a prudent measure.* I had no great opinion of the military talents of Sir Hew; but, as far as I could judge from what I heard soon after the Convention, and especially when I heard, what I at first suspected, that no assistance was to be hoped for from the Portuguese, I thought we were much too ready to blame him, and I think that opinion seems now rather to prevail. I suspect some of the Cabinet talked rather indiscreetly; and encouraged the public censure. A most unwise conduct, if truly imputed, and which they will have great reason to repent. Our young gentlemen are certainly rather too flippant. I remember a conversation with Lord Melville on the conduct of Lord St. Vincent and Lord Gardner, in the West Indies, which led me to think highly of his political sagacity, and some of our Ministers seem to want a little of his experience.

I learn from Ireland that there are great heats among the Roman Catholics in that country, on the subject of the *Veto*. A riot at Kilkenny, I understand, has been the consequence, though the papers have been silent on the subject. When Lord Grenville and his friends stated in the House of Lords that they had *authority* to say the Veto would be conceded, I ventured to doubt. I thought I knew too well the character of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to think it would be conceded; though, if conceded, I think it would have amounted to nothing, and would have produced mischievous consequences.

It now appears that this had been in agitation at the time of the Union; and that six of the bishops had promised Government to obtain it. I always thought the flirtations of the Castle with Dr. Troy and Co. likely to end in no good,

* Sir Arthur Wellesley's opinion of the Convention was delivered unhesitatingly to the effect that, after he had been prevented by the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple from following up the blow he had struck at Vimiero, the Convention, which secured the evacuation of Portugal by the French, was a desirable measure.

and certainly productive of immediate mischief. But I suppose Lord Cornwallis had gone so far that subsequent governments were hampered. I wonder whether Lord Hardwicke knew the whole of this business. If he did, some of his conversations, which I now recollect, were extraordinary.

. . . . . .

I fear you will have a troublesome session, but I hope not so bad as the last. I am told Opposition mean to make an early push at Ministers on the subject of Spain, the Convention, Ireland, &c. Probably the King's Speech may occasion some discussion, as I think our Ministers are not disposed to reduce the Speeches to milk and water, which was the latter policy, in general, of Mr. Pitt's Administration. . . . . .

Very truly yours, REDESDALE.

Bataford, Dec. 13th, 1808.

. . . . After some full details of planting, &c., he proceeds, "Rating plantations to the Property Tax at the rent which the land would have produced, if not planted, I fear, has given the death-blow to plantations in many counties. I pay my tenant the full rent for the land planted, and then I am assessed for this as a profit, which is an actual loss. The Property Tax, I think, has in many points been very unequally arranged. If I had 1000*l.* a year in the Funds, I pay 100*l.* to the Property Tax, and receive 900*l.* for myself. If I have 1000*l.* a year in rent of lands, I pay 100*l.* to this tax, but do not receive more than 700*l.* for myself. I am therefore taxed in that case 100*l.* on 700*l.* instead of 100*l.* on 900*l.* But suppose my 1000*l.* is land charged with 600*l.* a year jointure. Before the Property Tax, I should have received 100*l.* a year for myself, deducting 200*l.* for repairs, salary of stewards, and arrears of rent; for the Property Tax is always paid half a year before the rent is paid to the landlord; but, as I now pay 10 per cent. on 300*l.*, the difference between 700*l.* and 1000*l.*, instead of receiving 100*l.* a year I receive only 70*l.*, and am thus taxed 30 per cent. on my income. In my own case, paying 2000*l.* annually out of 4000*l.*, and salaries, repairs, &c. amounting to at least 600*l.*, I pay 10 per cent. on 2000*l.* instead of 10 per cent. on 1400*l.*; that is, I pay near 13 per cent. instead of 10 per cent. on my income.

However, if we can keep out the French we need not grumble at any tax. I wish, however, the landed interest was a little more considered, for I am sure it is the stay of the nation.

The Property Tax acts very severely on land, for the farmer's tax is, in reality, paid by the landlord on every new letting.

I reckon, therefore, that on my landed property I pay at least 20 per cent. for the Property Tax. This, however, is no more than four shillings in the pound, which the land submitted to, at once, in King William's time, to keep out Popery and arbitrary power. . . .

Very truly yours, REDESDALE.

CHAP. XXIX.

1809.

BATTLE OF CORUNNA.—DEBATE ON THE ERFURT PAPERS.—ON THE CONVENTION OF CINTRA, ETC. — INQUIRY INTO THE CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF YORK. — CHARGE AGAINST LORD CASTLEREAGH OF A BREACH OF PRIVILEGE. — THE DUKE OF YORK RESIGNS THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY. — TREATIES WITH SPAIN AND SWEDEN.—DISSENSIONS AMONG THE WHIGS.—LORD WELLESLEY SENT AS AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN. — SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO PORTUGAL.

LORD CASTLEREAGH at this time acted for Lord Liverpool, and did the business of the Home Department.

Tuesday, Jan. 10th. — I wrote, at Perceval's suggestion, to Lord Castlereagh, that I wished to pay my duty to His Majesty to-morrow at the Queen's House, according to annual custom, and if there should be no objection to the day, I would thank him to give any orders that might be necessary before the Levée hour, which note Lord Castlereagh answered immediately that he would meet me there.

He told me that it had been found convenient to require previous application, which, for sufficient reasons, was never refused; but that, upon the Lord Mayor, &c., merely intimating that they *intended* to come with their contrâ address to the Levée; he had thought it right to acquaint them that it could not be without the King's leave.

11th.—Went to the Levée. The King talked to me about long speeches, long sittings, and public and private business, with his usual cheerfulness, and appeared to be in remarkably good health and countenance. There was a Council after the Levée.

Between the Levée and Council, Perceval and Canning talked with me about Jeffery's vacating his

seat for Poole, upon his being appointed Consul-General, to his son, and Perceval seemed to think that the case of Ambassadors stood at least upon a principle now inapplicable, and could not be extended to the case of Consuls, even independently of the analogous case of the Conservator of Scotch Privileges in the Netherlands, on which I relied as an exclusion of such persons, or as vacating the seat.

15*th*.—It is expected that the Princess of Wales's debts, and also the Queen's, will be brought before Parliament.

The Cabinet, it is understood, were divided about the Convention business. In favour of the Convention, Perceval, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Mulgrave, and Lord Westmoreland. Against it; Canning, the Chancellor, and Lord Chatham.

18*th*.—Dined at Perceval's. The King's Speech was read after dinner; the speech mentioned: 1. The Erfurt overtures for Peace.* 2. The Spanish War, and announced a treaty of alliance with the Spanish Government. 3. It mentioned the Convention; with strong expressions of disapprobation of its *character* and *stipulations*. 4. The King of Sweden and a subsidy. 5. The prosperous state of our commerce, and the expectation of finding ways and means without any great or immediate pressure. 6. The necessity of prompt increase of the regular force, with a favourable account of the progress of the local militia.

The manner of speaking of the Convention appeared to many to be such as must produce warm and troublesome discussion.

19*th*.—Met Tyrwhitt. The Prince of Wales is most ardent in the cause of Spain.

* In September and October of the preceding year long conferences had taken place at Erfurt between Napoleon and Alexander, who had made a formal treaty, by which, in return for Finland, Wallachia, and Moldavia, Alexander acquiesced in Napoleon's invasion of Spain, recognised Murat as King of Naples, and promised to aid Napoleon in a war upon Austria, and both Princes addressed overtures to England for peace, which we replied to by insisting on making Spain a party to the treaty.

The Session opened. The speech was varied from the draft of yesterday in its expressions of the King's disapprobation of the Convention. It was stated *not* as a disapprobation of its *character* and *stipulations* generally, but as *of some* of the articles.

Mr. Robinson moved the address; Mr. Lushington seconded. Mr. Ponsonby, in a speech of an hour and a half, arraigned the conduct of Ministers in mismanaging their co-operation with Spain; and their negotiations with America. Lord Castlereagh answered; Mr. Whitbread replied; Mr. Canning followed; and then Mr. Tierney, with some few straggling speeches at the end.

The Opposition declined any amendment or division, but announced three heads of inquiry which they should bring forward: 1. Spain. 2. Portugal. 3. America.

Lord Castlereagh gave notice of thanks to the Army in Portugal; and a proposition for increasing the regular forces; both for Monday. About 250 Members present.

21*st*.—The annexed bulletin was circulated.

Downing Street, Jan. 21st.

Brigadier General Stewart arrived this morning at Lord Castlereagh's with despatches from Sir John Moore, dated Corunna, 13th inst., upon which place he had directed his retreat, and not on Vigo, as he had originally intended. Sir John Moore had effected his retreat to Corunna with the loss of only part of his baggage; there had been repeated skirmishes with the rear guard, in which we had uniformly repulsed the enemy, and at Vigo Sir John Moore offered the enemy battle, but the French declined it. The enemy, when Brigadier General Stewart left Corunna, were in force in the neighbourhood, but it was trusted that Sir John Moore would effect his reembarkation without much loss, as the transports which he had sent for from Vigo were entering the Bay at Corunna, when General Stewart sailed on the 14th.

Went to see the burnt front of St. James's Palace. About a third of the whole Palace, from the north-east corner next to the German Chapel, round by the south-

east angle of the garden front, to the great tower in the middle of the garden front, including the King's closet, Levée room, bedroom, &c.; and the Queen's dressing rooms, and the Duke of Cambridge's apartments. The fire is supposed to have begun in an apartment belonging to one of the Queen's dressing women. One young woman was burnt; no other life lost.

23*rd.*—News of the final reembarkation of the troops at Corunna on the 14th.* House of Commons: only 39 members.

25*th.*—House of Commons. Thanks for the services of the army in Spain and Portugal. Lord Castlereagh brought in his Bill for increasing the regular army by more draughts from the Militia.

26*th.*—No House for want of forty Members.

27*th.*—House of Commons. I thanked Sir Arthur Wellesley.† Mr. Wardle's motion for an inquiry into the Duke of York's conduct in the disposal of commissions, &c., referred to a Committee of the whole House.

31*st.*—House of Commons. Debate on Erfurt‡ Papers till twelve. No division. Mr. Whitbread's amendment to the Address dissented from by Lord Henry Petty, Ponsonby, and Lord Porchester.

* The battle of Corunna, however, did take place on the 16th, and embarkation was carried into effect on the 17th and 18th. The cavalry, however, were embarked on the 14th and 15th, and it is probably to this that the allusion in the text refers.

† The Opposition had proposed to unite Sir Harry Burnard with Wellesley in the mention of the battle of Vimiero, but the proposal had been successfully resisted by the Ministers.

‡ Canning moved an Address to His Majesty thanking him for communicating to the House papers connected with the Erfurt negotiations, and, in effect, approving of the conduct of the Ministry; to which Mr. Whitbread (who declared our attack on Copenhagen more unjustifiable than Napoleon's aggression on Spain) moved an amendment approving, indeed, of our espousing the cause of Spain, but denying the policy of our demand that Ferdinand VII. should be allowed to become a party to any treaty into which we might enter with France, and stating to His Majesty the opinion of the House that the overtures made by Napoleon and Alexander for peace ought to have been met with more conciliatory language. The rest of the Opposition, however, did not support him, but approved of the conduct of the Ministers on the ground, as Lord H. Petty stated it, that peace could only have been procured by the abandonment of Spain; and Whitbread did not press his amendment to a division.

Wednesday, Feb. 1st.—The House went into a Committee on the charges against the Duke of York, and examined witnesses till two o'clock in the morning.

Witnesses for the charge upon the exchange between Col. Brooke and Knight: Dr. Thynne, Mr. Robert Knight, Mrs. Clarke. Against it: Col. Gordon. Mr. Wardle himself was also examined.

It appeared to me that, if all the witnesses were believed on both sides, the Duke of York was clear of the charge of *corruption*; but that Mrs. Clarke had certainly received money for her supposed influence in obtaining an exchange, which had actually passed (though not gazetted), *before* the time when the bribe to her was first offered.

3rd.—Further examination of witnesses in Committee on the Duke of York.

The Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank stated the total number of accounts opened in their books of the public funds to be 275,000, whereof 127 in the Consols and 42,000 reduced. The total debt redeemed to this period, 171,993,087*l.*

Sum to be expended in the ensuing quarter, 2,542,472*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

7th.—House of Commons. Examination of witnesses on the conduct of the Duke of York till two in the morning.

9th, *10th*, *13th*, &c.—House of Commons. Committee and witnesses on the Duke of York's conduct.

16th.—House of Commons. Duke of York's Committee. I moved that Captain Huxley Sandon upon his examination was guilty of gross prevarication. He was first committed to the Serjeant, then sent with a messenger and a constable to his lodgings to search for and bring an alleged letter of the Duke of York, respecting Major Jenyn's exchange. He was brought back with that letter and other papers, and was afterwards committed to Newgate. The letter was sealed up in a box, locked, and sealed with my seal, to be produced to-morrow. The other papers were referred

to a Committee of five to examine and report whether relevant to the matter of this inquiry.

17*th*.—House of Commons. Duke of York's Committee till two. Certain papers sealed up and ordered to be communicated only to members, and such other persons as the Speaker should authorise (viz. Bank and Post Office Inspectors). The papers to be inspected only in the presence of one of the Clerks attending the House. (Mr. J. H. Ley undertook it.) Between the hours of eleven and three I also directed that the office people who came to inspect should be admitted *separately*, and reserve their opinions from all persons whatever until their examination at the bar.

18*th*.—Received note (secret) from Perceval desiring my opinion upon the effect and form of an address from H. R. H. to the House of Commons at the close of the charges. I answered that I had long thought such a communication would in substance become necessary, but hesitated at present respecting the form, and would see him at any moment on Sunday.

Looked into precedents of letters to Speaker, &c.

20*th*.—Perceval sent to see me on the Duke of York's business. He read me the draft of a proposed statement to be sent to and read by me to the House of Commons:—1. Denying before God and his country all participation or connivance in the corrupt practices, &c. 2. Avowing with the deepest regret and humiliation the habits which had exposed his honour to the artifices of the most degraded characters. 3. Relying on his integrity and his services in raising and maintaining the efficiency of the army, and desiring to be set clear of the charges by the judgment of the House of Commons upon a view of the evidence, or to be put on his trial before his Peers, with the rules and privileges of regular justice for his protection, in common with that of all the subjects of the realm, &c. &c.

The Duke is willing to take any step of this sort. His last mistress (Mrs. Carey) is dismissed. The draft of this paper has not yet been shown, but, if approved

of by all concerned, it must be submitted to the King before it can be produced.

21*st*.—House of Commons. Debate on Cintra Convention. For administration, 203; against, 153. Lord Henry Petty, Canning, Bathurst, and Whitbread the best speakers.

23*rd*.—House of Commons. About half-past four I received from the hands of Colonel Gordon by the Serjeant a letter from the Duke of York, which I read to the House. It was ordered to lie on the table.

The letter was very much shorter and less explicit than the original draft which I had seen in Perceval's hands. I was not apprised of its coming until I was in the chair, when I received a note from Perceval to apprise me. I asked the pleasure of the House whether I should read it, and, receiving no negative, I read it, after which I slowly put the question "That the letter do lie upon the table."

Debate upon East India Committee, and afterwards on Prohibition of Distilling in Ireland.

24*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on conduct of war in Spain. For inquiry, 127; against it, 220.

This evening Drury Lane Theatre was burnt down. The light was so strong that persons at Fulham could see the hour by their watches in the open air at twelve at night.

27*th*.—House of Commons. Army Estimates. Distilling Prohibition Bill, for recommitting it to include Ireland: 99 for it; 61 against it: the two Chancellors of the Exchequer, English and Irish, being in the minority.

Friday, March 3rd.—Canning and Perceval came into my room behind the chair, and showed me draft of their proposed resolutions upon the *Duke of York's question*. 1. That the charges were not proved, or to that effect. 2. An address to the King, communicating the former resolution, with expressions of regret for the circumstances disclosed, as to the connection, &c. &c., and satisfaction that the regret expressed by the

Duke of York gave the House assurance of the value which he must set on His Majesty's example, &c., with approbation of his conduct in the official details of his department, &c.

Canning afterwards staid with me, and talked over the affairs of Spain, &c.

4th.—Lord Castlereagh called, to state privately the transaction of the writership of which he had offered the nomination to Lord Clancarty in 1805, to help him to obtain a seat in Parliament, and respecting which, he and Lord Clancarty had been examined before the Committee appointed to inquire into the abuses of East Indian patronage.

6th.—Debate on Whitbread's motion for conciliatory propositions to America. Division at six in the morning: For it, 83; against, 145.

7th.—Tyrwhitt called to relate the Prince of Wales's intended forbearance, not to interfere by his friends or opinions in the discussion of the Duke of York's case.

8th.—Lord Castlereagh called upon the subject of his evidence and Lord Clancarty's before the Committee on East India Company's patronage. He showed me copies of that evidence, that, if I saw any *expressions* offensive to the ears of Parliament, I might point them out. I saw none beyond what the narrative necessarily conveyed, and suggested nothing upon that subject. I told him distinctly that there was ground for a *primâ facie* charge of breach of privilege, by allowing the use of his patronage of an East Indian writership, towards the obtaining a seat in Parliament; that this charge of course would call for his defence; and that, although the denomination of the offence was such as must alarm the jealousy of Parliament, yet, in shade and degree, it seemed to be as slight as any supposable case within that description. It amounted only to an unexecuted intention, coupled with a reservation made at the time, as to the propriety of the person to be appointed, and standing clear of any knowledge of

or implication in any pecuniary means of influencing the return of Lord Clancarty, who had himself expressly rejected any such course of proceeding, &c.

Upon the subject of the Duke of York's question, he seemed to think an acquittal *of corruption* nearly certain, but that considerable doubt might be entertained upon the effect of any motion or amendment aimed at *his removal*. That the consequences of a removal or resignation might be very hurtful to the public interests, if the Duke of York, when displaced, should carry all the interests which he had naturally established in the army into political party; and also, if the patronage of the army should come into the hands of any Cabinet Minister, the army itself would again become an object of public jealousy.

House of Commons. A full attendance; apparently about 450. Wardle opened the debate in a plain, distinct speech of three hours, concluding with an Address for the removal of the Duke of York, upon the proof of these transactions, which, if either carried on with his knowledge, or without his knowledge, in either way show him to be unfit to command the army.

The heads of his speech were:—

1st Charge. Corruption in Knight's and Brooke's exchange.

2nd. Undue promotion, without sufficient military service, in the case of Captain Malin.

3rd. Corruption, in Colonel Trench's levy. Proofs: Mrs. Clarke's evidence and letter; rate of living in Gloucester Place; Miss Taylor's evidence of the Duke's words; Dawler, Grant, &c; the service of plate, in part paid for by Colonel Trench's money; had a draft for the rest by the Duke; loan of 5000*l.* for a place negotiated with the Duke; official documents; letters of service, exceptions, indulgences; General Taylor's letter; and the Duke's answer.

4th. Corruption. Captain Jenyn's majority. The Duke's note (of which the authenticity or forgery was

so much disputed). Donovan's evidence; Sandon's evidence, &c.

5th. Corruption. Colonel Shaw's appointment as Deputy Barrack Master at the Cape of Good Hope.

6th. Corruption. Dawler's appointment; Mr. Long's evidence, &c.

7th. Undue promotion. Sam. Carter, who had acted as footman, &c. Office papers, March, 1804. Mr. Dowell's evidence, Waller's, &c.

8th. Undue deference to Mrs. Sinclair Sutherland's influence in prejudice of Captain (or Colonel) Turner.

Besides the improper communication with Mrs. Clarke on military subjects and officers' applications, as well as for other public appointments. General Clavering's evidence, &c.; and proved by the Duke's Weymouth letters.

F. Burton followed in a clear and powerful speech of two hours and three-quarters; on the other side Curwen, for the address, half an hour.

At a quarter before twelve Perceval rose, and, after a masterly speech of three hours, calling upon the House to pronounce an express verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the charges of personal corruption or connivance at the corrupt practices of others, and demonstrating the prevaricating falsehoods which discredited Mrs. Clarke's evidence, and refuting each of the specific charges, stated the three separate motions which he meant to propose instead of Wardle's address.

1. That this House will give a distinct opinion upon the corruption charged:

2. That this House is of opinion that the charge is not proved.

3. To address the King, communicating this last resolution, and stating their satisfaction to have observed, in the course of the inquiry, the Duke's exemplary conduct in the discharge of his official duties, and the regret and concern which His Royal Highness has expressed for that connection, and its consequences, which have involved his name in these disgraceful

practices, from which they are confident that his future life will demonstrate the value which he sets on that virtuous example of His Majesty, which, through a long reign, has endeared him so much to his people, &c.

The House then loudly called for an adjournment. Perceval stated that he had more to offer in concluding, and would go on or stop, as the House pleased. The adjournment of the debate till the next day passed by acclamation.

N.B. The first instance in my time of adjourning in the middle of a speech. (*Query*, on Burke's East India charges? He spoke several days.)

9th.— House of Commons. Debate continued. Perceval, Whitbread, and the Attorney-General spoke. Adjourned at half-past three.

10th.— Perceval called while I was writing to him, upon the subject of Bankes's announced amendment to his amendment.

House of Commons. Debate continued. Bankes moved an amendment to the amendment; the effect of which was to retain so much of Mr. Wardle's motion as kept it in the form of an address, proposing afterwards to negative the corruption; but, in consequence of the *immoral* conduct of the Duke, and the *influence* given by his name to the corrupt practices of others, &c., *that he ought not any longer to be Commander-in-Chief.*

In this course of proceeding the Grenvilles and Wilberforce concurred.

Yorke, Leach, and Adam spoke for the Duke on all points; Lord Folkestone, against the Duke on all. W. Smith, for the Duke on the question of corruption, and against him on the question of removal. Adjourned at half-past three.

13th.— House of Commons. Resumed the debate on the Duke of York's question. The Secretary-at-War, Sir F. Burdett, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. H. Smith, and the Solicitor-General spoke. Adjourned at three o'clock.

14*th*.—House of Commons. Resumed debate on Duke of York's question. C. Williams Wynn, Croker, Rose, Long, Wyndham, Lord Castlereagh, Calcraft, &c., spoke. Adjourned at three.

15*th*.—House of Commons. Resumed debate on Duke of York's question. Lord Milton, Lord Stanley, Leycester, Sir T. Turton, Mr. Ryder, Lord Temple, the Lord Advocate, Wilberforce, Canning, and Ponsonby spoke.

Upon the question of amendment, viz., for beginning the proceeding in the form of an address, or of a resolution: division at half-past five: for a resolution, 294 to 199.

Afterwards, for Mr. Wardle's Address, 123; against it, 364.

This was the substance of the divisions, though the forms of amending the amendment rendered the question complicated.

The Swedish Treaty arrived. Also the Spanish Treaty. It seems the Austrian messenger brought despatches requiring this country to do much more than it is thought expedient to grant.

16*th*.—It is expected that a division of three to one will take place to-morrow upon the question of pecuniary corruption in the Duke of York; but that rather than put the next charge, viz., of acting upon matters of military and other public employments under immoral influence, to a question on Monday next, he will resign in the interval.

17*th*.—House of Commons. Proceeded to a vote upon the evidence of corruption or connivance in the Duke of York. Two divisions upon amendments. The first, for the charge being confined to connivance, 135; and 334 against it. Second division, upon the double charge of corruption and connivance; for that question, 199; against it, 278. Adjourned at four o'clock.

The call, and further consideration, postponed till Monday next.

Mr. Bathurst then to proceed upon the question of undue and immoral influence.

A very miscellaneous and tumultuous debate; made intricate by the form of the amendment, and noisy by the arrival of the Irish members from their anniversary dinner on St. Patrick's day.

The joke in the streets among the people is, not to cry "Heads and Tails," when they toss up halfpence; but "Duke and Darling."*

* The following parody of Horace's Ode to Barine, II. 8, was also written: —

TO MRS. CLARKE.

"If, madam, for your former lies,
Your frauds, and cheats, and perjuries,
You ever once had smarted;
Had e'er remorse your bosom rent,
Had you been e'er in bridewell pent,
Been pilloried, or carted —

"I might believe: but no, in spite
Of broken vows, by day, by night,
You sparkle, bold as fair;
On bounteous Nature, still relying,
Law and the lawyers still defying,
The public talk and care.

"Thy mother, too, of scrivening fame,
Draft-drawing, bill-endorsing dame;
Tho' now her hand's convenient,
I judge that when your interest clashes
To trample on her very ashes,
You'll fancy quite expedient.

"See Lucy Sinclair, whimp'ring, smiling,
Cresswell and Carey, Duke-beguiling,
In choral laughter join;—
Grim Donovan, and Sandon too,
Whetting their sharpest wits for you,
Deem all thy tricks divine.

"For thee, along each crowded street,
Hot pulses every moment beat,
New shores thine empire court;
Nor threatening oft, and sore annoy'd,
Scarce Dukes and Claverings can avoid
Their old and loved resort.

"Old Dawler wails his thousand pound,
A thousand mothers wish thee drown'd,
All trembling for their calves;
While timid brides, in soft alarms,
Sit sighing, anxious lest thy charms
Detain their dearer halves."

19*th*.—In the morning I received from Perceval the King's letter to him, with a copy of the Duke of York's letter to the King, containing his resignation; and the Duke of York's letter to Perceval.

The King's letter, dated Windsor Castle, March 8th,

Acquainting him that the Duke of York had been with the King that morning, and had tendered to him his resignation of the office of Commander-in-Chief, in a letter of which the King sends a copy inclosed; and which letter the King authorises Mr. Perceval to communicate to the House of Commons, acquainting the House at the same time that the King had, with great reluctance, accepted of the Duke of York's resignation.

In the rest of the letter the King added—

That he must ever regret any circumstances which have deprived him of the Duke of York's services, &c., in a situation where his zealous and impartial conduct had been no less conspicuous than his strict integrity, &c. And expressing further, his admiration of the forbearance and temper shown by the Duke of York under circumstances so painful and so trying.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

COPY OF THE DUKE OF YORK'S LETTER TO THE KING.

Stable Yard, March 18th, 1809.

Sir,—The House of Commons having, after a most attentive and laborious investigation of the merits of certain allegations preferred against me, passed a Resolution declaratory of my innocence, I may now approach your Majesty, and may venture to tender you my resignation, &c., as I can no longer be suspected of acting from any apprehension of the result, nor be accused of having shrunk from the full extent of an inquiry which, painful as it has been, I trust I shall appear, even to those who have been disposed to condemn my conduct, to have met with that patience and firmness which can arise only from a conscious feeling of innocence.

The rest of the letter (which was long) contained expressions of gratitude for the support he had received from the King and his Government, and declarations that the motives which influenced him to resign arose

from the truest sense of duty and the warmest attachment to his Majesty, &c.; and this feeling alone could have prompted him to resign an office which he had held for fourteen years, &c.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF YORK TO MR. PERCEVAL.

Windsor, March 18th, 1809.

Dear Sir,—I lose no time in acquainting you that I have this day offered to the King my resignation, &c., which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept, with assurances of affection and approbation of my conduct in the discharge of the office, &c. &c.

As I understand that it is his Majesty's intention to communicate to you a copy of my letter, I shall abstain from troubling you with any repetition of its contents; in which you will observe that I have cautiously avoided any expression which can give offence to those whose support upon this anxious occasion I have not been so fortunate as to receive.

(The rest of this letter thanks Mr. Perceval and his colleagues for the zealous, steady, and most friendly support, &c.)

That independent of his warm attachment for his Majesty, I have been actuated by the truest interest for the prosperity of his Government in taking this step, aware as I am that my continuance in office under the actual circumstances might have been productive of a degree of embarrassment, from which I consider it to be my duty, as it is my inclination to relieve his Majesty's Government, by the sacrifice of every personal consideration. (Signed) FREDERICK.

Perceval called in the afternoon to say that Sir David Dundas was appointed Commander-in-Chief.

20th.—Received a letter from Perceval that he should not read the whole of the Duke of York's letter to the House, nor say that it was by the King's command.

House of Commons. Upon moving the order of the day by Bathurst, Perceval stated the Duke of York's resignation; reading passages out of the Duke of York's letter to the King.

Bathurst's motion for a censure upon the immoral connection and influence was negatived without a division; and amended by a motion of Lord Althorp's,

to say that "after his Royal Highness's resignation, it was not *now* necessary to enter into any further consideration of the evidence." To this an amendment was proposed by Cartwright, by leaving out the word "now," and a division ensued; for keeping it in, 112; for leaving it out, 234. And so the main question passed. The order of the day for the call was discharged.

22*nd.*—News of another commotion at Cadiz; and General Jones (the Governor), an Irishman, killed by the party favouring the English. More arms required for Gallicia, for the Spaniards, who are again rising.

House of Commons. Irish Flax Seed Bill read a second time: some opposition by Mr. Baring on the score of American interests.

23*rd.* — House of Commons. Committed General Clavering for prevaricating on the Duke of York's inquiry.

24*th.*—News this day that the American embargo was taken off.

29*th.*—House of Commons. Sir Samuel Romilly's Bankrupt Bill; and a conversation about printing the report of Naval Revision; which, though ordered to-day upon the motion of Sir Charles Pole, was suspended upon a notice given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he should move, the first day after the holidays, to rescind that order.

30*th.*—Lord Auckland and Mr. Rose came here, and joined in an order to Mr. Allen to apply to their architects for their report upon the Palace Yard plans; the Lords of the Treasury having sanctioned such reference.

The House adjourned till Tuesday, 11th April.

Wednesday, April 12*th.*—News of the success of the Spaniards at Vigo; and their sending 1500 French prisoners to England.

15*th.*—About this time it transpired that Lord Grey and the Grenvilles had come to an open variance with

Whitbread, &c.; Lord Grey desired everywhere that it might be understood that he and Whitbread were two upon politics; Lord Auckland said, that Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, &c., were very desirous of concurring with Ministers in keeping down the wild spirit of Lord Folkestone, Sir Francis Burdett, &c., and their inquiries. Lord Hardwicke reported the same thing to me the next day.

16*th.* — Met Robert Dundas and the Lord-Advocate, from whom I learn that the opponents to the Scotch Record Bill were reconciled.

17*th.* — Royal Military Canal Board. Resolved upon the remuneration to Colonel Brown, the engineer, upon completing the canal and closing his accounts, 3000*l.* for three years and a half. Also to have an annual report from the Quartermaster-General and monthly accounts from the Accountant.

House of Commons. Lord Folkestone's motion for a Committee to inquire into *Corrupt Practices* in *all* departments of the State, &c., negatived by 178 to 30. The leaders of Opposition, except Mr. Whitbread, all speaking and voting against it.

Scotch Record Register Bill read a third time, amended, and passed without opposition.

20*th.* — House of Commons. Sir Thomas Turton attempted to discharge General Clavering *without a submission* or petition, and to revise the resolution of his having prevaricated; but the House would not suffer him to proceed to make any motion.

21*st.* — News of the destruction of the French fleet in Basque Roads by Lord Cochrane.

24*th.* — House of Commons. Debate on Lord Porchester's motion for the Reversions Abolition Bill. For it, 106; against it, 121.

25*th.* — House of Commons. Debate on the motion against Lord Castlereagh for his intended application of a writership to bring Lord Clancarty into Parliament. Lord Archibald Hamilton opened the charge in moving to read the evidence as reported by the Com-

mittee. Then the evidence was read *pro formâ*. Then Lord Castlereagh was heard and withdrew. Then Lord Archibald Hamilton moved the first of his three proposed resolutions. Lord Binning moved the other orders of the day, which he afterwards desired leave to withdraw, and Canning moved an amendment to Lord Archibald Hamilton's first resolution. Division upon the words proposed to be left out of Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion standing part of it — Ayes, 167; Noes, 217. Other amendments, and another division followed, 167 to 214. Adjourned at half-past one.

29*th*. — Litchfield and Kent about the purchase of a Trafalgar Estate. Briscoe promised to write about Cresset Pelham's estate of Crowhurst, above Battle and Hastings.

This day Lord Wellesley was gazetted Ambassador to Spain.

30*th*. — Canning came to me by his own appointment. He was persuaded that I must have seen that he and his colleagues *had different views* upon some subjects, and especially those of the war. That he had differed with them, thinking as he did, that the Convention of Cintra ought never to have been defended, and that Sir John Moore ought never to have been held up as an *approved military authority* for all he had done in Spain. For, if he had found the transports at Corunna, and returned without a battle, he must have been tried, and ought to have been disgraced. And the battle was no triumph, though gallantly fought in a state of desperation.

Also that he had not thought the Duke of York's case was to be taken up as a Government defence of His Royal Highness, without being wholly entrusted to them: whereas no such trust had been committed; nor even was it made a Cabinet measure till the end, nor was the letter a Cabinet advice, &c.

That he had told the Duke of Portland before Easter the Government could not go on, but must be strengthened. That his best duty to the King was *to give up*

what he could not desire to retain, and to do so whilst he could bequeath a strong Government to his successors and to the country. That he understood *some overtures had been making*, and that Yorke was to become Secretary at War after the session; but that he thought Lord Castlereagh ought to have resigned before the last question, and still more since. That it was in vain to be waiting till the session was ended. All would then be quiescent, and so go on for another year, which he would not agree to.

That he had mentioned all this to me, that I might not be surprised when the thing came to pass; and that he wished to know if these things struck me as they did him.

I told him that I had no doubt whatever but the state of the country called for an efficient Minister; that it ought not to have gone on nor to continue so; that the mischief was manifest in all the vacillation of choice of generals and plans; that the unsettled state of the House of Commons made the business of the State doubtful from day to day; and that the First Minister could never be so well anywhere as in the House of Commons; but who that was to be, whether in one House or the other, it was clear to me that *anyone, anywhere* was better than to have *none at all*, as at present.

He spoke of Lord Grey as now clearly standing before Lord Grenville in pretensions; that Lord Grenville had maintained no authority over his own Government when in conjunction with the Fox party; that he understood negotiations had been opened with Lord Sidmouth and his friends; that Bathurst was an able man, and an acquisition to any party; that Tierney was a powerful man in Parliament, and he rather thought Whitbread and Lord Grey were not so much divided as had been said. Lord Wellesley might be a good colleague, but not Premier.

That of the present Ministers Lord Westmoreland and Lord Camden were useless lumber, and Lord

Chatham perfectly unmanageable, though a good officer in his department, &c.

I told him that if he took the step which he had in contemplation he must make up his mind to bringing on the crisis which must constitute a new Prime Minister; and that he must judge for himself whether his sense of the necessity of the case required that he should, by withdrawing one-half of the strength of the Government in the House of Commons, produce the change at this moment, &c.

He went away, seemingly relieved by having disburthened his mind, but not announcing any precise resolution.

Monday, May 1st. — House of Commons. Debate on Fourth Report of Committee on Public Expenditure, respecting the Dutch Commissioners.

4th.—House of Commons. Mr. Curwen brought in his Bill to prevent the Sale of Seats in Parliament.

5th.—House of Commons. Mr. Maddocks, who had given notice of a motion against Ministers for their conduct in procuring returns to Parliament, moved to read the precedent of proceedings in Shepherd's case, 1700, which ended in the expulsion of the members accused. He then stated, "That, in the language of that journal, he now *informed* the House that the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval and Lord Castlereagh, in conjunction with the Hon. Henry Wellesley (not now a Member), had employed corrupt means to procure returns to Parliament; and said no more, but called upon Mr. Perceval to be heard.

Mr. Perceval, to this short and unexplained charge, said he had nothing to say in answer to the nothing that had been said, and withdrew. A debate ensued of some length and warmth. In the end Mr. Maddocks would have withdrawn his motion, but Mr. Secretary Canning resisted the withdrawal, and it was negatived without a division.

Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh then returning,

Mr. Maddocks was called upon to begin again, but I interposed. He then gave notice for Thursday next.

In the course of the debate, Mr. Maddocks proposing to enter into all the particulars, I stopped him, on the ground that both the accused members were now absent, also that his *notice* had not been *personal*, which the usage and courtesy of the House required; nor had he given the House any *information* to lead them to the conclusion of his proposed vote, having only made a charge, *without particulars* by which the House could judge of the propriety of ordering the matter to be heard, &c.

7th.—After church went home with Perceval.

Upon the subject of Mr. Foster's proposed measure for draining the bogs of Ireland, he stated his own intention to have the Bill altered, and to place the control under a commission in London, to direct the examination, and to report upon the practicability of the design; and he wished that I would consent to be of it, to which I readily acceded.

(N.B. This measure was afterwards changed for a commission to inquire; and all the Commissioners were appointed in Ireland.)

Upon the business of Maddocks's motion he had seen Wilberforce, from whom he understood the cases upon Maddocks's paper to be Rye, Queenborough, Cashel, Hastings, and Cambridge. Of Queenborough he actually knew nothing; of Cambridge he could not conceive what was referred to; Rye and Hastings had always been more or less on the recommendation of the Treasury, which Henry Wellesley might very possibly know about; but about Cashel he remembered a distinct conversation with Quintin Dick, after his objection to vote for the Duke of York's entire acquittal was declared, and that he had pressed Dick nevertheless to continue in Parliament.

Upon other matters he would not undertake to say what letters he might or might not have written, or what conversations he might or might not have had

with those who confidentially acted under him. But he must plead not guilty to the whole. That Henry Wellesley could not be compelled to answer what might criminate himself, and that the proceeding must be resisted as well as it could.

He thought Cobbett had at last committed himself in his paper upon the House of Commons vote, for rejecting Lord Folkestone's motion for a Committee to inquire into the sale of all places in the State, &c., but, when he showed me the paper, it did not so strike me that the libel was more violent than what all the Opposition papers contained every day; nor was it such as could usefully be proceeded upon.

I saw Sir John Sinclair, who came upon his own proposition to relate the story about Dick and the return from Cashel. I gave him no opinion about it, but merely told him that I had heard the same story yesterday (as I had from Dickinson); and he went away, without suggesting his "means to prevent its effects," which in his note to me he had promised to communicate; and I forbore to ask him, not choosing to mix myself in the business.

CHAP. XXX.

1809.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SINECURES, ETC. — EXPECTED CHANGE IN MINISTERIAL ARRANGEMENTS. — CURWEN'S BILL, LETTER ON IT FROM MR. PERCEVAL. — BUONAPARTE TAKES VIENNA. — CLAIM OF THE CLERGY TO COMPENSATION FOR THEIR TITHES, IN THE CASE OF LAND BOUGHT FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REALM. — VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE TO ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF TALAVERA. — EXPEDITION TO WALCHEREN.

May 8th. — House of Commons. Mr. H. Martin opened his propositions upon the Third report from the Committee on Public Offices, respecting sinecures and pensions. He stated the total amount of all descriptions to be about 1,500,000*l.* a year, upon a total annual expenditure of 80,000,000*l.*, and that of this 1,500,000*l.* more than half was indispensably necessary to the State, as consisting in the support of the younger branches of the Royal Family, and the chief departments of the acting and executive Government; that of the other moiety some might be questionable, though not objectionable; and the remainder would require regulation prospectively.

Mr. Thornton, the present Chairman of that Committee, stated, in his view of the total, that not more than 400,000*l.* could be brought under the regulations of any plan for amending their form or principles of grant.

Mr. Perceval, Lord Henry Petty, &c., spoke to the same effect, with some controversy as to the four-and-a half per cent. duties, and the liability of existing patents to regulation. But the whole debate was conducted with much temper and moderation; and this day se'nnight was fixed for the Committee, the proposed resolutions to be printed in the meantime.

9th.—House of Commons. Debate on Spanish Campaign till five in the morning. For Lord Temple's motion * against Ministers: Ayes, 111; noes, 230.

10th.—Canning called on precedents for proceeding upon Maddocks's charge; also a change of Ministers; prospect of Lord Chatham as first Minister; Lord Wellesley, Secretary of State for War, and the Colonies; Yorke in the Cabinet, as Secretary at War; India Board open; the Duke of Portland to come to a decision to-day.

Princess Charlotte of Wales. Great differences exist between the Bishop of Salisbury and the ladies of H.R.H.'s household about her education. The King ill at ease.

Austrians and French. Stahrenberg arrived, in good spirits, notwithstanding the victory gained by Buonaparte.† The Tyrol all risen for Austria, to a man. Two Austrian armies between Buonaparte and France.

11th.—Canning called upon the business of the day; also to say that the Duke of Portland had opened all the matter of change of Ministers to the King, who did not seem much to give in to it, but had taken time to consider of it. Canning did not hope much from any general junction of parties upon any compromise of principles. He thought of Tierney, and Bathurst, and Nicholas Vansittart as very useful persons in the House of Commons; and the two latter as the efficient men of what he called the *Doctrinal* party. Lord Sidmouth he

* This was a motion blaming the Ministers for every detail of the expedition of Sir John Moore. Lord Temple proposed four resolutions — That the aid we had given Spain was neither reasonable nor vigorous; that no proper measures had been taken to enable our Generals to combine operations with the Spaniards; that the loss of the Spanish fleet in Ferrol was owing to the want of foresight displayed by our Ministers; and that, owing to the neglect and improvidence of our Ministers, 7000 men and their commander had been sacrificed, &c. Lord Temple in the course of the session brought forward many similar motions, in all of which he was defeated.—See *Courts and Cabinets*, vol. iv. p. 336.

† The battle of Eckmuhl, April 22nd, in which Napoleon had fallen on the Archduke Charles with a great superiority of numbers, and given him a severe defeat. The battle of Aspern or Essling, in which Napoleon was defeated, took place a week later than this entry in the Diary, May 19th.

understood not to be desirous of keeping any party about him; and that he had so declared.

I said that I had seen him but once since Parliament met, and that was six weeks ago, and did not know what his sentiments now were; but he certainly had formerly desired his friends not to consider him as the head of any party, but to act for themselves. Canning said that he understood that at a final meeting of Grenvilles and Greys, Lord Grenville had desired to waive the first place in any new Ministry to Lord Grey.

House of Commons. A long and mixed debate on forms and merits upon Maddocks's motion.

The precedent of Shepherd's case was followed. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh spoke after Maddocks's statement, and before his motion; and then (though not compelled to do so) withdrew. Sir Francis Burdett was hot and angry; Tierney spoke strongly against the motion; also Ponsonby, Wyndham, and Anstruther. Whitbread in support of it, &c.

Division at half-past two. For the motion, 85; against it, 310.

In the course of Sir Francis Burdett's speech, urging the corruption in the procuring returns to Parliament, he said, "Buonaparte has a *strong ally* in this House." Whereupon a shout was raised from all parts of the House; and, after it had finished once, it began again, before he could proceed, so loud that the boats passing upon the river (it was about seven o'clock in the evening) lay upon their oars with surprise at the sudden and violent burst of noise.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Budget. The interest of the loan of eleven millions for England charged on the war taxes. No new taxes.

13*th*.—Annual visitation of British Museum. Number of visiting strangers: 1807, 11,000; 1808, 13,000; 1809, 15,000.

14*th*.—Called on Yorke by appointment upon Curwen's Bill for preventing sale of seats in Parliament; and upon Lord Harrowby; both of whom were strongly

inclined to agree with me upon the principle of the Bill and its main provisions, but neither liking the proposed test of an oath.

Of the Ministers, for the Bill are Lord Liverpool, Lord Harrowby, Long, Yorke, Huskisson, and the Attorney-General.

Against it, Rose, Perceval, Lord Arden, and Lord Castlereagh. Disposed towards it, but not declared, Canning.

Lord Harrowby also communicated to me his proposition to Perceval for a grant of 100,000*l.* to augment (this year) all small livings below 50*l.* a year, on which there were resident clergymen; as part of a plan to be pursued progressively, if the Church could be brought in another year to co-operate.

19*th.*—House of Commons. Parnell's motion for a Bill to enable the letting of leases of tithes for twenty-one years by ecclesiastical persons in Ireland. Negatived by 137 to 62.

Debate on my leaving the Chair on Curwen's Bill. Ridley Colborne opposed the Bill, as recognising and giving more sanction to burgage tenure boroughs than was consistent with a reform in the representation, and turning over all such seats to the treasury if they could not be bought and sold. It was opposed also by George Johnstone as tending to exclude moneyed men from Parliament, who were of no party, and amongst the most independent. Adjourned the debate to Thursday next.

Canning, during the debate, came to tell me of Curwen's readiness to give up the oath and penalties of his Bill, if any enactment could be made to forbid the *buying and selling.*

20*th.*—Rose called by his own appointment, to state that his original apprehensions had much subsided; and that he was very desirous that my proposed amendments [to Curwen's Bill] should be adopted, which Curwen (as Curwen had indeed told me) would willingly consent to.

I wrote to Canning to this effect, and to tell him that I had given my clauses to Perceval..

At three Perceval returned my proposed amendments to Curwen's Bill. He said he had taken copies of them, and had, with a good deal of anxiety, turned his thoughts to them. He supposed I meant burgage tenures, but that I had gone a good deal further; and he would write to me. I told him I certainly meant burgage tenures, but I meant more,—I meant also the case of a limited number of small freeholds in one hand; in short I meant the *wholesale dealer*, so far as I could describe him; whether as *commanding the returning officer*, or as *creating the votes;* and so we parted.

23*rd*.—Received the following letter from Perceval.

Downing Street, May 23rd, 1809.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—Whatever my doubts may be upon the policy of doing anything upon the subject of Mr. Curwen's Bill, the following observations and criticisms upon your amendments are intended to be made upon the supposition that the sale of seats ought to be prevented. It would be idle in me to trouble you with any of that general reasoning which leaves my mind in a state of great uneasiness upon the subject in any event of the Bill.

I conceive the object of your amendments is to confine the law to the case of burgage tenures, or to such proprietary boroughs, if I may so express myself, as are swayed entirely by the owner of the leading influence in the borough.

There are two questions upon your amendment:—

1. As to the mode of executing the intention, will the amendment so confine the Bill?

2. Can the Bill, if extended to such boroughs, be safely, usefully, and satisfactorily confined to them?

First,—I conceive your amendments to be intended to be confined to burgage tenures, and to such proprietary boroughs, because they describe the persons to whom the provisions are to apply as persons having a *power to create votes*. But, you will recollect, every freeholder who can grant a freehold interest out of his estate to another, and every owner of houses in a borough where the inhabitant householders have a right to vote, are persons having a power to create votes. Your amendments, therefore, would extend to such persons, and it would not be neces-

sary, in order to fall within the provisions of the law, that these persons should have attempted to exercise the power of creating votes; but if, having that power, they should *before*, *at*, or *after* any election, take money or office, for or in consideration of any recommendation, interest, or influence exercised, or to be exercised at such election, they will be guilty of misdemeanour.

The persons then to whom, and the Acts to which these amendments of the Bill would extend, and to whom, I conceive, you would not wish to extend them, are:—

1. The proprietor of a burgage tenure borough, selling his estate in that borough for more than its value independent of its influence at an election. He would be a person having a *power to create votes*, receiving money for an interest to be used at an election.

2. A person having an estate in or contiguous to a borough which is not a burgage tenure, but which estate carries an influence over the elections of such borough, he would *upon selling his estate for more than its value independent of such interest*, fall within the Act. And there are probably not many cases of a person having a disposable influence in any borough, who has not also a power of creating a vote there. And thus it would extend to almost all boroughs, if not to all counties also.

3. Any person having a house in a borough town, which house gives a right of voting, would be guilty of the offence if he received money for that house.

4. An agent, being a freeholder, and having therefore a *power* to create votes, receiving money for his services, one of those services being canvassing, which necessarily implies recommendation and exertion of influences, would fall within the provision.

5. Any person accepting any office procured for him in consideration of any such services or kindnesses conferred at an election, would, as I conceive, also fall within the provision.

All these cases are, I imagine, clearly not intended to be reached by the amendments; and yet I think, are within them.

The question then is, can the intention, so far as these objections go, be executed without extending to the cases which it is not meant to include?

The three first objections might perhaps be cured by a provision that the Bill should not extend to any case of *bonâ fide* sale or lease of property. But I should fear in introducing that provision, that a wide door would be opened to the most easy and extensive evasion; and this, therefore, as it appears to me, will remain a difficulty which will not be satisfactorily removed; for, if

Mr. Bathurst's cure for it was to be adopted, by striking out the words "*interest and influence*," the provision would not, without those words, reach the cases which it is intended to reach; and I doubt whether those cases can be met by any provision which would prevent the act intended to be prevented, without preventing innocent acts not so intended.

The fourth objection, relative to agents, might possibly be cured by a proviso that nothing in the Act should extend to any sum of money given or agreed to be given to any agent for any *legal service, bonâ fide* performed as such agent, concerning any election. But then all the questions under the treating Act will arise under the term "*legal service*," and a man who acts according to what practice may have recognised to be legal under that Act, may not only lose his seat in a petition before a Committee, as he is now exposed to do, but he may also be convicted by a jury of a misdemeanour.

The fifth objection suggests a case which is clearly not intended to be prohibited: yet suppose the Bill were to pass with your amendments, and apply it to the common case of an elector (being a person "having a power to create a vote") who had been an active canvasser and instrument in the success of an election. By such exertion he certainly would have fair claims of gratitude upon the member whom he had served; and yet if (though without any promise or agreement expressed or implied) such Member were, out of gratitude for such services, and with the hopes perhaps of their being repeated and continued, to procure an office for him or his son, I apprehend the amendments would reach such a case; and both Member and elector would come within the provisions of the Act, and be guilty of a misdemeanour, upon being convicted of gratitude.

Yet, on the other hand, if to obviate this mischief the gift of office is omitted from the Bill, it would be considered as omitted on principle, to empower the Treasury and the King's Government to *buy* by *office* what it was illegal to buy with *money*; and nothing could be more obnoxious. The difficulty or impossibility of obviating this is, that in nineteen out of twenty cases in which a Member of Parliament gets an office for his constituent, the jury would form a wrong conclusion if they did not ascribe the Act of procuring the office either to gratitude for past services, or to expectation of future, or both.

I have shown my reasons why I think this amendment would not be confined to burgage tenures, but would extend to almost all elections; and this opens the second question, whether it would be safely so confined.

I confess I think not; and that, if the measure is adopted at all, it should professedly extend to all boroughs. If it should be thought right so to extend it, it would be easy to do it expressly, by leaving out the description of the person as "having the power to create votes."

I think the measure, if adopted at all, should extend generally to all elections, and not be confined to burgage tenures.

1st. Because I should be sorry to have them held up as more obnoxious and requiring more regulation than others; as I should think the setting the example of legislating for them as more obnoxious to the suspicion of corruption than others, would be to expose them more to the hazard of Reform.

2nd. Because the enactment of such a provision so partially, would have no tendency to allay the popular feeling, no tendency to clear the House from the suspicion of corruption. I doubt its being true that money bargains for burgage tenure seats are more numerous in proportion than for other boroughs, where a preponderating influence directs the electors in their choice.

It would, therefore, not only be unjust by burgage tenures to hold them up as more suspected of the sort of corruption which the Act means to prohibit than other boroughs; but it would wholly fail in accomplishing the great object which you have in view, namely, that of getting rid of the charge of corruption against the House of Commons. For that charge would remain as strong in the other instances as ever; with the additional circumstance that the House, having considered the traffic in seats, when directed to burgage tenures, as an offence to be prohibited, had permitted its continuance without an attempt to restrain it in other cases.

Besides, it would leave all other elections in this predicament. It would be doubtful whether the express enactment and declaration of the law as to burgages was not an enactment and declaration of a principle which would extend to all other elections; and this would be leaving the question in a state of uncertainty which would be unjust to the subject, and would give an advantage to persons who had the least regard to their characters over those who had more to lose on that head.

Mr. Tierney's idea of executing the intention of the Bill, is to enact that any person giving a sum of money or an office, or engaging to give, &c., for or in order to his being elected; and any person receiving, &c., shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, with a proviso excepting *bonâ fide* sales and leases of property; and likewise excepting money paid to agents for *bonâ fide* services performed at an election.

This is pretty much the same thing as your amendment, without the limitation describing the person receiving the money or office by his power to create votes. And it is equally open to the objections which I have stated to yours; the most formidable of which, as I conceive, is leaving all questions of election expenses and acts of kindness to electors, to be submitted to juries for their opinion whether they do not amount to misdemeanor.

What I could best reconcile myself to, would, I apprehend, be thought insufficient. I mean merely to provide that if any person should give away money, or promise to give or procure any place, or promise to give or procure such money or place, for or in order to his being elected or returned a Member for any county or borough, &c., though the person to whom he gave or procured, or promised to give or procure such money or place, had a vote at such election, such member should be disabled and incapacitated from sitting for such place by virtue of such election, and should be deemed no Member of Parliament; with provisoes as to sales of property and payments to agents, and all other legal expenses.

This would bring the case before a Committee, and for the purpose of a decision by a Committee the description of the offence would be sufficiently accurate and precise. And the proviso would leave to the Committee, as it is left now, the determination of what are legal expenses. But then, being open for examination only for a short period, it would, I fear, be thought nugatory, and the House would be censured as intending to protect what they were obliged to admit required to be prevented. But if the provision be carried beyond this, unless the offence intended to be punished is defined and limited with a precision which I despair of seeing effected, I fear it will also alter the situation of a Member of Parliament as to have a very mischievous effect, by exposing public men, especially the persons most prominent, to the greatest danger, both in character and fortune.

Yours most truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

Soon after I received the letter Perceval called upon me. After considerable discussion I brought him to say—*First.* That he thought some Bill *must* pass. *Secondly.* That he would, in the debate upon my leaving the chair, declare the *best opinion* which he could form upon what that Bill should be. And, *Thirdly,* That he would, in the Committee, bring forward

amendments as he could satisfy himself and the House were fit for the proposed objects.

Germany. A report that Buonaparte* had entered Vienna.

Portugal. News that Sir Arthur Wellesley† had entered Oporto.

25*th*.— Michael Angelo Taylor came to apprise me that a petition was expected from the Princess of Wales's creditors; and that the Prince of Wales was willing to pay her debts (41,000*l*.), and to allow her 3000*l*. a year more, in addition to the present 19,000*l*. a year, if he could be indemnified against her future debts. The Prince's income he stated to be 130,000*l*., subject to property tax.

26*th*.— House of Commons. In debate upon Curwen's Bill till three in the morning. No division. Tierney, Lord Porchester, Lord Milton, and Wyndham attacked Sir Francis Burdett, Wardle, and Maddocks, for their speeches at the Crown and Anchor; and Sir Francis Burdett was loudly and indignantly called to order for saying that, "Since the sale of seats in this House was openly avowed, it was no longer to be called the Commons House of Parliament."

Thursday, June 1*st*.— House of Commons. Curwen's Bill. Upon this subject I delivered my sentiments in the Committee.‡

2*nd*.— House of Commons. General satisfaction expressed at my speech of last night.

5*th*.— Charles Yorke told me that, this day, Lord Hardwicke had put a final negative on his taking the office of Secretary at War.

* Napoleon had taken Vienna, May 13th.

† Sir A. Wellesley had arrived in the Tagus on April 22nd. On May 1st he commenced his march against Soult, and after defeating some of his officers in one or two skirmishes, on May 12th forced the passage of the Douro, and drove the French Marshal from Oporto.

‡ Mr. Abbot stated the question to be no less than whether seats in that House should be publicly saleable. Denouncing such a practice as contrary not only to the privileges of Parliament, but to the common law, he expressed his cordial concurrence in the principle of the Bill, and pointed out various amendments in the details which he considered necessary for carrying it into practical effect. — From MS. copy of Speech.

Extracts from two Letters from Dr. Parsons, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Balliol College, May 30th, 1809.

Sir,—I perceive, by the newspapers, that Mr. Huskisson is about to bring, or has already brought, into the House of Commons, a Bill to amend the 44th George III. c. 95, for the Defence of the Realm, as far as relates to the purchase of lands for the public service. . . . . I venture earnestly to hope that, among other amendments, the case of the Clergy, with respect to a compensation for their tithes on lands bought and occupied by Government for barracks, fortifications, and other public purposes connected with the defence of the realm, will not have been overlooked or forgotten. The evil, at present, I well know, is very sensibly felt by many individual in particular situations in Essex and in Kent, and probably in several other counties, where considerable quantities of land have been applied to the above-mentioned purposes, which, till the moment of their occupation by Government, were in a high state of cultivation, and subject to the actual payment of tithes. I experienced this evil myself, in some degree, in the living which I formerly held in Colchester, in the patronage of this College; and my successor still feels it. While the losses of the landholder and the occupier have, not unfrequently, been more than compensated by payments far beyond their real amount, those of the Clergy have generally been disregarded. And though repeated applications have been made to different Boards of Treasury for their relief, yet none, I understand, has been obtained; nor, as it is said, can be obtained under the law as it now stands.

Nothing however, it should seem, can be more equitable than the claim of the Clergy, in such cases, to a reasonable compensation; nor indeed can anything be more consistent with what appears to be the professed principle of the Defence Acts (43 George III. c. 55, and 44 George III. c. 95), viz., that the public safety should be provided for without injury to private property.

In many private Acts for the purchase of lands by Government for similar purposes, an express provision, I am told, has been made to secure a compensation for the loss of tithes, as in the case of Brixham, in Devon, and Gillingham, in Kent.

The present seems to be a favourable moment for remedying what it would be unjust to consider in any other light than as

an accidental and unintentional defect in the existing law. And you will, I trust, have the goodness, Sir, to pardon the freedom I have thus ventured to use in calling your attention to what I really feel to be a great and unmerited hardship on many individuals among the Clergy.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c. J. Parsons.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

Balliol College, June 5th, 1809.

Sir,—I beg leave to offer my most sincere and cordial thanks for your very obliging and prompt attention to the representation which I ventured to make of what has ever appeared to me a very great defect, though, as I had hitherto supposed, an unintentional defect, in the Defence Act. I lament that your kind endeavour to supply this defect and to secure an equitable remuneration to those individuals among the Clergy, whose property now suffers, solely in consequence of the operation of this Act, is likely to prove altogether unavailing.

How far it might have been consistent with the forms of the House to insert a clause in the Bill now before it, with a view to remedy this evil, it would be the height of presumption in me even to attempt to form a judgment. But notwithstanding the explanation which Mr. Huskisson has had the goodness to give of the views of the Treasury on this subject, I hope to be pardoned if I freely profess that I am still unable to contemplate the matter in a light different from that to which it has always presented itself to my mind.

That the proprietor of the soil, in virtue of his right, is at liberty to "use it as he pleases, and that, if the use be one from which no titheable produce arises, no right can accrue to the tithe-owner," is indeed strictly true; and would, in ordinary cases be a satisfactory answer, perhaps, to all complaints. But, as applied to the present case, which, in its very nature, is altogether an extraordinary one, it really appears to afford (if I may venture so to express myself) an apt illustration of the well-known maxim *summum jus summa injuria*.

It should be recollected that Government does not become proprietor of these lands by any of the ordinary methods of acquiring property. Its property in them is acquired in a compulsory manner, by virtue of extraordinary powers granted by the very Acts in question, and avowedly for purposes which, in most instances, necessarily destroy every chance of the production of titheable produce. Moreover the Act itself, as I

conceive, proceeds altogether on the plain principle that the public defence is to be provided for, but that individuals are to be indemnified for the losses they sustain by the measures which are necessary for that purpose. Now that a *loss* is actually sustained *by the tithe-owners* in these cases cannot be denied. Their *right* indeed to tithes still remains, but they are absolutely barred from the exercise of that right. And it is difficult even to conceive on what ideas of equity, to say nothing of strict justice, they alone, of all their fellow-subjects, can be intentionally precluded from all possibility of obtaining any compensation for their loss.

The fact indeed probably is that the landowner now receives the *whole* compensation which is *jointly* due to himself, and to the owner of the tithes; and that if a just deduction were made from the value of his lands on account of their being subject to the payment of tithes, the tithe-owner might be indemnified for his present loss without a single farthing of additional expense to Government.

The cases of Gillingham in Kent, and Brixham in Devon, to which I alluded, (and there are others of a similar nature) unless I have been greatly misinformed, are precisely in point; they were not of the nature of private Canal Bills, but (like the Defence Act) Acts to enable Government to obtain possession of lands for fortifications and other public purposes; and I am told that they expressly contain provisions for indemnifying the owners of tithes; the same has also been done, I believe, in the parish of Stepney, with respect to another great public work, though of a somewhat different description, the West India Docks.

I hope it may be permitted to me to add without offence, that even the supposed distinction between public and private Acts is hardly to be maintained with reference to the point in question, on any principles of fairness and equity. For surely there can be no possible pretence for the supposition that those who obtain private Acts are compelled to do that justice, in order to obtain them, which is not deemed necessary to secure the success of Acts of a more public nature.

. . . . .

I am, Sir, with great respect,
Your most obliged and obedient servant,
J. Parsons.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

8*th*. — House of Commons. Whitbread on Place-

men in Parliament *, and Martin's resolutions† till past two.

9*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Prendergast's motion against Grant, the Chairman of the East India Company. On Foster's Indemnity Clause of the Irish Revenue Officers who had taken bribes, thrown out upon a division. After which the Report of Curwen's Bill, after several divisions of 50 odd to 70 odd, ordered to be engrossed.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Judges Salaries Bill. Curwen's Bill passed with three divisions: 83 to 98, and 85 to 96, and 134 to 28.

13*th*.—Debates on American‡ Negotiation, and Lord Erskine's Bill to prevent cruelty to animals, till half-past two. Division for going into a Committee upon it, 40; against it, 28. Afterwards in the Committee the House was counted out.

15*th*.—Went to Perceval to settle the notice of limiting time for receiving private petitions next session to the first fourteen days, and also to require all persons soliciting Bills to name a Parliamentary Agent amongst some of the Clerks of the House who may be responsible for the due conduct of the business. To both which he agreed.

House of Commons. Annual Addresses moved.

* This motion was to declare, "That this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into its most serious consideration how far it may be expedient to provide some further limitation to the number of persons holding seats in this House, together with pensions, sinecures, and places of emolument under the Crown." It was negatived without a division.

† These resolutions declared, "That it was peculiarly necessary, in the present circumstances of the country, to attend to economy, and to make every practicable arrangement for the purpose of limiting the public expenditure." Withdrawn.

‡ This was caused by a motion of Lord H. Petty, for papers relating to the attack on the *Chesapeake*, and a copy of the instructions given to Mr. Erskine (our Envoy to the United States) on the subject of the attack; and also for a copy of any communications in possession of the Government from Mr. Erskine, explaining his motives for making the late arrangements with America. Mr. Canning opposed the motion, affirming that Mr. Erskine had altogether exceeded his instructions, and Lord Henry withdrew it.

Notices given. Sir Francis Burdett opened his scheme for a Reform of Parliament. Negatived the consideration of it in next session. It was in substance for Universal Suffrage of Householders, and Annual Parliament.

Lord Erskine's Bill thrown out by 37 to 27.

18*th*.—Prince of Orange arrived from the continent; said to come for education, and as a future husband for the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

20*th*.—Vansittart's Finance Resolutions.

21*st*.—Prorogation of Parliament.

24*th*.—Lord Sidmouth breakfasted with me.

He told me that the news was that Lord Castlereagh was going out to Spain instead of Lord Wellesley, who was likely to take his office at home; and that Lord Chatham, with Lieut. Gen. Sir John Hope under him, was going out immediately in the command of 40,000 men to the continent.

28*th*.—The exports from the Port of London only, to Europe, amounted to 498,000*l*., as certified from the Custom House this day, for the week ending 17th June inst. The like exports for the corresponding week of last year amounted only to 127,000*l*.

Monday, July 3*rd*.—Left London for Kidbrooke.

This days news arrived by telegraph that the French had evacuated Ferrol and Corunna, and had been defeated.

While I was in the country news arrived—

21*st*.—Of Buonaparte's passing the Danube* and defeating the Austrians.

27*th*.—Of the armistice, and also of the English Expedition having sailed from the Downs for the Scheldt.

Tuesday, August 8*th*.—Of the descent on Walcheren, and investment of Flushing, by despatches from Lord Chatham of the 1st and 2nd inst.

* The passage of the Danube took place July 4th, and the battle of Wagram on the 6th. The armistice was entered into on the 10th, and peace between France and Austria was concluded on the 18th.

16*th*.—Of Sir Arthur Wellesley's defeat of the French at Talavera.

21*st*.—Of the surrender of Flushing.

Saturday, Sept. 2nd.—Gazette of Lord Chatham's determination to return without attacking Antwerp.

And also of Sir Arthur Wellesley's (now Lord Wellington) retreat across the Tagus.

CHAP. XXXI.

1809.

RESIGNATION OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.—LETTERS FROM PERCEVAL.—HE BECOMES PRIME MINISTER.—OVERTURES TO LORDS GRENVILLE AND GREY.—LETTER FROM CANNING.—CAUSES OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND'S RETIREMENT.—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CANNING AND THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.—DUEL BETWEEN CANNING AND LORD CASTLEREAGH.—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.—LORD GRENVILLE ELECTED CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD.

SUNDAY, Sept. 10th.—Received the following letter from Perceval.

[Most private and confidential.]

Downing Street, Sept. 9th, 1809.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—I cannot let the week close without giving you some information (though I have delayed till now giving you any, with the hopes of giving you more than I am able, even at present) upon a subject of great importance.

The Duke of Portland has resigned, the King only desiring he would keep his office till some arrangement might be made for his successor. The story is a great deal too long for a note or a letter; suffice it to say, that it is mixed in some respects with the most painful considerations that it has ever been my misfortune to have felt.

Whether it will be possible for us to form any arrangement, or what it will be, I really cannot at present state to you, as I do not know myself. According to present appearances, Castlereagh *cannot* stay with us, from a sense of what is due to himself; and Canning *will* not. Conceive me then, and my situation in your house, under such circumstances, and judge whether, if these appearances are realised, it would be just by the King or by the country in me, to affect to be able to remain either without them or some other *strength*, where how to acquire it is not very easy to imagine.

I wished you not to know this subject from any other quarter but myself, and I feel that I have only whetted your

curiosity, and it would take a volume to communicate it fully. Possibly, therefore, till a personal meeting, I must defer the full explanation. The result, whatever it may be, you shall hear as soon as I can tell you. The cruel thing upon Castlereagh is, that though this is entirely independent of the late expedition, it is next to impossible but that the public impression will connect the two together. I am, my dear Mr. Speaker, yours very truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

Memorandum upon the Change of Administration.

Monday, Sept. 11th.—I went to town. Between four and five Perceval called, and gave me the following account:—

1. The causes which have produced the present breaking up of the Administration originated as far back as Easter last.

At that time, after the Spanish and Portuguese questions had been debated and passed, whilst the report from the East India Committee on patronage was before the House, and before any question was proposed upon it, Canning informed the Duke of Portland that he could not continue in the Government with Lord Castlereagh, but would resign; and desired the King might be informed of this determination. To prevent this rupture and its consequences, it was settled between the King and the Duke of Portland, that if Canning would forbear taking such a step at such a time, which must necessarily produce a sudden dissolution of the Government, some arrangement should be made by which Lord Castlereagh should be removed at the end of the session. This was communicated to the Chancellor, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Camden, as Lord Castlereagh's friends, and assented to by them and by Canning, but was concealed from Lord Castlereagh himself, and also from Perceval; in order, as they conceived, to ensure a quiet termination of the session.

2. The prorogation took place on Wednesday, June 21st, upon the evening of which day Perceval attended a Cabinet, at which, Canning and Lord Castlereagh being present, the expedition to the Scheldt, then being in contemplation, was actually resolved upon. At the close of the evening the Duke of Portland desired to see Perceval the next morning.

Upon the Thursday morning the Duke of Portland related to Perceval all that had passed respecting the intended removal of Lord Castlereagh.

Perceval, besides expressing all the surprise necessarily springing out of such a disclosure, preceded by such a transaction and such a concealment, insisted upon it that, whatever had been the original ground of such a measure, a new state of things had arisen, which rendered it impossible for him to acquiesce in the justice of such a measure at this time; and urged most strongly that the very concurrence of Canning and the whole Cabinet on the preceding evening, in the expedition of which Lord Castlereagh was the suggester, and taught to think himself entrusted with the execution, precluded the possibility of such a proceeding; and he undertook to represent his own feelings to Canning.

A correspondence ensued between Perceval and Canning, who persisted in his original determination, and in the end desired that all further communication upon this subject might be made through the Duke of Portland.

The result was, that Perceval obtained a respite of the projected removal, until at least the issue of this expedition should take place; and even then reserving to himself the declaration of his own feelings, if the proposed arrangement for the removal of Lord Castlereagh should be such as was not perfectly acceptable to Lord Castlereagh himself.

Still, however, no communication of any part of the transaction was made to Lord Castlereagh.

3. Then came the Duke of Portland's sudden and dangerous illness; and, immediately afterwards, the failure of the expedition.

Out of these events Perceval thought that a new proposition might be framed, which should give to Lord Castlereagh's removal a character distinct from what it must otherwise bear at such a moment.

The Duke of Portland had often declared his readiness to resign his office, whenever his resignation could be of more service than his continuance, and Perceval now represented that period to have arrived. The Duke's resignation would necessarily lead to many changes, and Lord Castlereagh might be included in the number.

On Wednesday last the Duke of Portland accordingly did resign.

On Friday last (the 18th inst.) Canning, having desired that a particular subject might be discussed in the Cabinet upon that day, did not himself attend. This led to much observation; and Lord Castlereagh, dining with Lord Camden that day, and pressing him much upon those appearances, for the first time became acquainted with all that had passed concerning his intended dismissal. Of course he was mortified in the extreme; conceived he had just cause to complain of his own friends for the concealment they had practised, &c. &c., and resigned.

Canning now will not continue in office with the present Government. He holds the King released from his promise of removing Lord Castlereagh, but persists in withdrawing himself. He said to Perceval, "When you are First Lord as well as Chancellor of the Exchequer, you will be double yourself in strength in the House of Commons, and you may go on without me." Perceval says, "It may be very true that any man who holds both these offices is of twice the importance and weight in public opinion; but Canning single is of more Parliamentary strength than Perceval doubled. And so the Treasury Bench will be weaker than ever by the double secession of the two Secretaries of State." In short, that Canning's resignation necessarily breaks up the present Ministry. Canning does not see that, and

at all events, he has no quarrel with the Ministry, who may continue. Nor is he going into opposition, but to quiet he is resolved." "And so the matter rests."

More strength must be looked for if this Government is to go on; but where is it to come from? and, after all, the King must choose his own servants.

I said at parting, "It seems to me that Canning cannot bring himself to serve under you, and he has not the conscience to propose that you should serve under him."

Perceval said, "Why, that is pretty near the substance of the thing, although it has not been put in that form."

I said, "What then remains to be done?" Perceval. "To see whether we cannot find some third person under whom we may both act."

I said, "What says the King to all this? If his First Minister has resigned, he must, of course, send for some person to form a new Administration." Perceval said, "Yes. But, of course, he would rather wish to know what person was likely to keep all together. But on Wednesday next the thing probably must be decided, and when anything is settled, you shall know."

13*th*.—Received a second letter from Perceval.

[Most private and confidential.]

Downing Street, Sept. 12th, 1809.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—I regret extremely that it did not occur to me yesterday, just to open an idea to you upon which I confess I should be very anxious for your serious and deliberate opinion, almost before you can have any time to deliberate. And that is, whether, if His Majesty should be disposed to entrust to me, or to any other one else among us, the formation of his Administration, you could give me the least hope, that you could be induced to accept the office of Secretary of State. I could have wished to send you this note by a messenger; but I think that would create a degree of suspicion and surmise, that I thought you would rather wish, possibly in any event of your

decision, not to have excited. The same objection does not exist on my part to receiving a special messenger from you, and therefore, if, by such consequence I could hear earlier from you, you may imagine I should prefer it. At the same time, feeling that probably you could not send me any answer at a much more early period than the post would have bring it, I shall not expect an answer earlier than by return of post.

I am, my dear Mr. Speaker, yours very truly,

Sp. Perceval.

I should wish that you would consider the question as put without any terms or conditions; because what I could wish is, to know what your feeling is on the general question; and I do not conceive that there can be any terms which could occur to you as practicable that could be considered by me as [not] desirable.

MR. ABBOT'S REPLY.

[Most private and confidential.]

Kidbrooke, Wednesday morning, 8 o'clock,
Sept. 13th, 1809.

My dear Perceval, — I am very much gratified by the pledge of kindness and good opinion contained in your letter, which I have just received; and I lose no time in acknowledging and answering it, as it may be material to you to have the earliest knowledge of my sentiments upon the proposition which you have suggested. I send my answer, therefore, by express. But in truth, I have long since made up my mind not to change my present habits of life so long as the House of Commons will be contented to accept my services in my present situation. And, as this determination has been formed upon considerations unconnected with temporary circumstances, I am persuaded that, although I must decline what you have suggested, upon the present occasion, you will believe me to be ever, with the sincerest regard and best wishes,

My dear Perceval, most truly yours, C. Abbot.* -

N.B. The substance of my answer (as I found afterwards), was stated in a paragraph of the long Cabinet minute of the 18th September, which was laid before the King.

* The Correspondence between Mr. Perceval and Lord Grenville is to be found in *Courts and Cabinets*, vol. iv. p. 374 and seq.

17*th*.—I received a letter from Canning, inclosing a copy of his letter, dated the 12th inst., to the Duke of Portland.

[Private and confidential.]

Gloucester Lodge, Sept. 16th, 1809.

My dear Sir,—The confidence which I began to make to you towards the end of the last session of Parliament, would not have been so long suspended, if we had happened to meet during the last three months, but I have neither thought it right to trouble you by letter on a subject of such a nature, nor have I, till within the last very few days, had anything to state to you that was at once definite and capable of being stated within any reasonable compass.

The enclosed copy of a letter, which I addressed to the Duke of Portland, on Tuesday last, and which his Grace, on the following day, laid before the King, will put you in possession of so much as I know of the present state of things. The result is (to me) still uncertain.

I know (or I think I know) that in *theory our* opinions do not very much differ. I am aware of all the misrepresentations to which I may be liable in the application of that theory practically, but I feel confident that, whatever judgment you may form upon this point, you will give me credit for motions and intentions of which you are not now for the first time apprised; and I flatter myself that you will in any case consider this communication as a proof of the sincere esteem and regard which I entertain towards you, and of my desire to stand well in your opinion. Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly and faithfully yours,

GEORGE CANNING.

LETTER FROM MR. CANNING TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, ENCLOSED IN THE FORMER.

[Private and confidential.]

Bulstrode, Sept. 12th, 1809.

My dear Lord,—According to my promise, I will state to your Grace, without disguise or reservation, my opinions with respect to the arrangements to be made upon your Grace's retirement from office. You will do me the justice to remember

that, when I reminded your Grace last week of Lord Wellesley's intended succession to the War Department, I knew not that your Grace had any thought of retiring.

In my conversation with your Grace on Wednesday I first learnt that your determination was taken; in the same conversation I likewise learned that, independently of your Grace's resignation, the execution of the intended arrangements would be accompanied with difficulties of which I had never before been apprised. To others, indeed, your Grace's resignation appeared to smooth these difficulties; to me it created new ones; and I therefore at once requested your Grace to put wholly out of your consideration, if necessary, formally to withdraw, any *claim* of mine for the performance of his Majesty's gracious promise.

Humbly and gratefully as I acknowledged his Majesty's extraordinary goodness and condescension, I could not honestly be a party to the arrangement being carried into effect under circumstances which might deprive it of all its benefit; and after your Grace's resignation had suspended every question of merely partial arrangement.

Perceval had, indeed, already required of me, and had at length, by dint of friendly importunity, and of a frankness and confidence on his part which I found it impossible to resist, extorted from me a disclosure of what my sentiments *would be* on the *contingency* of your Grace's retirement; a disclosure which I should have thought more likely to retard that contingency than to hasten it. What I then stated to Perceval hypothetically I can have no objection now to repeat to your Grace.

I think, then, that it would be idle to attempt to carry on the government by merely filling up your Grace's situation: filling up your *office*, I should rather say; for there belong to your Grace's personal situation *in* that office circumstances which in addressing myself to your Grace I will not particularise, but which make your Grace's holding of the First Lordship of the Treasury a very different thing indeed, both in public impression and with respect to the King's service, and to your colleagues, from that of any other man in whom your Grace's successor might be to be found or to be made.

I think that an administration of departments with an elective head is not calculated for the well carrying on of the King's Government in these times.

I think that *a* Minister, and that Minister in the House of Commons, is essentially necessary to that object. I have not

pretended to disguise from myself or Perceval, who admits the principle of these opinions, how directly and personally they affect himself and me. We have discussed the subject together, however delicate and embarrassing, with perfect good humour (as I am sure your Grace will have heard from him), and as nearly as possible as if we had been talking of a third person. The easiest arrangement on this principle would be the devolution of your Grace's office on Perceval. I should see this arrangement without the smallest dissatisfaction or regret.

I trust, indeed, that neither your Grace nor his Majesty would think the worse of me if I avow those ordinary feelings of human nature which would preclude my remaining in office under such a change as this arrangement would necessarily produce in my situation.

But I should carry out of office with me the most sincere and undiminished personal goodwill towards Perceval; and shall retain equally as in office the most lively sentiments of gratitude and of affectionate veneration towards his Majesty.

For myself, I have already said to Perceval with unaffected truth that I could neither expect nor desire his consent to act with me in office, in the House of Commons, in a relative situation, the reverse of that in which we have hitherto stood towards each other.

It is not for me to presume to suggest any other alternative. But of this I am entirely convinced, that the situation to which I have referred, either in Perceval's hands or in mine, or in those of any third person, whom his Majesty might select to honour with his confidence, would be better for the public service, and better especially for any part of that service in which the authority of the Crown is concerned, than a Government of compromise, of uncertain preponderance, and decided responsibility.

Upon this point I am confident your Grace would find a prevailing opinion among persons who are the most conversant with the business of the House of Commons, and who witnessed the difficulties and embarrassments of the last session; nay, I am confident that Perceval himself is so fully impressed with the truth of the principle, that, with all his desire to keep things as they are, and to avoid any change either in my situation or his own, he will find it absolutely necessary, if the Government of compromise shall take place, to stipulate for such an accession of power to his present office, as (though it will not in my opinion be sufficient to enable him to carry on the management of the House of Commons with the energy which the times

require) would in effect produce to a great degree a change (which he wished to avoid) in *our* relative situations.

I have thus spoken to your Grace with perfect frankness. I hope that what I have been obliged to say incidentally with reference to myself will not be misinterpreted by your Grace, or by his Majesty. I thought that the affectation of *pretending not* to see how far I was myself *necessarily* concerned in these questions would have been as foolish as insincere. There are occasions which justify explicit declarations of opinion, even at the risk of being misinterpreted; and this appears to me, if ever there was one, to be an occasion to call for such a declaration. But having made it, I can most conscientiously assure your Grace that, amongst the alternatives which I have selected, far from preferring that which motives of personal ambition might be suppose to recommend to my preference, my sincere wish is to be enabled to retire (at the same time with your Grace) with his Majesty's gracious approbation.

I am, my dear Lord, with the truest respect and affection,
Your Grace's most faithful servant,

GEO. CANNING.

I answered him by return of post, acknowledging the communication, and referring to my former conversations with him upon the essential principles of a strong Government, with an earnest wish that their practical application (at all times difficult) might now lead to an arrangement which should give an increase of strength and stability to the character of our Government.

LETTER FROM MR. PERCEVAL.

Downing Street, Sept. 20th, 1809.

Dear Mr. Speaker, — I have had so much to say that I have no time to say it; but I might have found time to have thanked you for your kind and ready answer to my former letter.

You have judged *perfectly right*. If you had asked my advice I could not have been so dishonest as not to have given it for the decision you have made. Castlereagh and Canning have been fighting. Thank God Canning is not severely hurt, and Castlereagh is not touched. Terrible, all this, for public impression. What we are to do is not finally settled. It must end in an attempt to form an united Government with our opponents. But it is a bitter pill to swallow for more than one.

When I can tell you any thing positive, and can get a moment to tell it, I will.

Yours very truly, Sp. Perceval.

25*th*.—During my stay in London I received letters from Mr. Perceval, Mr. Rose, and Lord Auckland, respecting the proposed junction of parties; announcing Lord Grey's refusal to come up to London, and Lord Grenville's obedience to the summons, with the subsequent refusal of Lord Grenville to accede to the proposition of conferring upon an extended and combined Administration.

LETTER FROM MR. PERCEVAL.

Downing Street, Sept. 28th, 1809.

My dear Mr. Speaker, — Lord Grenville's answer, which I received last night, was that he would come to town in humble obedience to the King's pleasure.

Lord Grey declines peremptorily having anything to do with us; all union is impossible, and therefore it is most just by the King, and most fair by us, to decline at once.

So far fact, at least the substance of the fact. You shall see the very words when you next come to town.

Speculation alone can tell you as yet what Lord Grenville will do. The probability seems to be that, when he shall know Lord Grey's determination, he will fall into it. If he does not, we shall sincerely endeavour to make a Government with him; and I think we may do it effectually; but, if he agrees with Lord Grey, we must make the desperate attempt of trying what we can do without them; and I confess I am not without hopes that we shall have credit given us by the country for our disposition to sacrifice private feeling and party prejudice to the exigencies of the times; that, knowing the difficulties which the Catholic question must create between the King and the Opposition, unless they had some intermediaries, we consulted best for the country, in endeavouring to afford protection to the King upon this point, not by any pledge, which was impossible, but by the formation of a joint Administration, consisting in part of those who thought with the King upon this subject, and which, as long as we constituted an efficient part of it, could not bring forward that question as a measure of Government. And we had not done a little for the country in causing it to be felt that

such implied security ought to satisfy without any express declaration at all. I am most truly yours,

SP. PERCEVAL.

30*th*.—In the evening Perceval called; related the substance of his correspondence with Lord Grenville, promising to show me the whole on Monday next. He also stated the circumstances of Canning's resignation, to the same effect as communicated to me by Canning himself in his ostensible letter to the Duke of Portland.

The Dundases he spoke of as having been very steady upon this occasion, and of Lord Melville as having expressed the strongest disapprobation of Huskisson's written reasons for his retiring, and making common cause with Canning; adding, that, little as he might be pleased with Lord Sidmouth's conduct, he would sooner support an Administration of his than suffer the King to be borne down by this distraction of his own Ministers and the violence of the Opposition.

Perceval added, that the King had been very unwilling to have the overture made to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, and had agreed to it only upon the representation that, if such a junction could be formed, it would for the time prevent the Catholic question from being brought forward as a Government measure, which otherwise might be again attempted, if the present Administration should be wholly overthrown, and their successors come into power by main force.

The King did not see why he should be required to abandon the *fixed* principles of his *whole life*, because these two lords would not abandon their principles recently taken up. He thought that they might be required to give a pledge that they would not stir the question. *Mr. Pitt had given him such a pledge in writing*, and had repeated it verbally again to the King in his closet, adding, that (for private reasons of his own) he would also oppose it whenever and by whomsoever brought forward. But Perceval told the King it was impossible to name such a proposition to two persons of honour who had actually gone out of office

before, because they refused to comply with that very requisition. But that the same security to the King would substantially be obtained if a portion of the present Ministers should become an efficient part of any new Administration, comprehending Lord Grey and Grenville and their friends.

That, however, being now at an end, it remained for the King to appoint a First Lord of the Treasury, who should fill up the vacant seats in the Cabinet, which the King would probably do on Monday next.

Sunday, Oct. 1st.—Perceval sent me the letters (six in number), to read and return, being the whole correspondence between him and Lords Grey and Grenville; and I returned them accordingly.

2nd.—Perceval sent me, in three packets, copies of Canning's correspondence with the Duke of Portland; and letters between Canning, Perceval, and Lord Camden, from March 24th, 1809, to Sept. 18th, respecting Lord Castlereagh's removal and the consequence, which I returned, after extracting some dates and passages.

In the evening he acquainted me with the King's intention of appointing him First Lord of the Treasury.

6th.—After Lord Nelson's trust business was ended, Perceval remained alone with me. He began upon the subject of the correspondence he had sent me; and we had much desultory conversation on the contents. I told him that I had been apprised by Canning at Easter of his determination not to go on; and that he had notified to the Duke of Portland his intention to retire.

Upon asking Perceval whether he had got a successor to Huskisson, he told me that he had written to offer to Vansittart the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and to Robinson (Lord Grantham's brother), to be a Lord of the Treasury. The War Office was not yet filled. Dundas was to be Lord Castlereagh's successor.

8th.—I received a letter from Lord Castlereagh, with copies of his letter to Canning, and Canning's * answer, which led to the duel.

* These letters were published in the *Annual Register* for the year, p. 562.

EXTRACT FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH'S LETTER.

Stanmore, Oct. 7th.

I hope I am not taking too great a liberty in sending you the enclosed correspondence, not, I can assure you, with a view of drawing from you any opinion upon the late painful transaction, which these documents can of course but very imperfectly explain, but from a desire I very strongly feel (from the kindness and friendship with which you have always honoured me) that you should not suppose that the course adopted by me was decided on under anything short of what appeared, to my own judgment at least, an overruling necessity.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with great regard and respect,
Ever faithfully and sincerely yours,
CASTLEREAGH.

From the 8th of October, I had no further communications on this subject, till I went to London to attend the Oxford University Address to the King, upon the 50th anniversary of his accession.

Wednesday, Nov. 1st.—I met the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates of the University, at the White Horse, Buckingham Gate, from whence we went in procession to the Queen's House. After the Address I returned to the levee.

The King asked me if I came for the Prorogation; and, upon my answering that it was to join my Oxford friends, and not for the Prorogation, which my predecessor had long ceased to attend, he replied, "Oh! I'll tell you how all that came about: Sir John Cust wanted to go to Spa, and desired I would excuse his attendance upon the Prorogation during the recess. Then came Sir Fletcher Norton; and he took advantage of the last precedent: Mr. Cornwall followed the same; and so the Speakers have all considered themselves as going to Spa ever since."

The Duke of Portland died on Monday, the 30th of October.

2nd.—The late Dean * of Christ Church, hearing I was in town, called upon me, and entered into a long conversation about the last illness of the Duke of Port-

* Dr. Jackson had lately resigned his Deanery.

land; his broken health for many months past; the Dean's advice to him at Christmas, 1808, to resign, that he might even then render the King the service of superintending the formation of a new Government, but that neither his bodily health nor vigour of mind were now such as could enable him

> "Gravidam imperio belloque frementem
> Italiam regere."

That the Duke thanked him, but certainly did not follow his advice, saying that the King would not allow him to retire. That before and after Easter the Duke was extremely low and disquieted; and from that time, though always urgent to see him, had never opened his lips upon these subjects; but they visibly preyed upon his mind, and he verily believed if he had not died of a return of his original disorder, he would soon have died of a broken heart.

As to the present Government, to be sure, Mr. Perceval's zeal and goodness were unbounded; but their strength was insufficient; they must give way, and probably before the meeting of Parliament. That Lord Grey, if sent for, would in a single sentence set the King's mind at ease; that Tierney had so declared, and had no objection to have it repeated (that he mentioned it indeed for that very purpose), upon any proper occasion, that the Catholics themselves did not wish the question to be pressed; that they did not care a farthing about it, and that, if six baronetcies were put at his disposal, he would undertake that no more should be heard of it.

My visitor added that Lord Grenville had intimated to the Duke of York that, if he returned to power he should recommend to the King to replace the Duke of York at the head of the army; that the King would have no difficulty in parting with Lord Eldon, and would be very well satisfied to take Sir William Grant for his Chancellor.

3rd.—I called on Perceval. After an introductory conversation about the difficulties suggested by Lord

Redesdale with respect to vacating his seat by being First Lord of the Treasury in England or in Ireland, neither of which appeared to us to be well-founded objections*, I asked to know the result of the overture to Vansittart, which he had mentioned to me on the 6th of October. This led him to a general narration of all his proceedings, reverting back to the period of Canning's letter of resignation, which he put into the Duke of Portland's hands at Bulstrode, on the 12th of September.

That letter the Duke of Portland had laid before the King, who delivered it to Perceval; calling upon his confidential servants for their advice upon the present state of his Government.

Upon the 18th of September the Cabinet (all but Lord Chatham attending) came to the resolution of advising overtures to Lord Grey and Grenville, upon reasons which they detailed in a very long minute, to be laid before the King. The draft of this minute Perceval then read to me.

It began "by describing their view of the state of parties;" the strength of their opponents in the House of Lords (not less than 110 or 112), and the still greater difficulties which they had to encounter in the House of Commons; where they had scarcely been able to struggle through the last session, and where they must now expect these difficulties to be greatly aggravated by the necessary discussion of the failures of the past campaign and the want of new taxes; all which must be met with the elimination of strength arising from the resignation of Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and the expected secession of their immediate friends, as well as of Mr. Rose and Mr. Long. (N.B. The then expected secession of Rose and Long did not in fact take place.)

* The King, having delivered his opinion that Perceval's change of office did not vacate his seat, Perceval had consulted Mr. Abbot, who coincided in opinion with the King; but Lord Redesdale had intimated an opinion that if the acceptance of the office of First Lord of the Treasury for England by the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not vacate his seat, the acceptance of the office of First Lord of the Treasury in Ireland did.

Which altogether would break up, if not destroy, the remains of the Pitt party. That assistance therefore must be collected from every quarter which could afford it.

In looking round for this assistance, as was their duty, they proceeded to state:—

1. That endeavours had been used to persuade the Speaker of the House of Commons to accept a political situation: but that he had candidly and very decidedly declared his determination not to change his present situation so long as the House of Commons would accept his services, and his health should enable him to discharge its duties.

2. That the continuance of Lord Hardwicke's sentiments necessarily precluded the assistance of Mr. Yorke.

3. That Lord Wellesley's absence in Spain prevented any exact knowledge of his disposition upon the present state of the Government.

4. That Lord Melville's influence with his friends in Scotland was expected to be favourable to the present Government; and that Mr. Dundas had been sent for from Ireland to fix Lord Melville in these sentiments, and accept a more important situation at home, if it were his Majesty's pleasure so to employ him.

5. That Lord Sidmouth's political conduct during the last year of Mr. Pitt's life had so alienated many of Mr. Pitt's friends, that it was to be feared more strength would be lost by their secession than could be gained by Lord Sidmouth's admission, if brought into office. And that his immediately attached political friends in the House of Commons, though highly respectable, were numerically so few, as not to counterbalance the loss which any such secession would occasion.

And therefore, concluding with the necessity of inviting Lords Grey and Grenville to form a combined and extended Administration; protecting the King by such a joint Government from having the Catholic question forced upon him as the act of his own Ministers, and at the same time acquiring the strength

necessary for carrying on the public business with due effect, &c.

Perceval then stated to me his own audience of the King, which took place on the Monday following, at Windsor; in which the King went through a long and methodised discussion of the minute in all its parts, with a strong and clear expression of his own sentiments upon it; extremely adverse to the proposed overture, but consenting to take it into consideration, and speak to each of his Ministers upon it at the next levee day, before he gave his answer.

During this conversation, speaking of Mr. Pitt's verbal, and also his *written* pledge to the King before his last coming into office, not to stir the Catholic question, he mentioned his having preserved every political paper that had come into his hands during his reign; that he had already arranged all of them from the time of Mr. Pitt's first coming into office, so that he could lay his hand at once upon any one; and he was now employed in arranging all of the antecedent period; and that it was hard work, as he was obliged to stand by all the time, &c.

On the Wednesday following the above audience, the King accordingly spoke to all his Ministers upon the subject, including Lord Chatham, who concurred with the rest in the advice given by the minute of the 18th inst.; and he afterwards sent a full, able, and dignified answer to the minute, distinctly, though reluctantly authorising the negotiations, and concluding with a very kind and affectionate expression of his feelings towards the Duke of Portland, to whom (although he had resigned) he desired the paper might be communicated.

Upon this the negotiation followed, and concluded as has been already mentioned.

When the result was communicated to the King, he sent a long and detailed commentary upon it, and in reply to a subsequent recommendation from his Cabinet, that any further steps which he should authorise to be taken might be by such person as he should appoint to

be First Lord of the Treasury, the King signified his appointment of Perceval.

After this part of the subject was disposed of, Perceval gave me copies of his correspondence with Lord Melville, Lord Sidmouth, and Vansittart.

1. That with Lord Melville consisted of two letters —the first from Perceval, 5th October, asking Lord Melville's assistance; assigning reasons (arising out of the popular prejudice connected with his impeachment by the House of Commons) for not proposing to him to take office, but concluding with an offer, in the King's name, of an Earldom.

To this Lord Melville, by letter 8th October, replied, acknowledging the frankness of the communication, speaking of himself as not coveting, but not declining, office if desired; and complaining of the reference to popular feelings upon grounds assumed, which were both false in fact and unwise in policy; but peremptorily declining the proffered honours.

After this letter, however, it appears that Lord Melville's family and friends convinced him that he was in the wrong to take this tone; and that he ought to allow his son to continue at least in his former office at the Board of Control, if not to succeed to Lord Castlereagh's office, which had been settled; and Mr. Dundas, to satisfy Lord Melville, has actually reverted to the Board of Control, but with a seat in the Cabinet.

2. The correspondence with Lord Sidmouth also consisted of two letters only.

9th October, Perceval wrote to Lord Sidmouth, referring to an offer already made through Lord Chatham for Bathurst to have the office of Secretary at War, but with a seat in the Cabinet; assuming the good wishes of Lord Sidmouth to be necessarily in favour of the present Government, founded upon the principle of protecting the King from the Catholic question, urging the same objections as in the Cabinet minute against admitting Lord Sidmouth himself into any office in the Government; and intimating at the end that an offer had been made to Vansittart to join the present Ministers.

The same day Lord Sidmouth replied to this, that he had sent Perceval's letter to Bathurst, but was sure Bathurst would, under no public circumstances, accede to such a proposal. That Lord Grenville's expressions in his second letter were by no means innoxious, but might admit of explanation; and that nothing could be done well for the country until it was quite clear that the assistance of Lords Grey and Grenville was unattainable, with a P.S. leaving Vansittart to his own decision.

Perceval added to this that he understood that Lord Sidmouth had written to Lord Grenville for this explanation, but had not heard that he had received any.

With these letters was inclosed a letter from Lord Eldon to Perceval, commenting on Lord Sidmouth's letter with much asperity and sarcasm, speaking of the Christ Church preferments*, as neither to be praised nor blamed without some reserve, calling them, however, the Duke of Portland's rather than Perceval's; and mentioning Andrews's preferment to the Deanery of Canterbury with great satisfaction, as Perceval's own act.

3. The correspondence with Vansittart was in four letters:—First, October 7th, from Perceval to Vansittart, offering him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and sending his own private secretary, Mr. Herries (who had been Vansittart's own secretary) to explain all that had passed. Secondly, Oct. 9th, from Vansittart to Perceval, acknowledging the flattering offer, but waiting for Herries; and saying that he had acquainted Lord Auckland and Lord Sidmouth, without the latter of whom he could not give an answer. Thirdly, Oct. 10th, after seeing Herries, apprising him that he must probably decline the offer, but that he would wait to hear from Lord Sidmouth. Fourthly, Oct. 13th, very civilly but very peremptorily declining it, upon the express ground of its being attended with a systematic exclusion of Lord Sidmouth, "for the gratification of

* Dr. Smith had lately succeeded Dr. Jackson as Dean of Christ Church.

I know not *what* and I know not *whose* unexplained prejudices."

The next subject in my conversation with Perceval was Lord Wellesley's probable conduct.

Upon this it seemed that Lord Wellesley had written to one of his brothers, but seemed not to understand what had been passing here. He was now, however, coming home: even if he should determine upon joining the present Ministers, it remained to be seen how he would fill his part in the House of Lords.

Next upon *Walcheren*. He told me that since the peace between France and Austria, it was considered as needless, even if possible to retain it. As to the parliamentary questions which might be raised upon the Dutch Expedition, he did not say that there was any settled plan for disposing of them.

Substance of the correspondence between Mr. Canning, the Duke of Portland, and Mr. Perceval, upon the subject of Lord Castlereagh's removal from office; extracted by me from the copies communicated by Mr. Perceval, upon the 2nd October, 1809.

1. Canning, by letter to the Duke of Portland, 24th March, 1809, stated at length his opinion that the Government, as then constituted, was inadequate to the state of public affairs, and to the times. He commented upon the occurrences of the last six months; beginning with the conduct of his colleagues upon the Convention of Cintra; and the circumstances attending the discussions upon the Spanish campaign, and the Duke of York's question; and desired to retire from a Government which, instead of meeting its difficulties *in front*, was guided only by a compromising spirit and an endeavour of getting round its difficulties by arrangements. As the result of the last year's counsels was now wound up, and the policy and plans for the approaching summer not yet entered upon, he desired

to retire before the Houses of Parliament should re-assemble after the Easter recess.

This letter complained of nobody by name, nor of any specific department.

2. It appears that hereupon some proposition was suggested by the King, and not by Canning, that Lord Castlereagh should be removed to some other office; but not till the end of the session.

And this intended removal, the Duke of Portland recommended to the King, should be *concealed* from Lord Castlereagh. He avows that this proposition of concealment originated with himself, and that, if any blame belongs to it, it is wholly imputable to him, the Duke of Portland (see his letter to Canning, 18th July 1809), acknowledging also that Canning had repeatedly remonstrated against the concealment.

It appears, however, that the Duke of Portland distinctly communicated it to Lord Camden, as Lord Castlereagh's friend, and that the Chancellor and Lord Bathurst were also acquainted with it.

3. When the session closed, and the Duke of Portland communicated to Perceval the intended removal of Lord Castlereagh, Perceval complained to the Duke and to Canning, by letter, of the whole transaction and its concealment, as unjust to Lord Castlereagh; and as shaking the security of every member of the Administration, if any one could separately obtain and keep in his pocket the sealed sentence of a colleague, to be produced at a future day. He remonstrated against the removal of Lord Castlereagh until after the issue of the Dutch Expedition, and even then, unless in some way that should or ought to be satisfactory to Lord Castlereagh.

The King proposed that the conduct of the war, except the pending expedition, should be removed to Canning's office; but that did not seem convenient or practicable, and was laid aside.

4. In the course of correspondence between Perceval and Canning upon this series of propositions, and con-

tinued concealment, it appears that Perceval would have acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Harrowby, as First Lord; but Lord Harrowby would not hear of any proposition to place him in that office.

5. By Canning's and Perceval's letters of 31st August, 1809, it appears that Canning explicitly declares he will not belong to any arrangement of the present Administration, by which he, Canning, is not to be the Minister in the House of Commons; and he would not serve under Perceval, if he, Perceval, were to be Minister. And Perceval as explicitly states that he could not give up his present station as leading Minister in the House of Commons. But Perceval recommends the finding of some third person, a Peer, to be First Minister, and that both he and Canning should continue their present relative situations.

6. Upon Saturday, September 2nd, the Gazette announced, by Lord Chatham's despatches, his abandonment of the Dutch Expedition. Canning, by letter of that day, reminds the Duke of Portland of the King's promise, and calls upon him without delay to execute it, by removing Lord Castlereagh, and appointing Lord Wellesley to succeed him. The Duke of Portland on the 3rd of September communicates this to Perceval, but says he shall take no step until he sees the King at the levee on the Wednesday following, being the sixth.

Perceval, in answer to the Duke of Portland, suggests by letter, of the 4th September, that the Duke should resign, as he had before offered so to do; and that the time was now come when he might save the King's present Government, by superintending some new arrangement which should cover Lord Castlereagh's removal to some other office.

The Duke of Portland in reply states his readiness so to do; and complains of Canning's impetuosity, who had at Easter and since professed a desire *not to remove any one*, but only to *add* one: namely, Lord Wellesley.

7. A correspondence ensues between Perceval and

Canning, which ends in the month of September, with a letter from Canning, in which he says—

"That the Duke of Portland's resignation had no connection with the arrangement respecting Lord Castlereagh; that the Duke's resignation would create new difficulties which he had foretold; but that nevertheless it had been thought proper to bring about that resignation; and, as soon as he heard of that, he had withdrawn his claim of the King's promise, because, if acted upon, it would no longer be effectual; and, if acted upon, he was not now to be answerable for the difficulties, &c."

The election at Oxford for the Chancellorship, vacant by the death of the Duke of Portland, begun on the 13th December, lasted (by Statute) all night and the next day, and did not close till 10 o'clock on the night of the 14th. For Lord Grenville, 406; Lord Eldon, 393; Duke of Beaufort, 320.

The following letter, bearing on this election, was received by Mr. Abbot from the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Parsons, in the course of the following year, when the Catholic question was again brought forward in the House of Commons.

Balliol College, May 21st, 1810.

Dear Sir,—I have the honour to enclose a copy of a resolution which has this day been passed in full Convocation on the subject of the Roman Catholic petitions. Perhaps this is not the most eligible mode of expressing the opinion of the University; but, under all the circumstances of the case, it appeared to be the only way in which we could in due time refute the conclusion which is reported to have been drawn in the House of Commons, from the fact of the University having omitted to petition, and from the event of our late election of a Chancellor.

I have the honour to be, with very great respect, my dear Sir,
Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,
J. PARSONS.

P.S.—I have peculiar satisfaction in adding that the Convocation was very fully attended, and that the resolution was unanimous.

The resolution was, "that the representatives in Parliament for this University be requested to oppose the motion made on Friday last, the debate on which stands adjourned till Thursday

next, and to resist those petitions of the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland, which pray for "the total repeal of every test, oath, declaration, or provision which has the effect of subjecting the petitioners to any penalty or disability whatsoever on account of their religious principles."

Monday, May 21st, 1810.

Abstract of a letter from Lord Grenville to the Principal of Brazennose, at the time of his Election, also forwarded now by Mr. Parsons.*

His Lordship desired the Principal of Brazennose to acquaint the President of Magdalen (who had expressed himself civilly about his Lordship, but objected to the line he had taken in the Catholic question) that he had a real anxiety to stand well in his opinion; but that he could not endeavour to gain that, or even the election for the University, at the expense of abandoning what he had refused to do to remain in office.

That no man living was a warmer friend to the Church establishment of the kingdom than himself. That Mr. Pitt and himself were completely in unison as to the propriety of the measures which had been intended to respecting the Catholics. The only difference between them was as to the time in which those should be carried into execution. That it had always been his fixed determination, whenever they should be adopted, that there should be combined with them other measures which should completely and effectually secure the Church of England. That previously to the union with Ireland it never entered his mind that there could be any further relaxation of the laws against Papists; but that *from that time* he had been convinced that everything *necessary for them* might be granted without the slightest danger to the Protestant interest. And that in the late overture to him nothing had been said on the subject. And that in that instance he had no security against his being called upon for such a pledge as he refused when he was out of office.

* Dr. Hodson.

CHAP. XXXII.

1810.

LORD GRENVILLE'S VIEWS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.—CANNING'S STATEMENT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS DIFFERENCE WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—MINISTERS DEFEAT THE OPPOSITION ON THE ADDRESS.—INVESTIGATION INTO THE WALCHEREN EXPEDITION.—LORD WELLINGTON'S PEERAGE AND PENSION.—EXCLUSION OF STRANGERS FROM DEBATES.—CONDUCT OF MR. FULLER.—MILITARY EXPENSES.—BARRISTERS REPORTERS FOR NEWSPAPERS.—SIR THOMAS LETHBRIDGE'S COMPLAINT AGAINST SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Thursday, Jan. 18th.—Returned from Kidbrooke to Palace Yard.

General news. The public not much disposed to confidence in the present Government, yet unwilling to harass the King. Ministers weak and uncertain of support. Opposition eager and confident, but not popular. Expected majority upon the first questions in Parliament, according to Ministers, 60; according to Opposition it will not exceed 30. Expected numbers for Opposition, by Ministerial reckoning, 180. By their own reckoning, 200.

20th.—Went by appointment to Perceval at eleven. Found Ryder there. General confidence of a majority for Government. Ponsonby reinstated in the nominal lead of the Opposition. Tierney the efficient man on that side. The rest apparently fall into the ranks. The Finance Committee is to be revived. Lushington the probable Chairman of Ways and Means.

The King is written to to know about the 30th of January, with a representation of its neglect, and a recommendation of not observing it this year.

At half-past one Lord Auckland called. Lord Grenville has taken the opportunity of answering Lord Fingall's letter, which requested him to present the

Catholic petition, to write him a letter at large upon his own view of the Catholic question.* That he does not nor ever did consider the indulgence to the Catholics to be grantable but in perfect subordination to the security of the Established Church, with such *checks and guards*, civil and religious, as should make that security effectual. That, unless the nomination of the Catholic bishops is made subject to the King's pleasure, he cannot stir a step at any time in any plan for their increased privileges; and that at this time, &c., he will, if required, present the petition as from so large and important a mass of the subjects of the realm, but will not move any proposition. That in these sentiments he has the concurrence of Lords Spencer, Grey, and Lansdowne, the principal persons with whom he has hitherto acted upon this question, &c. &c.

This letter will be immediately published. Lord Grenville desired Lord Auckland would mention it to me; Lord Auckland, however, does not much think that Lord Holland and the Duke of Bedford like it.

* The letter itself is not given in the *Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, but in a letter from Lord G. to his brother, Dec. 17th, he says, "I got Lord Fingall's letter with the petition last week. I determined to do nothing with it till the election was over." And a week later he says, "I am preparing for consideration a long letter to Lord Fingall (meant to be printed if it is adopted at all), in which, according to my present ideas, I shall offer, as a mere matter of form, to present their petition, if they still wish that I should do thus after being apprised that I do not mean to ground any motion on it; a decision which I then proceed to explain at considerable length." Afterwards, Jan. 16th, Mr. T. Grenville writes to the Marquis of Buckingham: "Lord Grenville has finished his sketch of a letter to Lord Fingall, which Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, Tierney and myself most entirely approve; at the same time you ought to know that the Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland, Lord Fitzwilliam, Elliott, and Whitbread are all decidedly against our laying any stress upon the Acts; and this difference of opinion will be probably found such as cannot easily be compromised." And later, Feb. 9th, the Bishop of Limerick writes that "Lord Grenville's letter to Lord Fingall has occasioned a vast sensation in this country" (Ireland), and has had "a general happy effect. The upper orders and all the moderate men of the Catholic body readily accede to his doctrine;" but the violent party "hold daily meetings, and had resolved to pass by Lord Grenville and offer their petition to Lord Grey; should he decline their proposition, then to Lord Moira," &c. — *Courts and Cabinets*, vol. iv. pp. 404–423.

Lord Grenville also in the same way acquainted me with his intention to move the amendments himself in the Lords, and to go into the state of the nation.

The Lords expect to divide between 90 and 100 for the Opposition. The Government may amount to 140.

The amendment has been sent to Lord Sidmouth; but no recent intercourse has been had with him; nor will any *mediation* through him be acceded to if the King should find it necessary to send for Lord Sidmouth to make a Ministry. They must have the full confidence of the King himself, and of the Parliament, or they will not take charge of the Government.

In the afternoon Canning sent to desire to see me to-morrow. At night Perceval sent me a copy of the following letters from the King and Archbishop of Canterbury about the House of Commons going to church on 30th January.

FROM THE KING.

Windsor Castle, Jan. 20th, 1810.

The King regrets to learn from Mr. Perceval that the attendance of the two Houses of Parliament on the 30th January at divine service should have been of late years so thin; but, as that day has been fixed by Act of Parliament for the purpose, his Majesty would feel unwilling to prescribe anything which might be considered as encouraging the too prevalent wish to introduce changes and innovations. He must also observe that the late Lord Thurlow, although sensible of the defective attendance, was of opinion that, as the order resulted from an Act of Parliament, it would not be advisable to dispense with it.

The King, however, leaves the question open to the consideration and opinion of Mr. Perceval upon further consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury. GEORGE R.

The reply of the Archbishop to Mr. Perceval, on receiving from him a copy of the King's letter, with a request for his Grace's opinion, was as follows:—

Lambeth Palace, Jan. 20th, 1810.

My dear Sir,—The King's sentiments are sufficiently intelligible; and I know he has stronger feelings on the subject than

he has expressed. I cannot, therefore, advise the adjournment of the two Houses over the day in question.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

C. Cantuar.

ANSWER FROM THE SPEAKER TO MR. PERCEVAL.

Dear Perceval,—We must certainly abide by the Archbishop's opinion, being so given. I would, however, observe that the same reasoning of the two Houses going to church *because* there is a service and an Act of Parliament for the day, would equally apply to the 29th of May, appointed to be kept by an Act of the same year, 12 Car. II. c. 14, which day is never observed by either House in that mode. As to *not* adjourning over that day, we always *do* adjourn over the day; and the declaration of our intention to go to church is by appointing somebody to preach before us, which of late years in the House of Commons has always been the chaplain.

. . . . . .

Ever most faithfully yours,

C. Abbot.

21*st*.—Canning called, and I had a long conversation or rather narrative from half-past two till five.

1. The circumstances of the duel, and that Lord Castlereagh knew of his grievance on the 7th September, but met in cabinet, and had amicable discussion on public measures till the 19th without notice, till the challenge was sent without a request of previous explanation; that intermediately application had been made by Cooke* to Colonel Gordon of the Horse Guards, who had in vain endeavoured to persuade him off from it.

2. His own position in the House of Commons, and a desire that he might have an early opportunity of speaking in Tuesday's debate, in which he should naturally defend the *planners* of the Walcheren Expedition, and probably have to defend himself against other imputations; but that he should declare his resolution to observe an utter silence upon any of his transactions in the affair of Lord Castlereagh, unless, and until, it

* Lord Castlereagh's Private Secretary.

should be made a matter of Parliamentary question upon Parliamentary grounds.

3. He read me the supplementary part of the correspondence respecting Lord Castlereagh's removal; with several letters of the Duke of Portland, containing long, detailed, and precise promises of the most peremptory and unqualified nature, in the King's name and his own, of Lord Castlereagh's removal from his department at the close of the Walcheren Expedition, to some other office, if he could be satisfied to accept it; but, at all events, his removal from the War Department, with an explicit declaration of the intended appointment of Lord Wellesley to that department.

After which came the Duke of Portland's letter of the 6th September, saying, that, if that promise was insisted upon, both he and Perceval would resign.

Whereupon Canning himself sent in his own resignation.

4. *His complaint against Perceval.* That he had obtained, by opening an unsolicited and unreserved correspondence with Canning upon the possible ministerial arrangements in the event of the Duke of Portland's resignation or death, an explanation of Canning's unwillingness to act a secondary part in the House of Commons, and had afterwards, without Canning's leave, communicated that correspondence to all his colleagues, and all the world, by sending copies to distant persons, and, knowing Canning's determination, had then driven the Duke of Portland to resign, without telling him of his intention to do so.

In the next place, that he had built up his new Government upon the assertion, first, that Canning would be nothing but Prime Minister, and secondly, that he would not serve conjointly with Perceval under Lord Wellesley as Prime Minister; both of which facts were untrue.

5. *His complaint against Lord Wellesley*, who had voluntarily by letter in the summer promised to give up office if Canning should resign upon the refusal to

remove Lord Castlereagh. But, nevertheless, he had accepted office contrary to his engagements, and upon Perceval's representations, which he now admitted to be untrue.

As to the probabilities of the present session, it was thought the present Administration could not stand; that some intermediate weak Government would, which nevertheless must be suffered to go through this session.

Opposition reckoned from 180 to 216.

23*rd*.—Opening of Parliament. King's speech by commission in the House of Lords at three o'clock.

Debate on Address and amendment till four o'clock. Division: for Administration, 263; against it, 167. Lord Gower and Ward* moved the amendment. Bathurst, Ponsonby, Whitbread and Tierney, Lord Castlereagh, Canning, and Perceval, &c., spoke in the debate.

The Princess of Wales came to the gallery.

26*th*.—House of Commons. Debate and division on going into a Committee of inquiry into the Walcheren Expedition. For it, 195; against it, 186.

29*th*.—House of Commons. Division on the thanks

* Afterwards Lord Dudley and Ward. The Address was seconded by Mr. Peel, who had recently been returned to Parliament for the first time. The objections raised by the Opposition were to those passages of the Address which implied any approbation of the expedition to Walchoren, or to Spain: as to the first, they insisted especially on the known unhealthiness of the climate. They also condemned "Lord Wellesley's pompous embassy." And Mr. Ward "defied the Ministers to produce the name of a single officer of rank or character in the service who had advised the second campaign in Spain." They also objected that if we did determine to send an expedition to Spain we ought to have concentrated all our force on that single point, and not to have sent other expeditions at the same time to Holland and to Italy. They also condemned Sir Arthur Wellesley's operations, saying that in so doing they condemned the Government, who, "having rewarded him with a Peerage, must stand or fall with him;" and declared that his plans had been so ill laid, that though he met with some successes, "those successes in their consequences resembled defeats," since they were followed by retreats, &c. The amendment, therefore, desired the House to express that "it had seen with sorrow and indignation the accumulated failures of the last campaign;" and that it felt bound "to institute vigorous inquiries," &c.

to Lord Gambier, &c. For Lord Cochrane's motion for copy of minutes of Court Martial*: 19 to 162. For the thanks, 121 to 39.

Printed lists of votes in the newspapers complained of. Agreed to be not justifiable, and, if wilfully misrepresented, would be punished.

30*th*.—Went to church† and afterwards to the House of Commons, of which there is no instance from 1759 to this time. But it was thought necessary for receiving the Report of Supply.

31*st*.—House of Commons. Bankes brought in his Bill to prevent the grant of offices or pensions *in reversion*. Perceval wished it to be temporary, but did not divide the House upon Bankes's motion for reappointing the Committee on Public Expenditure. Three divisions took place, respecting the names of Members to serve upon it, all of which divisions were against the Ministry. 107 to 98; 108 to 103; 117 to 104.

Thursday, *Feb.* 1*st*. — House of Commons. Debate, but no division on thanks to Lord Wellington for Talavera ‡, &c.

2*nd*. — House of Commons. Examination of Sir David Dundas on the Scheldt Expedition. A question whether a Privy Councillor could be compelled to disclose, or should be asked as to matters stated by him to have passed between himself (being a Privy Councillor) and his Majesty's confidential servants in Cabinet. The question postponed till Monday. Being sent for from my room behind the chair, I argued *for* the right and power; and cited the case, by analogy of grand jurors compelled to disclose matters which they were

* The discontent caused by Lord Gambier's inactivity on the occasion of the attack made by Lord Cochrane on the French fleet in the Basque Roads was so great, that on his return he had been tried by a court-martial; but as his conduct was not imputed to cowardice, he was acquitted.

† The ordinary practice had been for the House of Commons to transact no business on this day, the anniversary of King Charles' martyrdom, but merely to go, as a House, to church, and adjourn till the next day.

‡ See an account of this debate, in which the Opposition violently attacked Lord Wellington's operations. — Yonge's *Life of Wellington*, vol. i. p. 219.

sworn to keep secret; a proceeding which the House of Commons took upon the Bill of Attainder against Sir John Fenwick, in 1696, then resisted by his counsel; and I cited the clear opinion of Mr. Onslow (from Lord Onslow's papers) in support of that proceeding; but I concurred in postponing the further consideration of so important a question which had arisen on the sudden, and upon which doubts had been strongly expressed in this debate.*

* The following squib was published in the papers at this time on the Walcheren Expedition:—

Extract from the Grand Romantic Drama lately performed for the amusement of the Emperor of France.

Act 1, *Scene* 1. Cabinet Council discovered; Naval and Military Officers attending.

First Cabinet Minister. We now are met in grave deliberation
Upon the plan for Antwerp's subjugation,
That we may not despatch this expedition
Without due caution, knowledge, and precision.
Ye officers of military fame,
We wish for your opinion of the same.
1st Mil. Officer. I wrote before my reasons in detail,
Why I esteem your plan quite sure to fail.
Lord C—gh. You think 'twill fail?
2nd Mil. Officer. And so do I.
3rd Mil. Officer. And I.
Lord C—gh. All of you think so: better go and try.
But, ere our army sails, 'tis fit we know
Something about the place to which they'll go.
Pray, sirs, is Antwerp fortified or no?
1st Mil. Officer. Rumour reports it fortified full well,
But I, not having been there, cannot tell.
2nd Mil. Officer. I know no more.
3rd Mil. Officer. Nor I, I do declare.
Lord C—gh. Well, well — they'll see directly they get there.
Lord M—ve. But as the chief design of this great feat,
Captain, will be to take the Antwerp fleet;
Say, can the frigates, or can any ship,
Sail up above, and so give us the slip?
Naval Officer. Had I been there, I could have told you what
The water's depth; but having ne'er, cannot.
Lord M—ve. This is no cause our plan should be forsaken,
It will be known as soon as Antwerp's taken.
Lord E—n. But shan't we lose the fleet? Then there'll be laughter.
Lord M—ve. Lose it? If they go up mayn't we go after?
Lord E—n. Our friend the smuggler says the troops are few;
And then the garrison — Pray what think you?

5th.—Committee on the Scheldt Expedition examined. Sir David Dundas and Sir Lucas Pepys.

6th.—House of Commons. Sheridan moved to refer order for exclusion of strangers to a Committee of Privileges, for the purpose of altering it. Division; for his motion, 80; against it, 166.

Committee on the Scheldt. Examined the Surgeon, General, &c. till twelve at night.

8th, 9th, &c. [till 15th March]. House of Commons in Committee on Walcheren inquiry.

1st Mil. Officer. Few on the coast may be, and in the town;
But from the country they can soon bring down
A force too large for us to hope to lick;
And all that's done must be done very quick.
Lord Ch—n. Fear not: delay was ne'er a fault of mine;
And every morning I'll get up at nine—
Dressed, breakfast done by twelve — no speed I'll lack,
And do it all completely in a crack.
1st Cab. Min. Brave warriors, your advice and information
Has now received our full consideration.
[*Exeunt Mil. and Naval Officers.*]
Lord C—gh. As secrecy's the soul of expeditions,
I see no use in telling the physicians
Whither it's going; but desire they would
Send plenty of what physic they think good.
[*Enter* Sir Lucas Pepys.]
(*To Sir L. P.*) Prepare (I can't tell rightly against when)
Physic enough for forty thousand men,
But do it quick; what's proper you can tell.
[*Exit Sir L. P.*]
Mr. P—l. Now there's no fear but all will answer well;
So excellent we've made each preparation,
And all so accurate our information.
When Parliament meets next how fine a story
Shall we not have to tell of wars and glory.
[*Exeunt.*]
Manet Mr. C—g. *Solus.*
Mr. C—g. Most of this plan is gibberish to me,
But I shall quietly lie by and see
How it goes on; and then, if all succeeds,
I share the praise; but if it ill proceeds
I'll try what, leaving this ungoverned crew,
Setting up statesman for myself will do.
[*End of Act First.*]

The rest of the play is of so very tragic and horrible a cast, that we think the author will not be justified in bringing it forward, and we decline publishing any further extracts at present.

9th. — Canning and Huskisson drank tea in my room. It appears that Lord Wellington's peerage was conferred at Wellesley Pole's instance, without Sir Arthur's wishes being known either as to the peerage or the title.

11th. — Leycester called to complain on the part of the Paget family that I had praised Stewart * for his conduct in the passage of the Douro, whereas "he was not there," and General Paget † was the person to whom the whole credit belonged. That all the Pagets, except the General, were much mortified. My answer to this was that General Stewart, being to be commended, who was throughout that campaign Adjutant-General of the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, he naturally might be spoken of for his share in that operation without any wrong done to any other officer.

In the evening, I got the Gazette, and sent him three extracts of Sir Arthur Wellesley's despatch of the 12th May last, in which Sir Arthur Wellesley highly praises Stewart for leading on two squadrons of cavalry to a charge upon the day when the French retreated over the Douro; and again the next day for directing another charge on the other side of the Douro, and commends him by name, with General Paget, Sherbrooke, Murray, &c.

15th.—News that the French had passed the Sierra Morena, towards Seville and Cadiz; also that Lord Collingwood was in sight of the Toulon fleet.

16th.—House of Commons. Committee on Lord Wellington's Pension, carried by 213 to 206.

19th. — House of Commons. Committee on the Scheldt: debate upon the admissibility of Lord Chatham's narrative ‡, upon which I gave my opinion. At

* Afterwards Lord Londonderry. He commanded a body of cavalry in General Murray's division, which was sent across the Douro, at Avintas, a village higher up the river than Oporto.

† General Edward Paget had crossed the river at the beginning of the enterprise, and held the Seminary with great courage, till he was severely wounded, when General Hill took his place.

‡ Lord Chatham's statement, which was submitted to the King on the 14th, was chiefly directed to the explanation of two points. 1. Why the

twelve began Sir Richard Keats's examination, which lasted till three.

20*th*.—Yorke called on Privilege, &c. House of Commons. Debates. Dean, the printer, who confessed John Gale Jones * to be the author of the libellous paper complained of. He was committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms; and John Gale Jones was ordered to attend, which order was served upon him this evening. Debate on Distillery Bill. At ten we proceeded to examine Lord Huntley (who answered every question *standing*), also Sir W. Erskine.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Committee on Walcheren. Examined Lord Chatham, who answered all questions put to him as a military officer, but declined answering any which respected matters known to him only as a Privy Councillor, or as a Cabinet Minister.

23*rd*.—Perceval called about thanks proposed to Sir Robert Wilson, and to consult me whether any instance

army was not sooner assembled near Batz (a fort at the inmost extremity of South Beveland). And 2. Why, when it was assembled there, a landing in prosecution of the ulterior objects of the expedition was not deemed advisable. Lord Chatham (by implication) attributes the lateness of the period at which the army was assembled near Batz to changes in the original plan, adopted by the authorities at home, in compliance with the views of others, and not from any suggestion of his own; and to delays in the naval arrangements, which, as he not very indirectly insinuates, were attributable to the dilatoriness of the Admiral (Sir R. Strachan). And he explains that he himself then hesitated to transfer the army to the mainland, because those delays had given the enemy time to strengthen his defences, and also his means of successfully assailing an invading force, which must necessarily have been divided in order to occupy both banks of the Scheldt. And because, also, "sickness to an alarming extent had already begun to spread itself among the troops; the certain and fatal progress of which at that season was but too well ascertained."

The result of the debate was an order that this statement should be printed.

* During the inquiry into the Walcheren expedition Mr. Charles Yorke had moved the enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, and Mr. Gale Jones, the manager of a debating society, held in Covent Garden, issued an advertisement, stating that that society had unanimously pronounced Mr. Yorke's conduct "an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, tending to aggravate the discontent of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion." Mr. Yorke complained of this advertisement to the House, who at once summoned the printer before them, and then, on his evidence, ordered Mr. Jones to attend, and committed him.

had occurred of thanks being given to officers in foreign service. Those in 1762 to Count La Lippe, for defending Portugal, the only instance. Also about Whitbread's proposed address for other papers, presented to the King by Lord Chatham. I told him that I thought the former motion perfectly *regular*, and that this was equally so. The resisting it could only be put upon grounds of inexpediency.

House of Commons. Wyndham presented the petitions of the English Catholics. Debate on Whitbread's motion. Division: For the Address, 178; against it, 171.

24*th*.—Lord Liverpool called about the proposed Joint Committee of Lords and Commons, or rather the powers of communicating between their respective Committees, to avoid the necessity of joint Committees. He leant towards a private communication without the formal power. To me (I told him) it was matter of perfect indifference; but to the Lords, I thought, it was highly desirable to follow the precedent of 1794, and obtain these joint opinions by the communication of separate committees, rather than keep alive the necessity of joint Committees, in which the Commons always insist upon having a double number of their own members over the number of the Peers. He then adverted to last night's debate, and told me that the truth was Lord Chatham had, upon the 15th of January last, and not before, delivered his narrative to the king by letter, with a request of secrecy. That, after a fortnight's delay, he had been advised to withdraw it, and had done so; that, except in some verbal or critical alterations, the narrative presented Jan. 15th was the same as that presented on the 14th of February, neither of which had he communicated to his colleagues until the evening of the 14th, at a Cabinet dinner, when he (Lord Liverpool) had immediately taken pen and ink, and docketed it as presented that day.

His view of the proper answer for the King was to say that he had received one, which was afterwards

withdrawn by Lord Chatham, naming the date when presented. If the day of withdrawing it was also named it would necessarily be open to observation upon the sort of interval; but the injunction of secresy was a circumstance which personally regarded the King, and should be kept out of sight, as having been acceded to. Searched precedents for answers to addresses.

26*th*. — The King's answer was delivered to the House of Commons by Perceval, viz., that Lord Chatham, on 15th January, delivered to the King a narrative, requesting that it might not be then communicated; and on the 10th of February had desired to have it back for correction. On the 14th February, he had redelivered it to the King, who had upon that day sent it to the Secretary of State; and that the King had kept no minute of the first paper, nor had received any other statement or memorandum relating to the expedition.

27*th*. — House of Commons. Resumed the Scheldt inquiry; Lord Chatham was examined from six to ten. Then arose the confusion* produced by Mr. Fuller's disorderly conduct. Afterwards Sir Eyre Coote was examined.

28*th*. — Met Perceval; proposed for his consideration the different modes of dealing with Fuller. He was for letting him out now, but doubted about the reprimand! and said he must see how persons thought at the time!

* It is stated in the journals of the House of Commons, that when the Speaker resumed the Chair, the House was informed that a Member of the Committee (Mr. John Fuller, M.P. for Sussex) had disturbed the proceedings by profane oaths and other misconduct. Mr. Fuller was heard to excuse himself, in doing which he gave still greater offence by persisting in his disorderly conduct. "The Speaker thereupon called upon the said Mr. Fuller by name, upon which Mr. Fuller was directed to withdraw, and he withdrew." By order of the House, the Speaker then issued his warrant to the Serjeant-at-Arms to take Mr. Fuller into custody. He did so, but presently Mr. Fuller escaped from the Serjeant and returned into the House in "a very violent and disorderly manner," on which he was again taken into custody. On the Wednesday (the House having adjourned over Tuesday, as the fast day), he apologised to the House and was discharged, after receiving a reprimand from the Speaker.

Thursday, March 1st. — Reprimanded and discharged Mr. Fuller.

2nd. — House of Commons. Whitbread opened his motion against Lord Chatham on the ground of his secret communication of his narrative to the King; but the last part of Lord Chatham's evidence having only recently been printed, the debate was adjourned till Monday.

5th. — House of Commons. Debate till near three in the morning, upon the motion of censure upon Lord Chatham's conduct in presenting his narrative (of the Scheldt operations) to the King, with a request of secrecy, and without communicating it to the rest of the King's responsible Ministers; carried by 221 to 188.

8th. — House of Commons. I thanked Sir Stapleton Cotton and General Anson for Talavera. Inquiry on Scheldt.

9th. — House of Commons. In Committee of Supply upon Portuguese Subsidy. For the grant, 204; against it, 141.

10th. — Attended meeting at the British Museum; obtained authority to speak to Perceval about the purchase of the Greville collection of minerals, which, upon the authority of Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Davy, and Mr. Hatchett, would render our collection, when so enriched, incomparably the finest and most complete in the world. The trustees also agreed to purchase Sir Andrew Mitchell's state papers and political correspondence for 400*l.*

11th. — Perceval agreed to our bringing before Parliament the purchase of the Greville minerals.

12th. — House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett's motion for the discharge of John Gale Jones, on the ground that the House of Commons could not commit anybody but its own members. Negatived by 152 to 14.

14th. — House of Commons. Ordnance Estimates in Supply.

The military expenses of the last four years have been:—

1806.—Army			£16,605,000
Navy (Expedition to South America)			15,448,000
Ordnance			4,366,000
			£36,419,000
1807.—Army			£16,061,000
Navy (Expedition to Copenhagen)			19,673,000
Ordnance			4,464,000
			£40,798,000
1808.—Army			£17,305,000
Navy (Expedition to Spain and Portugal)			18,156,000
Ordnance			3,980,000
			£39,501,000
1809.—Army	£17,459,000		
Vote of Credit	2,500,000		
		19,959,000	
Navy (Expeditions to Spain and Portugal, and Walcheren)	18,986,000		
Vote of Credit	500,000		
Additional	1,291,000		
		20,777,000	
Ordnance		5,275,000	
Total		£46,011,000	

15*th.*—House of Commons. Finished examination of evidence on Scheldt Expedition at half-past four.

16*th.*—Mr. Greville agreed to sell his brother's collection of minerals to the British Museum according to such valuation as should be settled by a Committee of the House of Commons.

Wilberforce called, upon his Charitable Donations Bill. He agreed to restrict its operation to future donations, and to bring in a separate Bill to renew and continue the inquiries under Gilbert's Act.

A report that Duroc had arrived, universally believed, but untrue.*

19*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on Martin's

* Duroc was one of Napoleon's most confidential officers.

propositions for reform, upon the principles of the Committee on Public Expenditure.

22*nd*.— Motion for thanks to Sir Robert Wilson* withdrawn.

23*rd*.— Debate on admission to the bar of persons having written for hire in the daily papers.

Sheridan presented a petition of — Farquharson, complaining of a bye-law of the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, in 1808, recently notified in Lincoln's Inn Hall, *excluding* (amongst others) all persons who had written for hire in the daily papers from being called to the bar. It turned out that this bye-law, or regulation, was proposed by Clifford and others, Lord Erskine then being in the chair as a Bencher. The other Inns of Court had refused to accede to it.

Wyndham cleared the gallery. Stephen declared himself to be one who had formerly reported speeches and debates for pay for an editor of a newspaper. Sir John Austen, the Solicitor-General, and Croker spoke against the bye-law, and (as well as the Attorney-General, who spoke only against the propriety of this House interfering), argued at the same time against interfering in Parliament, until the parties aggrieved had appealed to the Judges, as visitors of the Inns of Court; unless the Benchers themselves should rescind that regulation.

Motion withdrawn.

N.B. They afterwards rescinded it.

25*th*.— After church went home with Perceval to see Cobbett's last paper, containing Sir Francis Burdett's letter to his constituents, denying the power of the House of Commons to imprison others than its own members.

Perceval proposed to move, on Tuesday next, to commit Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower, and to order the attendance of Cobbett. N.B. The latter was not done.

* Sir Robert Wilson was commanding a partisan body of Portuguese troops with considerable skill and success.

26*th*.— Search for precedents of Commitments by the House of Commons.

House of Commons. Mr. Lethbridge, M.P. for Somerset, seeing Sir Francis Burdett in his place, asked him whether he was the author of the letter and argument in Cobbett's last paper, denying the authority of the House of Commons to imprison any but its own Members? Sir Francis Burdett avowed it: a short conversation took place on the propriety, or inconvenience, of proceeding now upon it, when other business (the Walcheren question) stood for debate. It ended in notice of making the complaint to-morrow.

Debate on the Walcheren question from six till two in the morning. Lord Porchester opened the case in a speech of four hours. Lord Castlereagh spoke in answer three hours. Mr. Ponsonby rose in reply; but after half an hour, the House growing tired, the debate was adjourned till the next day.

27*th*.— Mr. Lethbridge called here upon the subject of his motion against Sir Francis Burdett; and said, that he had been long desirous of marking his sense of Sir Francis Burdett's conduct towards the House of Commons, and had resolved to complain of his letter to Cobbett, when he yesterday, at the sitting of the House, was encouraged by his friends to take up the business. I pointed out to him the forms of proceeding.

House of Commons. Lethbridge made his complaint, and the paper was delivered in and read: it took the Clerk an hour and half to go through it. I then told Sir Francis Burdett, "This was his time to be heard upon the subject of the complaint, after which he was to withdraw." He sat silent. Lord Folkestone desired Lethbridge would point out the particular passages he objected to; and he did so. Sir Francis Burdett then said, "He had no intention of violating the privileges of the House; and, not knowing that he had done so, he had only to say that he remained of the opinion which he had expressed in that publication." And then he withdrew.

After some discussion upon his right to be present at the statement of the motion, and the grounds of it, which Lethbridge was next to make, and the House acquiescing in my explanation of the customary course of proceeding, when the charge was founded upon any written paper or report before the House; or when the question itself was the charge; Lethbridge moved, and Blackford seconded a motion, "That this publication was a scandalous, &c., libel upon the rights of the House."

N.B. The motion itself was hastily patched up between Lethbridge and Rose, behind the Chair; Lethbridge not having attended to the directions which I had given him, but having prepared an ill-digested resolution of his own, which Rose altered and put into somewhat of better form.

Ponsonby, protesting his reverence for the privileges of the House, yet, pending the Walcheren debate, thought this question should be adjourned, and moved accordingly. Division for adjourning it to Friday: 146 to 190 against it; and then for adjourning it till to-morrow: 211 against 134.

Walcheren debate resumed at nine. Ponsonby spoke for an hour and a half. *General Crawford continued three hours, followed by Herbert (of Kerry) and Marryatt. Adjourned at half-past two.

28*th.*—Employed the whole morning in searches upon Sir Francis Burdett's question, and sent an abstract of the result to Perceval and the Attorney-General.

House of Commons. Resumed the debate on Sir Francis Burdett. An adjournment for the further debate till to-morrow se'nnight was moved by Brand, and this question was debated till half-past twelve. Romilly and Lord Folkestone *doubted* the right of commitment. Adair, Whitbread, Tierney, Wyndham, Brand, Bathurst, and the Master of the Rolls maintained the right, though some of them contended they had not had time to pronounce upon the libel. Perceval made an able speech upon all the points, but upon the Master of the Rolls' rising at half-past twelve to support the adjourn-

ment he gave way, and there was no division. He nevertheless protested that he yielded to the call, and not to the argument.

In the course of this debate Sir Joseph Yorke angrily called Whitbread "a brewer of bad porter." There was a violent uproar in the House. I saw Whitbread instantly took the thing with good humour, and I refused to let anybody else speak till the uproar subsided. He then rose and said, "Mr. Speaker, I rise as a tradesman to complain of the gallant officer for abusing the commodity which I sell, &c.:" upon which the whole House burst into laughter and approbation of the self-command and good humour with which Whitbread put an end to the fury of his friends.

29*th*.—House of Commons. Resumed Walcheren debate; Grattan, Canning, and Whitbread were the principal speakers. Adjourned at two o'clock.

30*th*.—House of Commons. Resumed Walcheren debate. At four in the morning divided four times.

I. To censure the policy, 227; against it, 275.

II. To justify it, 272; against it, 232.

III. To censure the retention, 224; against the censure, 275.

IV. To excuse the delay in evacuating it, 253; against that, 232.

Adjourned after seven o'clock.

The second division, the largest in this Parliament except that of June 1807, upon the address of the change of Ministry.

N.B. It was the general opinion that the only resolution upon this business which was *indisputably untrue* was the *unanimous vote* that the failure was not imputable to any misconduct of the officers by sea or land.

My own opinion certainly was contrary to any such resolution. For, first, it was in evidence that the wind and weather did not prevent Lord Huntley from landing in Cadsand, in good time to have destroyed the batteries of Breskens, and opened a passage for the fleet up the Wieling Channel, clear of Flushing. And,

secondly, there was no evidence to prove that the whole fleet might not have gone up that channel with Lord Gardner's squadron, instead of going originally into the Stonediep: the further deviation into the Roompot, which ruined the whole prospect of getting to Antwerp up the West Scheldt, was probably inevitable after the fleet had once missed their entrance by Cadsand and the Wieling Channel.

It suited the Opposition to exculpate the land and naval service, *because* then the failure (by their reasoning) exclusively followed from *the plan*, and the plan only. It also *suited the Ministers*, partly because they had advised the King to tell the City of London that there was no ground for military inquiry (they then not knowing of Lord Chatham's narrative); and partly from a proper desire to avoid throwing blame upon those who served under them by their own appointment.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1810.

COMMITTAL OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.—DISTURBANCES IN LONDON.—LETTER FROM SIR F. BURDETT.—OPINION OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—LETTERS FROM MR. PERCEVAL.—SIR F. BURDETT COMMENCES AN ACTION AGAINST THE SPEAKER.

Tuesday, April 3rd. — House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett's motion against Captain Lake for putting Robert Jeffrey, a seaman, on shore upon the uninhabited island of Sombreiro in the West Indies. Unanimous address to the King, to request that inquiries might be made after the man, who is said to have got off and gone to America.

N.B. This afterwards proved to be true.

Debate on the motions of Martin, Bankes, and Perceval, respecting reforms of office, according to third Report of Committee on Public Expenditure.

April 5th. — House of Commons. Adjourned debate on motion against Sir Francis Burdett, divided at six in the morning upon an amendment by Lord Folkestone to put it off further for six months. For the amendment, 80; against it, 271.

Afterwards, upon an amendment for a reprimand, instead of a commitment to the Tower. For the amendment, 152; against it, 190.

The House adjourned at half-past seven in the morning.

The Serjeant with his Deputy came home with me. The warrants were written out and signed by me, before nine.

6th. — Clementson, Deputy Serjeant, called at ten, to say that he went, with Mr. Colman, the Serjeant, to the house of Sir Francis Burdett in Piccadilly. The

porter said Sir Francis Burdett was not at home, and they did not know when he would be. No crowd in the street.

Then Mr. Colman went to his own house, and wrote a letter, which he left at Sir Francis Burdett's house, mentioning his visit with the warrants, desiring to know when he would be ready to go, and offering any accommodation as to time and mode which his duty would allow. The porter gave the same answer. There were then about sixty or seventy persons in the street, looking up at the windows, and asking whether he was gone to the Tower.

When I went to the House at half-past three, I was told that Mr. Colman was come back, and wished to see me in my room behind the Chair, the House being in a Committee. I went to him, and expressed my surprise that he had not taken Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower.

He said that Sir Francis Burdett had written him a letter, and also had repeated to him his readiness to attend the Serjeant to-morrow at twelve.

I told him that would not do. My orders had been to take him in the fore-part of this morning, by ten at the latest, if he could have found him; and that he must now return immediately, and take him to the Tower. Mr. Secretary Ryder also saw Mr. Colman at the same time, and told him he might have all the civil aid he wanted, by applying at the Secretary of State's office, where magistrates were waiting.

The House of Commons rose before six.

At half-past nine Colman and Clementson came to me. They said that Read the Magistrate, whom they found at the Secretary of State's office, had said it was impossible to take him that night. He had not force enough, against the mob now assembled. Also, matters must be arranged with the Lord Mayor to convey Sir Francis Burdett from the limits of the County of Middlesex into and through the City; all which must be arranged by to-morrow morning.

Colman and Clementson had since been with Sir Francis Burdett, to whom they showed the warrant, and told him they could not stay so late as twelve to-morrow, but must take him at an earlier hour. He said he should resist, and he was writing to the Speaker, desiring them to deliver his letter, which they declined.

They left me to go and make their arrangements with the Justices and the Lord Mayor.

At ten I received Sir Francis Burdett's letter, brought to my door by two gentlemen, who desired an answer. I sent word down that there was no answer.

At eleven Colman came from Mr. Graham and Mr. Beckett, to know whether my warrant justified the breaking open doors. I told him I really did not know; but the magistrates, I supposed, would do in this case as in any other execution of process for a contempt of court.

7th.—At half-past nine Colman came. He and his men had been at Sir Francis Burdett's house at half-past six. They had been let in, but told Sir Francis Burdett was not there. They left a messenger in the hall, and were now going with the High Bailiff and a messenger with two chaises to Wimbledon.

At ten Perceval came. I showed him Sir Francis Burdett's letter, and, by his desire, I sent him a copy. We talked over Gale Jones's case.

At one Colman returned from Wimbledon, being told Sir Francis Burdett was not there. He was now told Sir Francis was in the streets, and proposed to go after him.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER TO THE SPEAKER.

Piccadilly, April 6th, 1810.

Sir,—When I was returned in due form by the electors of Westminster, they imagined they had chosen me as their trustee in a House of Commons to maintain the laws and liberties of the land; having accepted that trust, I will never betray it. I have also, as a dutiful subject, taken an oath of allegiance to the King to obey his laws, and I never will consent, by any act of

mine, to obey any set of men who, contrary to those laws, shall, under any pretence whatever, usurp the power of the King. Power and privilege are not the same things, and ought not at any time to be confounded together. Privilege is an exemption from power, and was by law secured to the third branch of the legislature, that they might safely protect the people; not to give them power to destroy the people. Your warrant, Sir, I believe you know to be illegal. I know it to be so. To superior force I must submit; but I will not and dare not incur the danger of continuing voluntarily to make one of any association or set of men who shall assume illegally the whole power of the realm, and who have no more right to take myself or any one of my constituents by force, than I or they possess to take any of those who are now guilty of this usurpation. And I would condescend to accept the meanest office that would vacate my seat, being more desirous of getting out of my present association than other men may be desirous of getting profitably into it. Sir, this is not a letter in answer to a vote of thanks, it is in answer to a vote of a very different kind. I know not what to call it, but since you have begun this correspondence with me, I must beg you to read this my answer to those under whose order you have commenced it.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT.*

Nothing done this forenoon. Wright, the messenger, into whose hands the warrant was put, with orders to serve it, delivered it to Sir Francis Burdett, and told him that his orders were not to lose sight of him. Sir Francis Burdett looked at and took the warrant, saying he had seen it yesterday. Wright was turned out of the house.

Guards and constables in Piccadilly. Riot Act read; mob scattered.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM ME TO MR. PERCEVAL.

[Private and Confidential.]

Saturday afternoon, 6 o'clock.

Dear Perceval, — The Serjeant's mismanagement of to-day exceeds, if possible, that of yesterday.

* This letter was published in the *Times* and *Cobbett's Political Register*.

I am this moment told by Wright (one of the Serjeant's messengers) the following story:

Upon returning from the fruitless journey to Wimbledon this morning, the Serjeant *sent* his warrant for Sir Francis Burdett, by Blake, one of his messengers, (who was then waiting at Sir Francis Burdett's to watch his motions) with orders to serve it upon Sir Francis Burdett, and not to lose sight of him afterwards.

About one o'clock Sir Francis Burdett came into his own door, and Wright the messenger, according to his orders, served the warrant, by delivering it to Sir Francis Burdett; who said he had seen it the night before but should not obey it, and at first refused to take it; but, the messenger persisting, Sir Francis Burdett then took it.

The messenger next told him he must not lose sight of him, but was presently with gentle violence put out of the room, and afterwards, by the servants, out of the house; and so the matter rests. I suppose I shall see the Serjeant himself this evening; but he has now no warrant to justify touching him.

'Ought I not to give him a fresh warrant instead of that which he has sent to Sir Francis Burdett most unadvisedly? What think you? If I am prevented from hearing from you, I shall think it right to arm him with a fresh warrant.

In the next place I hear (but upon no authority) that Lord Moira has forbidden his Lieutenant of the Tower to take in Sir Francis Burdett, unless there comes an order by the Sign Manual for the purpose. If this is possible, the misunderstanding had better be cleared up. My warrant went with Crosby and Oliver to the Tower, and was accepted.

Most truly yours, C. Abbot.

At seven Clementson came for a fresh warrant, which I gave him. At nine Sheriff Wood brought me a letter addressed by Sir Francis Burdett to the Sheriff of Middlesex to protect him with the *posse comitatus*. I told him "I had done my duty; he was to do what he thought proper." He said that was much what he expected me to say. He left Sir Francis Burdett's letter, which I sent to Perceval.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S LETTER TO THE SHERIFFS OF MIDDLESEX.

Piccadilly, April 7th, 1810.

Gentlemen,—In furtherance of an attempt to deprive me of my liberty, under the authority of an instrument which I know

to be illegal, viz., a warrant by the Speaker of the House of Commons, my house is at this moment beset by a military force.

As I am determined never to yield a voluntary obedience to an act contrary to the laws, I am determined to resist the execution of such a warrant by all the legal means in my power. And as you are the constitutional officers appointed to protect the inhabitants of your bailiewick from violence and oppression, from whatever quarter they may come, I make this requisition to you, gentlemen, to furnish me with your aid, with which the laws have provided you; either by calling out the *posse comitatus*, or such other as the case and circumstances may require.

It is for you to consider how far you may be liable, should I, by any unlawful force acting under an unlawful authority, be taken from my house.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,
Your very obedient humble servant,
FRANCIS BURDETT.

Matthew Wood and John Atkins,
Sheriffs of Middlesex.

LETTER FROM MR. PERCEVAL TO THE SPEAKER.

April 7th.

My dear Sir, — Pray tell me whether the address to the Crown to issue a Proclamation to take a person against whom the Speaker's warrant is granted is the course which has been pursued when the person could not be found, or only when, having been found, he had escaped.

Yours most truly, PERCEVAL.

At eleven P.M. Clementson came to say, Mr. Perceval had advised him in the course of the afternoon to take the Attorney-General's opinion in answer to Clementson's question whether his warrant authorised him to break open the doors of Sir F. Burdett's house. And he expected the opinion before morning.

8th.—At nine Colman came to say they had again this morning demanded entrance at Sir Francis Burdett's house, and were refused. He had not yet got the Attorney-General's opinion. At ten Clementson came. I suggested the necessity of one of them being all day at hand near Sir Francis Burdett's house to

serve him if he came out; and he went so to settle it with Colman, and to wait for the Attorney-General's opinion.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. PERCEVAL TO THE SPEAKER.

My dear Mr. Speaker,— . . . . . At two this morning a letter came from the Sheriffs enclosing a copy of Sir Francis Burdett's letter to them.

Ryder acknowledged the receipt of it, declined entering into Sir Francis Burdett's reasoning; but did not doubt that they would feel it their duty to give any assistance which was required of them in aid of the warrant, instead of in resistance to it. Mr. Attorney-General has doubts whether the warrants will justify breaking open doors. Commitments for contempt are so almost always *in præsentes* that the Common Law affords but very meagre authority or analogy. Yours most truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

After church the Chancellor and Perceval came, to talk over the defective power of warrants from either House of Parliament; and also the expediency of a general declaratory Act to give efficiency to the warrants or orders of both Houses. Also the inconvenience of yielding to any motion for the release of Gale Jones. Lord Eldon said, "He always felt there was an infirmity in the power delegated by a warrant from either House of Parliament."

Clementson came again; and I settled with him, first, that he or Colman should remain all night in waiting with the magistrates at the Gloucester Coffee House; posting his messengers, three at a time to watch, and three to rest themselves. Secondly, to warn the Sheriff of Middlesex that we required his assistance in aid of the warrant. Thirdly, if Sir Francis Burdett was apprehended, and demanded by what authority, to say, "By order of the former as well as of the latter warrant."

Met Lord Redesdale; he suggested an immediate Act to attaint Sir Francis Burdett if he did not surrender (say by Wednesday next), but still more,

approved of a general Act for giving effect to the warrants and orders of both Houses.

The most accurate account of the mischief of last night was "no deaths; but two or three soldiers wounded."

Troops coming in from all quarters, and also artillery.

At five o'clock I saw the Life-Guards advancing through the Park and Stable Yard to Piccadilly; the Riot Act having been again read, and the soldiers called in by order of the magistrates, who had in vain endeavoured to do without them.

Wardle told Mr. Thomson (a Master in Chancery), who related it to Perceval, that to-night the mob would have a fight for it. Wardle was walking up and down before Sir Francis Burdett's house with his wife, who was an acquaintance of Mrs. Thomson, and met them by accident.

In the evening I ordered all the doors of the passages of the House of Commons to be shut up, and also the ground passage from Westminster Hall to Old Palace Yard. The St. Mary's Volunteers were under arms in the Hall, with patrols as far as Downing Street, north, George Street and Bridge Street, east and west, and Abingdon Street, south.

At nine there was an alarm of fire at the back of the House of Lords, owing to some lighted coals in a basket, which were flaming within side the wooden fence in Parliament Place. Whether thrown there accidentally from the housekeeper's apartments of the House of Lords, or put there designedly, was not then clear. The quantity was small, and soon extinguished.

At half-past nine Colman brought me the Attorney-General's opinion upon his power to break open doors in execution of the warrant. [I had already received the following letter from him.]

LETTER FROM SIR VICARY GIBBS, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Russell Square, Sunday morning.

My dear Sir,—The Serjeant has consulted me upon the question whether he may break into Sir Francis Burdett's house to

serve the warrant. If you can furnish me with *any Parliamentary authority* on the subject, I shall be much obliged to you. If the case be left upon reasoning from analogy, it will be a delicate thing to recommend an act upon which a question of murder may ensue.

Yours most truly, V. Gibbs.

LETTER TO MR. PERCEVAL FROM SIR V. GIBBS.

April 8th.

Dear Perceval,—I agree with you as to the two warrants*, but I do not find that I can venture to recommend the breaking of the house, at the peril of what may ensue. I also doubt whether the warrant can be executed on a Sunday.

I do not think that what passed can be taken as an arrest. I will be with you this morning.

Yours ever, V. Gibbs.

The Attorney-General's opinion stated "that he could not find any rule or case of Parliamentary or legal practice which could warrant him in asserting otherwise than upon *analogy* to the powers for executing criminal process at the suit of the King, where such acts might be done. This, if done, he thought could be defended; but, if considered prospectively as an act yet undone, and in doing which force and resistance were to be expected, and death might ensue, it was for the officer to judge whether, upon such an opinion, he would proceed; but, at all events, not *at night.*"

N.B. The Sheriff (Wood), when required to assist the Serjeant in executing his warrant, said "Of course my business is to assist you; I am on your side."

Colman went away, balancing the risk of actual force and its consequences, and the risk of such additional censure as might belong to the delay between six to-morrow morning and four to-morrow afternoon, when

* Note by Mr. Perceval.—"My suggestion about the 'two warrants' was whether before 'breaking,' &c., if 'breaking' was authorised, it would not be proper to advise the Sheriff to demand admittance by virtue as well of the first as of the second warrant."

the House of Commons would meet, and he might take their further orders. I discussed these risks with him, but professed to give him *no orders* about it, as the act and the omission must be his own.

But I told him plainly, with reference to his conduct on Friday last, nothing could justify his omission to have taken Sir Francis Burdett into custody on the first or on the second occasion when he saw him.

9th.—At ten Perceval came to say that it had been determined to make a forcible entry into Sir Francis Burdett's house this morning. The Serjeant had taken his own determination, and thereupon the Government had given him all the force he asked, and promised that they would protect and indemnify him to the utmost of their power.

Whilst Perceval was with me news was brought that Sir Francis Burdett was arrested, and now conveying to the Tower.

About one Mr. Colman arrived at my house from the Tower with a receipt from the Lieutenant of the Tower for the body of Sir Francis Burdett.

The arrest had been made by forcing open the area windows and doors of the house, besides a fruitless attempt to get by a ladder into the drawing-room window. They had found Sir Francis Burdett in his drawing-room with his family, viz. his brother and son, and some ladies, and a tall, stout Irish gentleman (this was Roger O'Connor, the brother of Arthur O'Connor, the famous Irish traitor).

That about twenty or thirty persons,—constables and magistrates, with the Serjeant and Deputy Serjeant at their head, went into the room. That Sir Francis Burdett desired the Serjeant to produce his authority and read his warrant, which he did. Sir Francis Burdett said it was illegal, and he should not go, unless forced. Then the Serjeant touched him by the arm, and Sir Francis Burdett, with his brother and a servant, went down stairs to the coach which was ready at the door. The Deputy Serjeant and a messenger went

with Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Jones Burdett, his brother, in the coach; Sir Francis Burdett's servant behind it. The Serjeant went on horseback before. The military force present at the arrest were the Guards and a large body of cavalry. The Life-Guards attended the coach on each side, and before and behind. The 15th Light Dragoons led the way. They went round by Portland Street and the City Road, through Finsbury Square and the Minories to the Tower. Tower Hill was covered by the mob. Lord Moira received Sir Francis Burdett in the Governor's apartments in the Tower; and the Lieutenant gave Mr. Colman a receipt, and Sir Francis Burdett gave Mr. Colman a letter to convey to Lady Burdett.

The carriage stopped at the palisade of the Tower, near the lions; and Sir Francis Burdett, with the Serjeant, went on foot over the bridge and under the gateway to the Governor's apartments.

Sir Francis, whilst carrying to the Tower, was apparently in low spirits, and said little. When arrived at the Tower, and desiring to write to Lady Burdett, much depressed.

Lord Moira gave him his hand upon his entrance into the Governor's apartments; and offered him the whole range of the Tower if he would give his word and honour not to pass the gates; which Sir Francis Burdett did accordingly.

The Guards, upon their return from the Tower towards London Bridge, were severely pelted with stones, and fired more than fifty shots. The rest of the way home was quiet.

LETTER FROM MR. PERCEVAL TO THE SPEAKER.

Home Department, April 9th, 1810.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—Am I right in supposing that there is no instance, as far as your searches have gone, of the release of a person from custody on a commitment for a breach of privilege by the House of Commons, without a petition?

Yours very truly, Sp. Perceval.

THE SPEAKER'S ANSWER.

Monday, April 9th, 1810.

Dear Perceval,—1. From the temporary custody of the Serjeant witnesses, &c. have been frequently released without petition; the Committee, &c. reporting that the witness had since submitted and demeaned himself to the satisfaction of the Committee.

And Alcock (25th March, 1807, who was complained of for a breach of privilege by inserting more names of witnesses in a Speaker's warrant than were originally inserted) having presented a petition professing his contrition for his error, and submitting himself, was immediately ordered into custody of the Serjeant for his breach of privilege, but, without further petition, instantly brought to the bar, reprimanded, and discharged.

2. There is not, however, to the best of my knowledge, any instance of releasing a prisoner from gaol without a previous petition. It so appeared last year upon a long search in Clavering's case.

Yours truly, C. ABBOT.

FROM MR. PERCEVAL TO THE SPEAKER.

Downing Street, April 9th, 1810.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—The best opinion seems to be that John Gale Jones cannot be released without a petition.

As to Sir Francis Burdett's arrest, if a motion should be attempted to resolve that the forcible arrest is illegal, it may then be necessary not only to negative that resolution, but to amend it with an affirmative resolution of its legality.

The inclination of my mind as to our Serjeant is, *if possible*, to discover in his subsequent conduct *not an excuse* for his negligence on the first day, but *a proof* that it did not proceed from any bad motive either of timidity or disinclination to do his duty.

Yours most truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

House of Commons. Before the business began Sir Samuel Romilly put off his motion for the liberation of Gale Jones, until some time after this ferment should have subsided; and professed then to move it upon the mere ground of length of imprisonment and sufficiency

of punishment; and not upon any of the grounds of doubt which he had formerly stated.

He positively denied and disclaimed all acquaintance with Sir Francis Burdett, or having been with him during these tumults, as the newspapers had alleged.

Whitbread admitted he had been there, but for the express purpose, at the instance of his friends, of dissuading Sir Francis from persisting in his resistance to the warrant.

It seems Lord Grenville had written strongly to Sir Samuel Romilly to desist from his motion about Gale Jones.

At half-past four I stated to the House my having signed and delivered the warrants on the Friday morning, and that the Serjeant would report the circumstances attending their execution; but that I had also received a letter on Friday night at ten o'clock, from Sir Francis Burdett, which, with the leave of the House, I would read.

They called on me to read it, and I did so. I then stated that it was for the House to decide by motion and vote as to its lying on the table. Mr. Perceval moved that it should lie upon the table. Mr. Williams Wynn moved to delay coming to any opinion upon it by a vote, even if receiving it; and moved to adjourn the debate of that question till to-morrow.

The Serjeant then made his report, and was afterwards examined by several members. I also added further statements upon different points. Mr. Perceval and the Attorney-General answered various questions. All sides maintained the legality of the warrant and its execution; Whitbread and Tierney amongst the foremost. In the end the minutes were ordered to be printed, and no further proceeding to be had until their contents were in the hands of everybody. Whitbread did not undertake to move any proceeding upon them, unless when printed he should think it necessary. And Wortley gave notice that in such case he should move to amend any such motions by calling for further evidence.

10*th*. — Received the following letter from Mr. Perceval.

Downing Street, 4 P.M., Tuesday.

My dear Mr. Speaker, — The letter of Sir Francis Burdett is extremely perplexing; not to let it lie on the table is *in fact* to put up with the insult as much as if we let it lie there. Expulsion, as it must lead to *an election at Westminster*, is not to be thought of. But in the midst of difficulties, I rather incline to order it to lie on the table (or to order that the said letter be entered in the journals of the House); and to resolve that "the said letter is a great aggravation of Sir Francis Burdett's offence against the rights and privileges of this House. But considering that it appears by the report of the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House, that the warrant for the commitment of Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower *has been executed*, it is the opinion of this House that the other Orders of the Day be now read."

The effect of which will be no more than this, that, considering that he is now in custody during pleasure, there is not *now* any necessity to do anything upon it.

I send you this with the hope that you may be able to turn it in your mind, and oblige me with your opinion upon it when I come to the House. I am, my dear Mr. Speaker,

Yours very truly, Sp. Perceval.

Guards about the town. River Fencibles came and moored [opposite the Speaker's garden].

House of Commons. Resumed adjourned debate upon Sir Francis Burdett's letter. General discussion on the tumults. Wyndham charged me, first with knowing of Sir Francis Burdett's intended resistance whilst the House was sitting, and not communicating it to the House. That fact I demonstrated to be impossible, because the intention *to surrender* was the only communication then made to me. Secondly, that afterwards I had not ordered the Serjeant to break the outer door of Sir Francis Burdett's house, in order to arrest him. To this I replied, that the magistrates having refused to aid the Serjeant in breaking open the door as not legal, and the Serjeant upon these doubts, asking me for information and advice, I had told him that I knew of no Parliamentary instance of this power being so executed, and I could not advise *him* (what-

ever I might have done for myself) to incur the risk of such a forcible act, when from the declared intention to resist some fatal act was likely to ensue, for which *he* (not *I*) might be capitally responsible, &c.; and it was my opinion, then and now, that at that time I ought not so to have advised him. The doubts afterwards entertained by others, and the very terms of the Attorney-General's opinion would show that I could not have been justified in giving any such advice, much less orders.

The debate ended at two o'clock, with an unanimous resolution, "That Sir Francis Burdett's letter was a high and flagrant breach of privilege," &c. &c.

11*th*.—Received the following letter from Mr. Perceval:—

[Private.] Downing Street, April 11th, 1810.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—The King told me yesterday that he understood that the *old warrant of appointment* to the office of Serjeant-at-Arms contains an express delegation of power to break open all houses in the execution of a Speaker's warrant, except the Houses of the Princes and Princesses, the King's sons and daughters. He said it was two hundred years old. I cannot conceive that the information is correct, for it could hardly have escaped notice in the many instances in which questions have occurred with respect to the commitments of the House of Commons. I do not know where we can trace the truth of this information. Perhaps you can direct my inquiries.

Yours very truly, Sp. Perceval.

12*th*.—Received the following letter from Mr. Ryder.

[Private.] Whitehall, April 12th, 1810.

My dear Sir,—I enclose to you a copy of a letter I have just received from Lord Moira, to which, in a conversation I have just had with him, he desires an official answer, stating, that he rather thinks he ought to apply to you in your official character.

Perhaps it may save you trouble if you would be so good as to tell me what was done in the case of Oliver and Crosby upon the subject of the Habeas Corpus, if you happen to know the particulars, previous, of course, to the question being argued, or the Habeas Corpus granted.

My present idea was to tell Lord Moira that I would direct the solicitor to the Treasury to give him all the legal assistance he requires to make a proper return to the writ.

I am, my dear Sir, yours truly, R. RYDER.

LETTER FROM LORD MOIRA TO MR. RYDER, ENCLOSED IN THE ABOVE.

St. James's Place, April 12th, 1810.

Sir,—Colonel South, commanding in the Tower, informs me that he has understood that Sir Francis Burdett has applied to the Court of King's Bench for a writ of Habeas Corpus. May I beg to know how, in the event of the writs being granted, we are to proceed.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. MOIRA.

ANSWER TO MR. RYDER'S LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER.

Palace Yard, Thursday, April 12th, 1810,
[Private.] 3 o'clock.

My dear Sir,—I am very much obliged to you for your note. Upon search I do not find any trace in my Secretary's warrant-book of any proceeding relative to Oliver and Crosby, from the time of their first commitment to their final liberation, and that only by a memorandum of their exit upon the prorogation.

I take it for granted that the Lieutenant of the Tower will make the like return in this as in former cases, of which his books ought to contain copies. But, at all events, your suggestion of directing the solicitor to the Treasury to give him legal assistance is extremely advisable, and the sooner the better.

I am, yours ever, C. ABBOT.

Sir Francis Burdett's attorney left at my house notice of bringing an action within one month. I sent to retain the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General as my counsel.

13*th*.—I sent the notice paper of Mr. John Ellis, Sir Francis Burdett's agent, to Messrs. Vernon and Co., my solicitors, with further directions to retain also Mr. Adam and Mr. Taunton, and an injunction to take no step whatever in this cause without the special direction of the Attorney-General. Afterwards, by direction of the Solicitor-General, I retained Garrow.

Lord Moira wrote to apprise me of a probable application from Sir Francis Burdett for a Habeas Corpus, and desiring information from me. I answered that "it was a subject upon which I conceived that I had no part to take."

Saw Perceval. Told him, and agreed also that I should communicate to the House to-day my having received the notice of action from Sir Francis Burdett and his attorney.

House of Commons. I communicated the same accordingly, and after some short conversation in which Perceval, Ponsonby, Whitbread, and Williams Wynn took part, I was directed to have it entered upon the journals, but without any order for its lying on the table.

Debate on motion for a Committee to inquire into tithes in Ireland.

15*th.*— Perceval came home after church with me by appointment, to discourse upon various matters. Inconveniences from the saleable nature of the office of High Bailiff of Westminster, who, happening now to be a democrat, summons all the worst meetings; and also of the footing upon which the office of Under-Sheriff for Middlesex now stands, who returns always democrat juries upon political questions; also the impossibility of suffering the newspapers to go on to report debates as they now do, suppressing systematically the entire speeches of particular members, viz., Wyndham and Tierney, and the necessity of interfering upon the part of administration to stop this tyranny.

Also about Gale Jones's release, which Sir Samuel Romilly has moved for without petition.

Also on the powers of the House of Commons to break open doors by warrants for contempt and breach of privilege; adverting to the precedent of 1660, cited in vol. iii. of the House of Commons' Report, p. 12, Appendix to the Report, upon obstructions in the case of Oliver and Crosby. How far that instance makes out the necessity of a *separate enabling* warrant

for that express purpose, or only amounts to a *directing* order. In either case it appearing to prove that such power resides in the House of Commons.

To this latter point, see, for illustration, the Journal entry upon Sir Thomas Shirley's case, vol. i. temp. Eliz.; also, 1648, vol. v. p. 609. And the frequent practice of sending members to fetch papers out of houses, as in the South Sea case. And 2nd April, 1690, to search Stafford's lodgings, &c.

Also the breach of privilege (as I contend) in serving me with notice of Sir Francis Burdett's intended action for anything done by me as Speaker.

This was Sir W. Williams's case.

9th Nov., 1681, 33 Car. II. Ordered to sign Dangerfield's information of the Popish plot. 9 Journ. 642. And to appoint a printer.

Journ. 1, 34 Car. II. Information filed against him for a libel, in signing and printing the information of Dangerfield.

Journ. 3, 2 Jac. II. Judgment against him, and fine of 10,000*l.*

1689. Bill of Rights, reciting the grievance of prosecution for proceedings in Parliament, illustrated by the above case. Declared to be a violation of the freedom of Parliament. See vol. iii. Rep. Ho. Com., p. 11.

12th July. Record of that Judgment resolved to be illegal. Vol. x. p. 215. And a Bill ordered to reverse it.

N. B. This Bill dropped with the session, which ended by adjournment, 19th Aug., and by prorogation, 21st Oct. A second Bill brought in Nov. 1689, but not proceeded with. A third Bill sent up to the Lords, from whom it never returned. Supposed to have failed there from change of parties; and that the third Bill was for reimbursement out of Sir Robert Sawyer's private estate.

These grounds, I urged, as sufficient to stop the action against *me* for what I had done *by order* of the House of Parliament. *And* to be stopped as a breach of priyilege; but Perceval doubted that.

We next discussed the Serjeant's case. Upon this we read over Jay *v.* Topham, as printed at the end of the 8vo. edition of Ashby and White; and also the cases of Sir George Meggett, 8 Wm. III. and Gee, 8 Wm. III., printed at the end of the former cases.

He thought the House of Commons had gone too far in committing Sir Francis Pemberton and Sir Thomas Jones, considering the reasons they had given for their judgment; and that, although the order (for proceeding) *in* the House might be conclusive in a court of law, yet the abuse of it, or excess beyond its authority in the execution of it, were fit matters triable at law by any subject who might be aggrieved thereby.

Upon the whole he was not *at present* prepared to take any step which should *warn off* the action against the Speaker, and still less against the Serjeant. And he did not like to take any step which should sever them.

I stated to him that, unless the Speaker's order, or rather the order of the House, or its warrants signed by the Speaker, was protected from inquiry into its legality in the inferior Courts, there was *an end of all the authority* of the House of Commons; for a jury, as well as a court of law, would have an immediate control over them; and ultimately, by appeal, the House of Lords would, in error, have to decide upon the rights and privileges, and acts and votes of the House of Commons. Over and above which, in the present question upon the legality of such warrant, they would be giving judgment upon a cause (in substance) their own; they claiming exactly the same power of commitment.

16*th*.—House of Commons till two in the morning, chiefly on Sir Samuel Romilly's motion to release Gale Jones without petition. The Master of the Rolls, and Canning, Wilberforce, and Addington spoke for the discharge without petition. Division: For the motion, 112; against it, 170.

17*th*.—The day for meeting of Westminster electors

in Palace Yard, upon Sir Francis Burdett's commitment. At nine, I sent for Whitton to shut up the doors of Westminster Hall, next *Old* Palace Yard, and all avenues to the House of Commons; also Clementson to come at eleven, with two messengers; also for Major Jones, commanding the volunteers, to station a guard in my court-yard. The gates being now locked at both entrances, and only the wicket open, with a watchman attending it.

The rest of the morning was occupied in attending to the different measures necessary for securing the avenues to the House of Commons from the mob, if it should take that direction.

The hustings in Palace Yard were erected in the morning at their usual place, under the terrace; Lord Cochrane, Wardle, and others harangued the mob. A petition for the Reform of Parliament was resolved upon, and between three and four the crowd dispersed.

Between two and three, I received a fresh notice of action from Sir Francis Burdett, for trespass and false imprisonment by me, as Speaker, breaking open his house, &c. This differed from the former only in describing his house to be in St. George's parish instead of St. James's.

Wrote the following letter to Perceval:—

Palace Yard, Tuesday, April 17th,
[Private.] half-past two o'clock.

Dear Perceval,—At two o'clock this afternoon I have received a fresh notice from Sir Francis Burdett, dated *this* day, of his intention to bring his action against me as Speaker of the House of Commons. For this I see no reason, except that his month will run from the 17th inst., instead of from the 12th inst., according to his former notice.

But as I shall think it my duty to acquaint the House to-day with this (as I did with the former) notice, the question naturally and necessarily arises whether it is fitting to suffer the *proceedings of the House of Commons*, and the act done by the Speaker under their order, to be questioned in any court, &c., *out of Parliament*; this being a *proceeding therein*. And

such questioning being, therefore, contrary to the Bill of Rights, 1 W. & M., Sept 2nd, cap. 2, *eighth* article.

If you see it in this light, probably you will think it right, at least in the way of *notice*, to announce that, if any such suit is commenced, you will move to deal with it as a breach of privilege. Most truly yours, C. ABBOT.

P.S.—I see there is another variance between this notice and the former. In the *first*, his house is described to be in the parish of St. James, Westminster, whereas in the second it is described to be in the parish of St. George, Hanover Square.

ANSWER FROM MR. PERCIVAL.

Downing Street, April 17th, 1810.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—I have just received your letter. I lament that I have not had time to communicate upon the subject of it with any persons on whose judgment I could come to a satisfactory conclusion, since our meeting on Sunday.

The most I think that I could venture to do (so unprepared with other advice as I am and must be at the time of our meeting to-day) would be to take notice that, in my estimation, the issuing of a warrant by the Speaker, upon the authority of the House, was a proceeding in Parliament within the meaning of the expression in the Bill of Rights; and that, therefore, all persons concerned in that action should be aware of the offence which they may commit by proceeding in it.

I am most truly yours, SP. PERCIVAL.

House of Commons. After five o'clock, Lord Cochrane presented the petition from the Electors of Westminster, entitled a Petition and Remonstrance, complaining of Sir Francis Burdett's imprisonment; the corruption of the House of Commons, as avowed last year, &c. &c., and praying for a Reform of Parliament.

After some discussion it was ordered to lie upon the table.

I then acquainted the House with Sir Francis Burdett's fresh notice, which was directed to be entered on the journals.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1810.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS RESOLVE TO DEFEND THE SPEAKER.—CONVERSATION WITH CANNING.—BUDGET.—DEBATE ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION, AND ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—ATTEMPT TO MURDER THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.—LORD COCHRANE'S MOTION ON ABUSES IN THE ADMIRALTY COURTS.—RELEASE OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT AT THE PROROGATION.

Wednesday, *April* 18*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on the coroner's inquest for wilful murder of one *Pledge*, shot on Saturday evening the 7th inst. in a mob at the back of St. James's Church, by the passage behind the east end of it. Captain Agar (the captain of that guard) and Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, also present there, spoke distinctly to many shots having been fired by the mob, and to one dragoon having been shot through the jaw with a ball before the magistrates ordered the cavalry to fire.

Debate also on Captain Foskett's* petition against the Duke of Cumberland and the Commander-in-Chief.

Went to Kidbrooke till the 30th.

30*th*.—House of Commons. The Solicitor-General told me he had mentioned to Perceval the suggestion of a committee to manage the defence, and wished me to report and urge it. I appointed to-morrow to see Perceval upon it.

Tuesday, *May* 1*st*.—Went to Perceval. He entered

* Captain Foskett was a Captain in the 15th Dragoons, of which the Duke of Cumberland was Colonel. He complained that he had been unfairly treated by the Duke in respect of regimental promotion; that the Duke had cast on his character aspersions which he had since admitted to be unfounded; that he had refused him leave which he had solicited with the view of applying in person to the Commander-in-Chief; and that the Commander-in-Chief had refused to lay his complaint before the King.

fully into the state of the business; the points in question; the course to be pursued by me and by the House; his view of the practical difficulties of vindicating the privileges of the House, by arresting all persons acting as attorneys, &c. in the suit, as heretofore in the case of members, &c. sued contrary to privilege; and as apparently maintained to be the proper course, in case of any suit against the Speaker for acts done by him as such, by referring to the proceedings upon the Bill of Rights as detailed in the Appendix to the Report, House of Commons, 1771, vol. ii., upon the obstruction to warrants in Wilkes's case; and also by referring to the proceedings of the Revolution Parliament upon the judgment against Sir William Williams.

He entered also into the view of the difficulties of defending our privileges by pleading to the actions at law either in abatement or in bar; by referring to the case of Sir William Williams, and also of Topham (the Serjeant) *v.* Jay, as reported in the State Trials; and at the end of the 8vo publication of the case of Ashby and White. In conclusion he inclined to the course recommended by my counsel of appointing a select committee of the House of Commons to consider of the fit course of proceeding, and to manage the defence to the action. He promised, however, to communicate with the Lord Chancellor and others before he finally decided; as the course to be taken could not but ultimately affect the privileges of the House of Lords in like cases, &c. &c.

House of Commons. Debate on Sir Samuel Romilly's Bills for repealing the capital part of the punishment for robbery in a dwelling house, shoplifting, &c. For engrossing the first of these Bills, 31; against it, 34.

N.B. This and five more passed the House of Commons in 1811.

2*nd*.—Went to meeting of Commissioners of National Debt. After that business was over Perceval detained me and the Master of the Rolls, and discussed the same points with him as he had done yesterday with me. In

the end it was determined that on Friday next he should give notice of moving on Monday next a committee, &c. upon the subject of Sir Francis Burdett's action; and in the meantime the Master of the Rolls desired to have my collection of papers for his consideration.

House of Commons. Debate upon receiving petition of the freeholders of Middlesex, and question adjourned till to-morrow.

3rd. — Wellesley Pole came by Perceval's desire, about a Record Commission for Ireland. I expressed to him my readiness to have a new commission, taking Ireland in with Great Britain, adding the Chief Secretary and the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer to it, and appointing one, two, or three sub-commissioners for local purposes in Ireland, such as the Chancellor of Ireland and the judges there should approve; or if he preferred a *separate* commission for Ireland, we had then only to move an address in the House of Commons for that purpose. He wished to know in the latter case whether I would not belong to the separate commission; but that I explicitly declined; being ready to take an active share in a joint commission in which I could take an efficient part, if I was to be named in it; but *declined* to be a *nominal* party; and ostensibly responsible for that in which I should have no real influence.

Afterwards saw *Perceval*, and stated all this to him; the propriety of my declining for these reasons to be named on the *separate* committee he fully admitted. I told him that the truth was, the *reason* of the thing required a joint commission for the whole of the United Kingdom; but the feeling might very naturally be in Ireland for a separate commission. And upon such a matter it might not be worth while to press the better mode, if likely to offend any feelings of the higher persons in Ireland, who might dislike such a proceeding.

House of Commons. Middlesex petition. Debate resumed upon the question of its lying on the table. Negatived by 137 to 59. Debate afterwards upon the subject of Irish jobs.

During this latter debate I spoke to Ponsonby, and afterwards to Tierney, upon the subject of Sir Francis Burdett's action.

I told them that I thought it my duty to apprise them, as I had apprised Mr. Perceval, &c., that I should feel it necessary to bring before the House in a day or two that subject, for the purpose of asking the directions of the House, if they should have any commands to lay upon me respecting my conduct.

Ponsonby agreed in the importance of the question, viz., whether we were to vindicate our rights in the way of former times, by committing all persons who violated our privileges; or whether we should submit the trial of them to a court of law. He thought we had been remiss in not at once committing the attorney who served the notice of action; and that it would be *highly dangerous* to surrender our privileges to the judgment of the inferior courts; from which they might further be carried by writ of error to the House of Lords; and thereby place our privileges at the mercy of the other House of Parliament. I proposed to him to have this matter viewed as *the common concern* of all sides of the House; and if so, that for such a purpose the Speaker's chamber or house might be deemed *neutral ground;* and those who were generally in the habit of advising the House upon adverse plans of rival policy, might nevertheless do now, as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox had done upon the question of impeachments abating by the dissolution of Parliament, put those habits aside for the time, and concur in co-operating for the general interests of the House of Commons, according to whatever plan might be the wisest for the occasion. This, however, he expressed a disinclination to adopt, professing at the same time a cordial disposition to give me *personally* the most frank and full advice, information, and assistance that his situation would enable him to do. I desired him only to turn these things in his thoughts, and let me know to-morrow, when he came to the House, if anything more occurred to him.

Tierney received my communication with great civility, and expressed nearly the same sentiments upon the general question. Piggott * had held the same language to the Solicitor-General.

4th. — I saw Perceval, and having related to him the conversation of last night, I suggested to him that the best chance of obtaining any useful co-operation of parties upon this subject was for me, in the first instance, to bring it forward for the consideration of the House, rather than for him to originate any proposition. And that the House being so invited by me to take these measures, any proposition from him would be less likely to excite the general spirit of hostile debate, which attached upon all party propositions, if there was really any pre-existing inclination to meet it fairly. He again dwelt upon his view of the probable effect of a plea to the jurisdiction, such as might be adapted to the case; and having requested the Attorney-General to consider it, he should call a Cabinet on Sunday, at which a final determination might be come to.

House of Commons. Ponsonby came to me. Hoped I should not think it necessary, in my communication to the House on Monday (which day I had determined for it), to give any intimation that I had thought it necessary to retain counsel; or convey any opinion which the adverse party might construe into a concession in my mind of the liability of our privileges to the control of judgment in a court of law, &c. He allowed the reasonable prudence of my having actually consulted them; but wished it not to be announced as a step towards a course which I thought was the final and necessary issue of these measures.

I told him that I never had any such intention in making the statement; that I should briefly bring the matter forward, and in such words as should ask, and not give, any directing opinion upon it.

He said then that he continued to think any *private*

* Sir Arthur Piggott. He had been Attorney-General in the Whig Administration.

conference unadvisable. I hoped, however, that the same sentiments did not preclude the concurrence of political opponents from coming together in the public form of a committee, if such a measure should appear to be favourable for the common interest and defence of our privileges.

To which he seemed not to object, hoping only that it might not be a very small committee. He proceeded to say that the bias of his mind was towards the adoption of some general resolutions declaratory of our determination to assert our privileges, in language which might warn all attorneys, agents, counsel, and judges of the consequences of upholding or entertaining suits for things done in, or by the House for the exercise of its privileges. He would, however, make up his mind and let me know perhaps on Sunday; or at the latest on Monday, if I would give him leave to see me; in the meantime he wished to see a copy of the plea in Jay *v.* Topham.

In the course of the evening I communicated this to Perceval. The Attorney-General also reported to me his conviction that the plea to the jurisdiction could *not* be maintained; and that he believed Lord Ellenborough thought the reasoning of Sir Thomas Jones and Sir Francis Pemberton was right as reported in that case.

5th. — By my own appointment I called upon Canning at Gloucester Lodge; and communicated to him fully the occurrences upon the subject of Sir Francis Burdett's action; he told me fairly that the bias of his mind being for the *law* course, he had purposely declined coming in my way: and he presumed my views and opinions would officially and naturally lead me to think the *authoritative* course the more proper. We talked over the whole upon principle, and practical consequences of each direction of measures: and his preference for the law course was so far shaken, as he had conceived that it was possible to have an adjudication of the question upon the dry right as a

matter of law only in the Courts below; and was not sufficiently informed to know that, in the opinion of lawyers, the plaintiff had the power of bringing the whole issue of law and fact together under the verdict of the jury. He allowed for my bias rightly in maintenance of the *highest* course to vindicate and strengthen our privileges; his own, perhaps, as natural apprehension that the monarchical power might eventually suffer from the establishment of such a summary power in the Commons as might become formidable and overbearing in contests with the Crown or other branches of the Constitution. And he allowed also for the natural zeal which Whitbread might have for the strengthening of that weapon which he, as a leader of the popular party, might hope and have to wield against all opponents of the growing weight of the democratic power. My concluding remark was that, much as I might also be adverse to any such abuse of such power in the Commons, to me the sole question was, whether, without such power of commitment, the Commons could exist at all; and whether the submitting such power to the adjudication of any other tribunal was not consenting to its possible abolition in this and every other instance. He thanked me much for my communication; and returned to the Report, vol. iii. Com. Reports on the obstruction to warrants, which was entirely new to him.

Vernon came to say that the lawyers had again met to-day, and still continued of opinion that the plea to the jurisdiction would not hold, and that the whole might be carried by the plaintiff to a jury; in which case Garrow said, he was quite sure some obstinate person would be found who would rather die than give a verdict in favour of the House of Commons.

6*th*.—I wrote further to Ponsonby, sending him an abstract of warrants from journals and from my Secretary's Warrant Book; referring him also to the Report in Wilkes's case upon the obstruction to warrants, 1771, 3 vol. Com. Reports.

After church I saw Perceval, and told him Canning's sentiments.

Met the Solicitor-General coming from the Cabinet, where the Master of the Rolls also attended; the determination was, upon receiving my notification to-morrow, to appoint a Committee; and to endeavour to come out of it with such resolutions as should settle a course (covering me), but rather tending to plead, first to the jurisdiction, and afterwards in bar, &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. ABBOT.

[Confidential.] Eden Farm, May 5th, 1810.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . I may confide to your private knowledge his (Lord Grenville's) general sentiments on what is going forward between the House of Commons and those who are too successfully misleading the public mind; putting aside the management of the contest hitherto, and the question as to the wisdom of embarking in it, (if it could have been avoided,) all his opinions are decidedly in favour of the privileges of Parliament. He is confident that what the House of Commons has done up to this time is *legal*, nor is he less persuaded that such powers are *necessary* to the independence of Parliament.

In the actual prevalence of absurd notions on this subject, to a degree highly mischievous and seriously alarming, it will soon become unavoidable for those whose opinions have any weight of any description to oppose themselves to the torrent, and to declare what their privileges are. More of this hereafter.

Yours ever most sincerely, AUCKLAND.

7th.—Adam called to intimate (this not by message from Ponsonby, *from whom I heard nothing*) that he could not agree to a Committee upon the proceedings on Sir Francis Burdett's notices.

House of Commons. After the private business, I stated to the House, "That I thought it my duty to call their attention to the contents of two papers which I had also thought it incumbent upon me to communicate to the House previous to the late recess. These papers, as the House would remember, were

notices under the statute, from Sir Francis Burdett, of his intention to commence an action at law against me as Speaker of the House. That as the law term was now approaching, it appeared to me to be necessary to request their consideration upon the proceedings had and to be had upon this subject, which so deeply concerned their privileges."

A long debate ensued. Perceval proposed a Committee; Ponsonby objected; Whitbread also. Sir Arthur Piggott was not for it, but spoke at large in vindication of the rights of the House in contradiction to the novel doctrines out of doors. Tierney spoke against empowering the Committee to report *opinions*, &c. At length the Committee was carried upon a division of 116 to 46.

The rest of the evening was occupied in debating the Duke of Brunswick's annuity, Alderman Combe's motion for the right of the Livery to present petitions *personally* to the King, &c. &c.

8*th*. — House of Commons. By the Serjeant's desire I informed the House of his being this day served with a writ about Sir Francis Burdett. In the evening Perceval showed me a letter of Lord Moira, and his solicitor, enclosing a letter from Sir Francis Burdett's attorney, acquainting Lord Moira with Sir Francis Burdett's intention of bringing an action against Lord Moira, as constable of the Tower, for detaining him in custody.

Debate upon Livery petition lying upon the table, and adjourned till to-morrow. Debate on the expedition to Macao, in China, to dispossess the Portuguese. Motion for papers refused.

9*th*. — House of Commons. The Serjeant reported service of process upon him about Sir Francis Burdett: referred to the former Committee. Other Members added to the Committee. The Opposition made their apologies for seceding from the Committee.

Livery of London petition. Negatived lying on the table by 128 to 36.

10*th*. — House of Commons. I informed the House of Sir Francis Burdett's process against me in an action for 30,000*l*. damages, and also of further process against the Serjeant for damages laid at 20,000*l*.

In the evening I received a letter from Lord Moira acquainting me that he also was sued.

Perceval announced the report of the Committee on Sir Francis Burdett's matter for to-morrow.

Conclusion of the Report upon Sir Francis Burdett's Proceedings.

Upon the whole it appears to your Committee, that the bringing these actions against the Speaker and the Serjeant for acts done in obedience to the orders of this House, is a breach of the privileges of this House; and it has the power to punish it if it should think fit, as it appears that in several instances of actions commenced in breach of the privileges of this House, the House has proceeded by commitment, not only against the party, but against the solicitor and other persons concerned in bringing such actions. But your Committee think it right to observe that the commitment of such party, solicitor, or other persons would not necessarily stop the proceedings in such action.

That, as the particular ground of action does not necessarily appear upon the writ or upon the declaration, the court before which such action is brought cannot stay the suit or give judgment against the plaintiff, till it is informed by due course of legal proceeding that such action is brought for a thing done by order of the House.

And it therefore appears to your Committee that, even although the House should think fit to commit the solicitor or other person concerned in commencing these actions, yet it will still be expedient that the House should give leave to the Speaker and to the Serjeant to appear to the said actions, and to plead to the same for the purpose of bringing under the knowledge of the court the authority under which they acted; and, if the House should agree with this opinion, the Committee submits to the House whether it would not be proper that directions should be given by this House for defending the Speaker and the Serjeant against the said actions.

House of Commons. After a debate upon the Report from the Committee upon Sir Francis Burdett's proceedings, in which Ponsonby gave his decided opinion

for defending the Speaker and Serjeant-at-Arms, to the extent of setting up the orders of the House as a sufficient justification for its acts, it was resolved,

"That the Speaker and Serjeant should have leave to appear and plead, and that the Attorney-General should defend them."

14*th*. — House of Commons rejected Major Cartwright's petition by 92 to 31.*

16*th*.—House of Commons. Budget: total English supply, 46,223,000*l*. Total for United Kingdom, 52,000,000*l*. The loan to make up the total of English supply, 8,000,000*l*., which, with Exchequer Bills funded this session, creates an annual charge of 970,839*l*. This provided for by the surplus of Stamp Duties, 1808, beyond their estimated amount for the Ways and Means of that year; that surplus being more than 1,100,000*l*. And so *no new tax* this year.

The loan is borrowed at 4*l*. 4*s*. 2¾*d*. interest.

17*th*.—House of Commons. All the evening in Committee upon the resolutions of Bankes and Perceval arising out of third report of Committee on Public Expenditure, for Abolition of Sinecures, and the substitution of other funds in the hands of the Crown for remunerating public services in civil offices of high trust and efficiency. Division: for Perceval's resolutions, 99; against them, 93. Canning voted with the Opposition.

18*th*.—Debate on motion to expunge vote† upon Lord Castlereagh's conduct last year; negatived without a division. Catholic petitions. Grattan moved to refer them to a Committee of the whole House. Sir John Hippesley seconded him. At one o'clock debate adjourned till Thursday next.

* The petition in question prayed for a Reform in Parliament, and was rejected on account of the disrespectful language in which it was couched; alleging, for instance, as it did, that "the committal of Sir Francis Burdett was an act of flagrant illegality on the part of the present House of Commons."

† This was a motion made by Lord Archibald Hamilton to expunge from the journals of the House the resolutions which it had adopted last year respecting Lord Castlereagh's conduct in the appointment to a writership in India (vide *supra*); and also another resolution, come to at the same time, respecting the purity of Parliament.

Grattan contended, 1st, That full participation of civil rights should be granted to the Irish Catholics. 2ndly. Not without security for exclusion of foreign influence, which he should have thought best obtained by giving the Crown a veto upon the appointment of Catholic Prelates; but, as the Catholics would not now consent to give the veto, the same might be accomplished by establishiug a *domestic nomination* of Prelates amongst the Catholics themselves, and referring to the Pope only for institution, &c. He did not, however, *allege* more than a *disposition* amongst *some* of the Catholics to adopt this mode.

It is understood that on Monday next (the 21st) the Catholic clergy are to meet in Dublin upon this question.

Debate on Mr. Brand's motion for a reform in Parliament till three o'clock in the morning. For a Committee, 115; against it, 234.

24*th*.—House of Commons. Debate upon the Budget. Bill for charging the interest of the loan upon stamps. Division: for the Bill, 124; against it, 57.

25*th*.—Adjourned debate upon the Catholic question till four in the morning, and further adjourned to this day se'nnight.

28*th*.—Mr. Wyndham died—as was reported. But his disorder took a sudden turn, and he survived till 4th of June.

30*th*.—Saw Perceval on Lord Dursley's question.

31*st*.—Account of the attempt to murder the Duke of Cumberland. Debate on Bankes's resolutions for abolition of sinecures. For Perceval's resolutions, 95; for Bankes's, 105; and a second division, 100 to 111. Committee appointed to inquire into sinecures, consisting of the Hon. W. Ward, Chairman, Lord Porchester, Canning, Ellis, Tierney, Bankes, Long, Manners Sutton, Bathurst, and Mr. Davis Giddy.*

Tuesday, June 5th. — House of Commons. Lord Dursley's question. The petitions complaining of his

* He is better known by his subsequent name of Gilbert, and was afterwards President of the Royal Society.

not having delivered in his qualification under 33 George II., upon taking his seat. Rejected on a division.

6th.—Half-past one. The Sinecure Office Committee came to me in my library (though I offered to attend them), and put several questions to me respecting the duties of my office, &c., which were taken down with my answers by Gurney, the shorthand writer.

8th.—Debate on W. Wynn's motion of privilege respecting the action brought by Sir Francis Burdett. And afterwards on the Duke of Richmond's additional salary of 10,000*l.* a year.*

13th.—Lord Cochrane's motion†, and Middlesex petition till half-past two.

15th.—House of Commons. Debate on further measures for executing the Act to abolish the Slave Trade. Also Whitbread's motion on the third reading of the Vote of Credit Bill, with general remarks on the state of affairs at home and abroad.

18th.—Lord Sidmouth came; among other subjects, on the overtures made to him by the present Administration.‡

21st.—Parliament prorogued. I went to Kidbrooke.

This day Sir Francis Burdett, to the great disappointment of his friends, who were assembled on Tower Hill, to escort him in procession upon his liberation, privately departed by water, and went away to Wimbledon. The procession nevertheless went with an empty car from the Tower to his house in Piccadilly.

* As Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The salary, which had been 20,000*l.* a year, was raised to 30,000*l.*

† Lord Cochrane, after alleging many abuses in the Admiralty Courts, by which the seamen were prevented from deriving the advantages to which they were entitled from the prizes they had taken, moved a series of resolutions, involving a reform in those courts, "in order to give full effect to the beneficent intentions of His Majesty towards the navy," so that captors might be enabled to prosecute their just claims without hindrance or delay.

‡ These overtures are mentioned in the *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. iii. p. 20, as having been opened by Mr. Perceval, through the mediation of Mr. C. Yorke, the object being so to remodel the Administration as to include Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, Lord Sidmouth, and their respective friends. Lord Sidmouth, "instantly declined it," being apparently influenced to a great degree by the enmity he had conceived against Canning in the time of his own Administration.—*Vide supra.*

CHAP. XXXV.

1810.

CONVICTION OF COBBETT FOR LIBEL.—SURRENDER OF ALMEIDA.—WELLINGTON OCCUPIES THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS.—ILLNESS OF PRINCESS AMELIA, AND RENEWED INSANITY OF THE KING.—LETTERS FROM PERCEVAL.—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS.—EXAMINATION OF THE KING'S PHYSICIANS.—LUCIEN BUONAPARTE COMES TO ENGLAND.—PROTEST OF THE PRINCES AGAINST THE PROPOSED RESTRICTIONS ON THE REGENT.

(*Events which took place between July* 13*th and December* 31*st.*)

MONDAY, July 9th.—Cobbett was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, 1000*l.* fine, and to give security for his good behaviour for seven years; himself in 3000*l.* and two sureties in 1000*l.* each.*

August and September.—News arrived of Lord Wellington's retreat from before Almeida, and Massena's summoning General Cox, the English Governor of it, to surrender. News that an explosion of the principal magazine in the place had obliged the garrison to surrender on the 27th of August, after two days' bombardment.

Saturday, October 20th.—Received the following letter from Perceval:—

Downing Street, Oct. 20th, 1810.

My dear Sir,—The enclosed is so extremely interesting, though not decisive, that I cannot forbear giving your nerves the agitation which it has given mine.

Lord Wellington says, that thinking he has reason to hope for

* Cobbett's offence was a libel on the King's German legion, provoked merely by the fact of their having assisted in the suppression of a mutiny of militia at Ely; some of the ringleaders in which were sentenced to very severe flogging.

success, he means to bring matters to extremities; and upon some strong positions in his present neighbourhood to fight* for the security and independence of Portugal. God send him a happy issue. Yours most truly,

Sp. Perceval.

He also, the same day, sent me a message, with an account of Wellington's having, on the 13th inst., drawn his whole army within his fortified lines in front of Lisbon.

26th.— News arrived of the capture of the Isle of Bourbon by the English.

30th.— Received the following letter from Perceval:

[Most Confidential.] Ealing, eleven o'clock P.M., Oct. 29th, 1810.

My dear Sir,— You will be as sorry to receive this letter as I am to write it. We are in the most embarrassing, as well as the most distressing, case imaginable. The continued and calamitous situation of the Princess Amelia has, at length, so worked upon the King's mind, that it is extremely doubtful whether it will be possible for him to sign that Commission for the prorogation of Parliament, which the order in Council of last Wednesday se'nnight directed the Chancellor to prepare: a Commission which, according to all the usage of Parliament, as I understand, never passes the great seal without the King's signature. If then, his Majesty should not be able to sign it (which however, at this time, it is by no means clear will be the case), I apprehend Parliament must meet on Thursday next (the day to which at present it stands prorogued), when it will be necessary to propose such short adjournment, probably not more than a fortnight, as the nature of the case may require; and as may afford some time for a House to assemble. Under these circumstances I have thought it necessary to give you the earliest intelligence I could; for, although you shall hear from me again before you set off from Kidbrooke (which I suppose will probably not be before twelve o'clock on Wednesday), yet I have no idea that we shall feel, till the Thursday arrive, confident in any opinion whether Parliament can or cannot be prorogued.

* In fact, Wellington had defeated Massena at Busaco, Sept. 27th; and in the course of the first week in October he had entered his lines of Torres Vedras, in front of which Massena arrived Oct. 10th.

I send you the account of the physicians this morning. You will have the goodness to return it.

They were decidedly of opinion he was not, at the time of that report, in a condition in which it would have been proper to have him perform any act of business. I saw his Majesty myself about half-past twelve o'clock. His conversation was so hurried, and, though not unconnected or irrational, so unlike his ordinary manner, that I certainly should not have thought it proper to have taken his signature or his pleasure to any Act.

But, by the account I have received since I left Windsor, his Majesty was, for two or three hours after my leaving him, so much more composed, and every symptom of his present disorder is so much less unfavourable than it has been under his former attacks, that I by no means despair of the possibility of a very speedy and sudden recovery.

Under all these circumstances, even if I could flatter myself that it was possible to dispense with your attendance in Town I am persuaded you would not chose to be absent.

I am, my dear Mr. Speaker, ever most truly yours,

SP. PERCEVAL.

The Physicians' Report.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Downing Street, Oct 29th, 1810,
half-past ten A.M.

We have to state to-day that the King passed a disturbed evening, and a very restless night, until four o'clock this morning, when His Majesty fell asleep; and, with the interval of one hour, has slept until nearly ten o'clock this morning.

His Majesty appears refreshed by his sleep, but is hurried in his manner, as the King was yesterday.

HENRY HALFORD.
M. BAILLIE.
W. HEBERDEN.
DAVID DUNDAS.

ANOTHER NOTE FROM MR. PERCEVAL.

Downing Street, Oct. 30th.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—No amendment for the better to-day. I think therefore your chance of avoiding the meeting of Parliament much diminished; it has not wholly vanished.

Yours most truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

Minute of what passed upon the King's illness, Oct., 1810.

31*st.*—I came to Town; and between four and five went to Downing Street, and found Ryder in the room with Perceval.

They showed me the account of to-day, in which it was confidentially mentioned that the King's hurry and irascibility were abated, and indeed subsided; and that his conversation was now *quiet, but silly.*

Perceval also told me that the King's present attack might be considered as having begun about Wednesday or Thursday last; and that, when he saw the King on Monday, his conversation was prodigiously hurried, and, though perfectly coherent, yet so extremely diffuse, explicit, and indiscreet upon all the most interesting subjects upon which he could have to open his mind; and, at the same time, so entirely regardless of the presence of all who were about him, that he was evidently labouring under a malady. That the danger which had now taken place was to the opposite extreme; that the four medical persons who attended him, viz., Sir Henry Halford, Dr. Baillie, Heberden, and Dundas, were all of opinion that this change was to be considered as favourable, and that, at the King's now advanced time of life, the same degree of violence in the distemper as formerly was not to be apprehended, but that *no resort should be had to any means of restraint*, as in the prior instances, lest that which appeared to be now subsiding should be aggravated and exasperated.

In this state of things it had been determined that the Chancellor and Ryder should go down to-morrow morning; and the Chancellor would then, upon his own observation, decide whether the King was or was not in such a state of mind as could justify him in taking the King's signature to the Commission of Prorogation.

And if not, then it was determined to proceed ac-

cording to the precedent of 20th Nov., 1788, in the King's first illness.

The Princess Amelia's state was such that she might still linger an indefinite time.

Lord Sidmouth had come to him (Perceval, at Ealing), and was perfectly desirous of doing everything that could be useful on the occasion.

(No news from Lisbon.)

Thursday, November 1st.—Received a letter from W. Wickham, that the news (which was to be entirely relied on) from Windsor, represented the King's case as very, very bad; and not such as led to any expectation of early relief.

Perceval called to talk over again the mode of proceeding to-day in the House of Commons, and was perfectly satisfied with the course I proposed. It appears that only one instance can be found of a Commission from the King to Parliament, *without his own signature*, and that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. (Two others are said to have existed; one of them in the year 1739, while Lord Hardwicke was Chancellor; but the commissions cannot be found.) And the uniform course has been in all recent times that the King's hand should be to every commission. At the Crown Office in Chancery, it is stated that the commission has been always signed on *the same day*, or on the *very day before* the Prorogation.

At two o'clock I went to Downing Street, to attend a Board on the Redemption of the National Debt. Perceval then told me that the Chancellor and Ryder had been to Windsor, that the Chancellor had seen the King, who had talked to him with great kindness, but in a vague desultory way, and was *quite incompetent to sign the Commission.*

The medical account was, that on the preceding evening he had been extremely violent, so as to make even the physicians apprehend, that recourse must be had *to coercive measures of restraint*, which they would not have failed to authorise, if indispensable; but

to-day he had fallen again into a state of debility and vacancy of mind.

At half-past three I went to the House. There were about fifty members present; amongst the rest were, Canning, Sheridan, Horner, Lamb, Lord Granville-Leveson, Lord W. Bentinck, Sturges Bourne, &c., besides the Ministers and official persons from the Treasury, Admiralty, &c.

At a few minutes before four*, after an intimation to Perceval and Sheridan, I rose at the Table, and said:—

"The House is now met upon the day to which it was last prorogued. But I am informed that, notwithstanding His Majesty's royal proclamation, we are not to expect any message from His Majesty's Commissioners, no commission having issued for further proroguing of the Parliament. Under these circumstances, I apprehend it to be my duty to take the Chair† in order that the House may be enabled *to adjourn itself*, and, therefore, I now propose to take the Chair accordingly."

After which, there being a general call of "Chair, Chair;" but without my waiting for any further occurrence, I turned round from my station at the table, and took the Chair.

I then immediately counted the House till I reached

* Note by the Speaker. *Before* 4. Because, the House meeting, any Member who had not taken his seat, had a right to take the oaths, which, by Act of Parliament, Car. II. and Will. III., must be *before* four o'clock, the Speaker being in the Chair.

† Note by the Speaker. The King having prorogued the Parliament to this day, the House *must* meet, and being met, it *must adjourn itself* to an earlier or later day, so as to keep itself in a state to receive any communication whenever it may come for opening the session, or for a further prorogation.—See 16th March 1663; 8th and 11th Sept. 1690; and 20th Nov. 1788; Journals and Entries of Commons in 1788; and Lords' Journals of same date; and 2 Hatsell, p. 288.

The debates of the Commons, 20th Nov. 1788, state the Speaker to have asked leave of the House for his taking the Chair; but the journal *does not so state it, nor could it be.* It would be his duty to do so, even if the House cried out to the contrary. If, upon counting, there were not found forty, he must adjourn to the *next* day, of course; but, if there is a House, it may receive any motion for a *special* adjournment.

the number forty (there were in fact now about 120 members present). And, having so done, I called to know if there were any Members who had not yet taken their seats, and desired to do so. But none appeared. And, in the next place I reported a warrant which I had issued under the Act 24 Geo. III., during the recess for a Member to serve for Northampton, in the room of Mr. Bowers.

As soon as I sat down, Perceval rose, stated the circumstances under which the House assembled, remarked upon the acknowledged cause of His Majesty's disorder, arising out of his affliction and anxiety of parental feeling for the distressing illness of the Princess Amelia, and added that the physicians entertained a confident expectation of His Majesty's recovery; the symptoms of his disorder being in their nature *peculiarly mild*. He concluded with proposing to follow the precedent of 1788, and moved an adjournment for a fortnight, with the subsequent orders for a call, and circular letters.

Sheridan seconded the motion, and approved highly of the course proposed, concurring at the same time in the cheering expectation of His Majesty's recovery.

2*nd*. — The bulletin was that, "the King had passed a night with but little sleep, and was much the same to-day as yesterday."

Called at Lord Liverpool's and saw him. He said that the King's state now must require restraint. The Princess Amelia is much worse according to the accounts of to-day.*

Dined at the Admiralty with Mr. Yorke.

He proposes to bring under the consideration of Ministers and Parliament the project intended to have been executed by Lord Howick and Mr. Grenville successively, a breakwater across Plymouth Sound, by laying heavy masses of stone from the east side to the Tinker Shoal; and, also in another part, from the Shovel Shoal westward, so as to break the force of the south-west

* In fact she died this day.

wind, giving smooth water moorings for thirty-six sail of the line, and a free passage outwards with the wind at east, which is the same wind that brings out the Brest fleet, a thing impossible to be done by any fleet in Torbay. The cost of the proposed work estimated at 1,500,000*l.*, and the time five or six years.

3rd. — Lord Sidmouth by appointment came and related the further occurrences since our last meeting. Prior to his journey to the west in August last, Perceval had repeated his invitation to Ealing, where he had dined with the Yorkes and Manners Sutton, Fred. Robinson, and W. Fitzgerald. The separate conversation with Perceval had turned wholly upon general policy, in finance and militia, and not at all upon party arrangements.

Yorke had afterwards invited himself to Richmond Park, where, upon explanation, it turned out that no reply had been given to Lord Sidmouth's answer in May last, because there never had been an authority to make the proposition so as to include Lord Wellesley's concurrence in it. And so matters rested, until Lord Sidmouth received at Weymouth a letter from Perceval, by which it appeared that after the original proposition from Perceval at Easter of extending the Administration so as to comprehend Lord Sidmouth's friends, and Canning, and Lord Castlereagh (to which proposition Lord Sidmouth had declared his immediate dissent, as holding out an appearance of union which all the world must know to be hollow); and after the second proposition through Yorke to obtain the accession of Lord Sidmouth and his friends to the existing Government (to which Lord Sidmouth had given for answer that he could enter into no arrangement of that or any sort without an immediate authority from the King himself to offer what he thought best for the King's service, and in which advice he should exclude no man from any share in the Government where his services might be useful. A third proposition had been made without reference to Lord Sidmouth and his friends, by

which Lord Castlereagh had been invited to make part of the present Administration in *conjunction* with Canning; and that to such a proposition Lord Castlereagh had answered that he could not think such a junction, if attainable, could give any strength where it must be known to all the world that there could not exist any mutual confidence. To this latter communication Lord Sidmouth had only replied that with his knowledge of Lord Castlereagh and his opinion of his character he could not have expected any other answer to be given.

From that period to Tuesday last he had heard no more; but on Tuesday afternoon he had received a pressing letter from Perceval to see him upon the subject of the King's illness; in consequence of which he had passed two hours with him at Ealing on the Tuesday night, and had assured him of every assistance in whatever regarded the King's present state of health; and desired wholly to separate this from all other subjects of their antecedent intercourse or correspondence.

Bulletin of this day, dated half-past three: "That the King had passed a better night; but the fever was not diminished."

4th.—The account of to-day: "The King is in no respect worse; though His Majesty passed the night with very little sleep." This bulletin was signed by Dr. Reynolds in addition to the other physicians.

The King when told of the Princess Amelia's death did not seem to feel or take much notice of it. The next day he spoke of it as an event that had happened. He takes more nourishment, but is not much more coherent. Since this attack he has been heard to count over the several times and the occasions of his former attacks; and to ascribe this last to the illness of the Princess Amelia.

No news from Lisbon.

5th.—At half-past two I went by appointment to Yorke at the Admiralty, and saw the new plan of abstracting and recording all the official correspondence, as devised and conducted by Mr. Finlayson, a young

Scotchman, placed in the office by Wellesley Pole. The drawing room, and the arrangement of charts in boxes, to be delivered to every officer upon his going upon any particular station or service, the officer giving his receipt for the charts, and re-delivering them into store on his return.

The bulletin of the King's health to-day is: "That he had slept well, and is much better."

6th.—The bulletin from Windsor Castle was in these words:

"His Majesty has passed the night with very little sleep, and is not better this morning.

"H. R. Reynolds.
"Henry Halford.
"W. Heberden.
"M. Baillie."

7th.—This morning I received *private* accounts of the King's health on which I could entirely rely.

On Thursday last it was resolved to send for Dr. Symonds; who, when he came to Windsor, declined undertaking the case, unless he could have the entire and sole control of the patient. This was refused; and it was resolved that he should be under no coercion or management not superintended by the ordinary physicians.

On Friday and Saturday the violence of the disorder was at a horrible height. The King had taken but little refreshment for the last five days, and nothing but magnesia for the two last. Closed doors and windows were the only restraint, and, if he had been so left, it is apprehended that forty-eight hours more would have put his life beyond the reach of recovery.

Dr. Heberden, who was there, sent for Mr. Meadows, the resident apothecary at St. Luke's, and he brought with him some of the persons usually employed in such cases. On Sunday coercion was applied, and, after medicine, leeches, and a pillow of hops had been applied, sleep ensued for several hours; but the following night and the subsequent twenty-four hours had been again

perturbed. Nor had any symptom of returning reason appeared since the beginning of the attack. The pulse had never been more than 80 from the beginning.

7*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty had more sleep last night, and continues fully as well as any part of yesterday."

8*th*.—"His Majesty has had a considerable degree of fever in the course of this day, but has slept since six o'clock."

N.B. This bulletin was signed by Dr. R. Willis as well as the other physicians.

9*th*.—"His Majesty has had several hours' sleep, and appears rather better to-day."

10*th*.—"9 o'clock A. M. We consider His Majesty to be better this morning than he has been for five or six days past."

11*th*.—"His Majesty is still a little better this morning than he was yesterday."

12*th*.—"Although His Majesty has had very little sleep, yet he appears in no respect worse than he was yesterday." At *night* again: "His Majesty appears better on the whole than he has been since the commencement of his illness."

13*th*.—A letter from Rose, of the 12th, received to-day, says: "Nothing has occurred in the King's case to lead to anything like a certainty of speedy recovery; but the symptoms have been favourable these two or three last days. He inquired yesterday (that is Sunday), how long he had been confined, and, when told, he said he had no recollection of the time, adding, this is the fourth blank in my life, and enumerated the former three, with the periods. He then asked when the Princess Amelia was to be buried, and expressed a hope that the directions which he had given* about her funeral would be complied with, unless she had given any others by her will; in which case those were to be attended to. His talking of her without agitation seems to be a great point."

The bulletin of this day, dated nine A. M., was, "His

* A similar account is given in *Rose's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 455.

Majesty has had little or no sleep in the night, but continues as well as on the two preceding days."

Death of the Queen of France, Comtesse de Lille.

14*th*.—Another letter from Rose of yesterday's date, says, "All the Ministers are gone to Windsor for the funeral. It seems, the King, before his illness, said he would not express any desire for the attendance of Ministers at the funeral, but should consider it as a mark of respect to him in those who should attend it.

Bulletin. Morning: "His Majesty has had some sleep in the night, and is better this morning."

Evening: "His Majesty is still better to-day, and appears to be in a state of progressive amendment."

News of the King of Sweden landing at Yarmouth.

15*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty is much the same to-day as he was yesterday."

This day the two Houses met.

At four o'clock, in the House of Commons, there were above 400 members present. At twenty minutes past four Mr. Perceval rose, and stated, that he had the satisfaction to inform the House from His Majesty's physicians that they unanimously reported *an actual amendment* in the state of the King's health, and that it was in a *further state of progressive improvement*, and thereupon moved a further adjournment for a fortnight.

This was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, who declared his intention to divide the House, in which opinion also, though reluctantly, Whitbread, Tierney, Williams Wynn, Lord Archibald Hamilton, William Elliot, and Sir Samuel Romilly concurred, upon the ground of there being no Parliamentary foundation for such a motion, *for want of a document* to record upon the journals as the cause and inducement to the motion.

It [Sir Francis Burdett's argument] was opposed by Sheridan, Ponsonby, Canning, Bathurst, and Wilberforce, alleging the *notoriety* of the case to be sufficient. Upon the division there were: for the adjournment, 343; against it, 58.

16*th*.—Intelligence to-day from Lord Wellington to

the 3rd inst., that the two armies continued to occupy the same positions.

17*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty has had a sleepless night, and is *a little more feverish* than for the last two days."

This relapse was imputed to the King having employed himself upon the Wednesday evening, by his own urgent desire, in providing for the dismission and remuneration of all the persons belonging to the Princess Amelia's establishment, which, he said, he was the more desirous of doing, as he could then look upon the whole event as a matter that might have happened ten years ago.

In going through the details of each person's case, and directing where to find the papers and particulars of each, he had shown surprising accuracy; but towards the end puzzled himself, and left off by his own choice, and had the newspaper read to him before he went to bed.

18*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty has had some sleep, and is a little less feverish to-day."

The *private account* sent to the Ministers states that the King had had one hour's sleep, that his talk was not incoherent, and was less indiscreet than it had been, and that he had less fever than for the two preceding days.

The secret intelligence conveyed a strong opinion of the physicians, apprehending, from some parts of the conversation, about fathers and sons, that, if a regency took place, he would never recover to such a degree as to be desirous of returning to business. I returned to Kidbrooke.

19*th*.—Perceval sent me the account of the preceding night, with the public and the private bulletin. The public bulletin was this: "His Majesty had several hours' sleep in the course of the day, and is better this evening" (viz. 18th).

The *private* account was this: "His Majesty has appeared evidently better, through the whole of this day. His conversation ran too long, without being capable of

being brought to a conclusion, but was less hurried, and more connected. He had at one time nearly four hours' sleep, from which he awoke very tranquil.

The bulletin of the 19th was, "His Majesty's fever has rather increased in the course of this day."

Hitherto all the attending physicians used to see him at the same time. It was now settled that not more than *one* at a time should visit him. The *number*, it was apprehended, had contributed to hurry the King.

20*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty has had some sleep in the night, and has rather less fever this morning."

From this time the daily accounts were nearly the same, except that the bulletin of the 22nd spoke of the King's "disorder."

Perceval, in a letter to me of the 22nd, says, "The accounts from Windsor make the King's disorder very stationary; the physicians, who have attended him before, say that he is in that *second stage* of his disorder through which he has always gone, before he recovered, in his former attacks."

23*rd*.—The bulletin said His Majesty has a little increase of fever this morning, after a bad night. The following bulletins, 24th, 25th, and 26th, were all unfavourable.

27*th*.—Perceval sent me notice by messenger that the King was much the same to-day, and that summonses were ordered for the Privy Council to meet to-morrow at twelve.

Returned to London.

28*th*.—Went to Whitehall, where the Privy Council was assembling. By half-past twelve there were present between seventy and eighty (the whole list amounting to 165).

Lord Camden (Lord President), at half-past twelve, stated to the Board the cause of summons, and the course proposed to be pursued in examining the physicians, according to the precedent of 1788, putting the same questions as were then put, with one further question; viz., "Whether there had been any amendment in His Majesty's health, and was there any reason

to expect its continuance?" He further suggested that, after the questions had been put, if any member of the Privy Council wished to put any additional question, it should be placed in the hands of the Lord President, to be put by him to the physicians.

Thereupon Lord Grenville rose, not to resist, but to protest against, any questions beyond those which should do more than establish the fact of the King's inability to discharge the duties of the kingly office in person; and contended that the Privy Council's *right* of examination was limited by their *duty*. For, as the Council could *not*, but Parliament might, act upon such case proved, it was for Parliament alone, if it thought proper, to enter into any such inquiry. He thought some of the questions in 1788 were, upon this ground, objectionable; but that the new question proposed to-day was infinitely more so.

The Chancellor answered, that he could not disagree with the general principle laid down by Lord Grenville; but he thought it, upon the whole, more advisable to follow the precedent of 1788, than to adopt any other course founded only upon abstract reasoning.

The examination proceeded; and the questions were put successively and separately to Dr. Reynolds, Sir Henry Halford, Dr. Heberden, and Dr. Willis; the other physician, Dr. Baillie, being necessarily in attendance at Windsor during the absence of the rest.

All spoke with confidence of the King's ultimate recovery, and to a very great amendment in his mental health within the last twenty-four hours. Dr. Heberden alone assigned any probable term to the *duration* of the disorder; and he thought it would be *short*. Upon an answer of Sir Henry Halford, stating "that although the King's mental health was materially improved, yet his bodily indisposition had been considerably increased yesterday (which, however, he expected to find very much mitigated upon his return to Windsor to-day)," a considerable discussion arose upon its standing, or not standing, part of the minutes, as going into those

circumstances of bodily infirmity which would be highly unsuitable and irrelevant. In this discussion Lords Grenville, Holland, and Grey were strongly against it; the Chancellor, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Cathcart, and Perceval also spoke upon it: but at last it was allowed to stand.

At two o'clock adjourned till half-past twelve to-morrow, for the examination of Dr. Baillie.

The bulletin of to-day was in vague terms, and by no means corresponded with the favourable accounts given by the physicians on their oath.

29*th.*—At half-past twelve the Privy Council reassembled. About fifty present. Dr. Baillie was examined at a quarter to one, and spoke *most confidently to the King's recovery*, and the unimpaired state of his faculties, and the soundness of his constitution; and the probability of his early recovery to a state of mental and bodily vigour equally capable of public business, as before his present illness; and that he was somewhat *better this morning* than yesterday.

At St. James's. The bulletin was, as before, in vague terms.

Before the House met I saw Perceval and Ryder upon the proposed course of proceeding.

At half-past four, the House being very full, but not so full as on the 15th, Ryder, as Secretary of State, rose and acquainted the House (nearly in the words of the communication entered in the Journal of December 4th, 1788), and offered to deliver in the Minutes of the Examination of the Physicians.

Tierney objected to this being done *without a question put;* and the question accordingly was put, and carried *nem. con.*, and the paper was ordered to lie on the table.

Perceval then rose and stated the substance of the examination, and concluded with moving a further adjournment for a fortnight; at the end of which, he said, unless the prospect of the King's recovery was then very speedy, he should think it his duty to propose entering upon the necessary steps for supplying the defect of the King's personal exercise of the royal functions.

Whitbread, Ponsonby, Sir F. Burdett, Sir Thomas

Turton, General Matthew, Lord Milton, and Williams Wynn, spoke against the adjournment: Yorke, Bathurst, Wilberforce, and Fuller, for it.

Division. For the adjournment, 233: against it, 129.

Another division afterwards took place on Ponsonby's motion for a Committee to examine witnesses. For it, 137; against it, 230.

Division in the Lords without proxies. For Opposition, 56; for Ministers, 88.

N.B. Proxies at this time were said to be impracticable; such proxy reciting that the peer who gives it is absent "by the King's license," of which the present circumstances excluded the possibility.

The Dukes of York and Cambridge voted with the Ministers.

The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex against them.

The Dukes of Kent and Cumberland went away.

30*th*.—Lord Grenville, it was said, retracted last night all his doctrines of 1788, in support of what was then called "the Phantom," viz.: the putting a great seal to a Commission, by order of the two Houses of Parliament; and contended that to proceed by Address, according to the precedent of the Convention Parliament at the time of the Revolution, was the more constitutional cause.

N.B. Lord Grenville *did not retract* his opinion for proceeding *by Bill*, but opposed the limitations.

The bulletin was unfavourable as to the King's state last night, and better this morning.

News by private correspondence from Lisbon to Bristol, that Massena had broken up his camp in the night of the 14th, and marched for Santarem.

Saturday, *Dec.* 1*st*.—The question with America upon the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees is still open.

The East India Company question* it was intended, and is wished to be settled in the present session.

* The question of the renewal of the Company's Charter which would expire in 1813.

The King is certainly much better.

2nd.—The bulletin stated the King to be better; and I understood from Lord Winchelsea, that orders were given to prepare the King's apartments at the Queen's House for his reception.

3rd.—Returned to Kidbrooke. The King's malady fluctuated considerably from this time. On the 4th and 5th he was surprisingly well; and Ministers entertained no doubt of his holding a council and proroguing Parliament. On the 6th he had a relapse; and the accounts were indifferent till the 11th, when they were considerably improved.

13th.—Returned to London. Received the following letter from Perceval.

Wednesday night, Dec. 12th, 1810.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—I am sorry that I cannot make such a statement in the House to-morrow as would justify a motion for a further adjournment; and therefore shall propose proceeding immediately to the appointment of a Committee for the Examination of the Physicians. As I think it right to have been at Windsor before the House meets, I may possibly not be in the way to see you, and have therefore written this note to acquaint you with the business which you may expect.

Yours most truly, SP. PERCEVAL.

Tyrwhitt told me at the House that the Chancellor saw the King yesterday for a quarter of an hour and was much dissatisfied with his appearance.

At half-past four Perceval came to the House. Before he opened the business of the day Sir John Newport moved a new writ for the County of Limerick. This was objected to by Mr. Biddulph and Sir Francis Burdett as if the House was incompetent to issue warrants at such a time. I stated the principle and the precedents of 1788, and Perceval reprobated the objections. The writ was ordered with the single dissentient voice of Sir Francis Burdett.

Perceval then moved a Committee of twenty-one, including the leading members of the Opposition, and Lord Castlereagh, Canning, and Hiley Addington; with

the like powers and directions as in 1788. He also gave notice of moving to take the Report, if made on Monday, into consideration on Wednesday; and to enforce the call on that day. After a few words from Whitbread, the House adjourned before five o'clock to Monday next.

LIST OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Mr. Ponsonby.
Mr. Wilberforce.	Sir W. Scott.
Master of the Rolls.	Mr. Sheridan.
The Attorney-General.	Mr. Whitbread.
Mr. Tierney.	Lord Castlereagh.
Mr. H. Lascelles.	Mr. Canning.
Lord Milton.	Mr. Hiley Addington.
Mr. Adam.	Sir John Newport.
Mr. Robert Dundas.	Lord George Cavendish.
Mr. Wellesley Pole.	Mr. Gooch.
Mr. Ryder.	

14*th.*—The committee met, and examined Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Baillie.

Ryder came to me in the morning, to see by the minutes of the former Committee, whether Mr. Pitt who moved it, had been in the chair, which it appeared he was.

N.B. The Committee in 1778–9, sat morning and evening. The present Committee sat only in the morning. Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Baillie underwent a very long examination. The general result was that they retained the same confident expectation of an *ultimate recovery*, but not so confident an opinion of its being *speedy*, in consequence of the relapses which had occurred since the first amendment. Both spoke of his constitutional strength of body and mind; his "green old age," and that his 72 was like another man's 62.

Bulletin: "That the King had passed a good night, and was much the same as yesterday."

15*th.*—The rest of the physicians were examined by the Committee. Bulletin: "That the King had had a tolerably good night, and was quite as well to-day as yesterday."

16*th.*—The King had passed an indifferent night, and was much the same as yesterday. Lord Arden told me that the King knew all that was passing.

17*th.*—Bulletin: "The King better within the last twenty-four hours."

In the House the Report was presented, and Perceval stated his intention to move on Thursday next, the three preliminary resolutions of 1788.* Ponsonby, Sheridan, and Adam declared their decided opposition to the last, and that they should contend for an *Address* to the Prince, instead of a *Bill;* nevertheless, in such Address expressing the sense of the two Houses that the care of the King's person should be in other hands than the Regent's, and that effectual means should be provided for the King to resume his authority whenever his health should be restored.

Lucien Buonaparte, who arrived in England by the President frigate on Thursday last, is to reside at Powys Castle, near Welch Pool, in Montgomeryshire, and to be there on his parole.

18*th.*—The bulletin: "a good night" and continued the same as yesterday. The private account is that the King was as well to-day as he had been at any period since he began to recover.

We dined at Lord Liverpool's. Lord Liverpool went in the evening to a Cabinet upon Perceval's proposed letter to the Prince of Wales, communicating the proposed restrictions.

19*th.*—Bulletin: "The King had had some hours of comfortable sleep, and was the same as yesterday."

* These resolutions, moved by Mr. Pitt, Dec. 16th 1788, asserted,—1. That His Majesty was prevented by indisposition from attending to public business, &c. &c. 2. That it was the duty of Parliament to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, &c. &c. 3. That for this purpose, and for maintaining the constitutional authority of the King, it was necessary that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in Parliament to such Bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the Crown, in the name and on the behalf of the King during the continuance of His Majesty's indisposition.

The private account was that he had slept three hours, talked incessantly, and was troubled with a cough.

Perceval told me he had this morning written to the Prince, and communicated the limitations intended to be proposed. They were the same as in Mr. Pitt's Bill; but the duration of this Bill was to be limited to one year.*

Tyrwhitt, whom I met soon after, said the Prince was preparing to answer this by a reference to his answer in 1788, upon receiving a similar communication from Mr. Pitt.†

In the House of Lords, Lord Grenville declared his adherence to his opinion upon the propriety of proceeding by Bill.

20*th*.—Bulletin: "The King has had a good night, and is better to-day."

House of Commons. Perceval moved the three Introductory Resolutions as in 1788. Upon the question of proceeding by Address or Bill, the Committee divided; for Perceval's motion, 269; for Ponsonby's amendment for an Address, 157. I voted for proceeding by Bill.

N.B. Upon the same motion in 1788, there were — for Pitt's motion, 268; against it, 204.

This day the Prince of Wales sent a short answer in civil terms to Perceval's communication, and referred to his own answer to Mr. Pitt's letter of Dec. 30th, 1788.

The Prince's six brothers at the same time have sent a *formal protest*, signed by all, in the following terms: —

Wednesday night, 12 o'clock, Dec. 19th.

Sir, — The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the Royal Family, and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by His Majesty's confidential servants to the Lords and Commons, for the establish-

* In Pitt's Bill the restrictions lasted as long as the Regency.

† This letter was written by Burke for the Prince; and is given as a note in Pitt's Speeches, vol. i. p. 406.

ment of a restricted Regency, should the continuance of His Majesty's ever to be deplored illness render it necessary: we feel it a duty we owe to His Majesty, to our country, and to ourselves, to enter our solemn protest against measures we consider as perfectly unconstitutional as they are contrary to and subversive of the principles which seated our family upon the throne of this realm:—

Frederick William,	Augustus Frederick,
Edward,	Adolphus Frederick,
Ernest,	William Frederick.

The Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.

21*st*.—Bulletin: "The King has had a very good night, and is better to-day."

House of Commons. A debate on the report of yesterday's resolutions till twelve at night; a division upon the previous question to the second Resolution; viz., upon the right and duty of the two Houses, &c. For putting the question, 98; against it, 15.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Conference with the Lords to deliver the Resolutions of the Commons, and to desire their concurrence. Adjourned till Friday, 28th.

Bulletin: "That the King had had a quiet night, and was the same as yesterday."

28*th*.—The Lords in Committee yesterday agreed to the Regency Proceedings *by Bill* in preference to an address: by 100 to 74. No proxies allowed. Report considered to-day, and a conference to take place on Monday.

30*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty has passed a good night, and is rather better this morning."

Tyrwhitt told me that yesterday the Privy Seal had been put to the issue of money from the Exchequer, and dated as done "By the King, this 29th day of December, 1810." That Lord Grenville as Auditor, and Lord Buckingham as Teller, had taken twenty-four hours to consider of it, but rather conceived themselves bound to yield to it; in which case, however, Lord Grenville would, on the first possible day, complain to

the House of Lords, and that *an impeachment* would immediately follow in the Commons for this illegal act. Besides which, Whitbread was determined to impeach Lord Sidmouth for keeping Willis about the King for six months in 1801.

He added that to-morrow would be the grand division in the House of Commons against restrictions altogether; after which the Prince's friends would make no more stand, but expected the restrictions would be thrown out in the House of Lords.

Perceval told me that the King had, since his first attack, never recovered to the same mark of amendment as he attained upon the 14th and 15th of November last.

Lord St. Helens said he collected from the most intelligent of the King's old attendants, that they did not look for material amendment till about February.

31*st.*—House of Commons. Perceval opened the restrictions in a Committee of the whole House. Little was said by the leaders of Opposition. Canning spoke against restrictions; Lord Castlereagh and Bathurst for them.

At eleven the Committee divided upon an amendment moved by Lamb to the first proposition, viz.: for omitting the words about restrictions, &c. For the amendment, 200; against it, 224.

A second division took place upon the allowing the creation of Peers for Naval and Military Exploits: Opposition, 210; Ministers, 226. And a third upon Peerages in general: Against the restrictions, 214; for it, 233. Adjourned at half-past twelve. And so ended 1810.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1811.

COMMITTEE AND DEBATES ON THE REGENCY.—SESSION OF PARLIAMENT OPENED UNDER THE GREAT SEAL.—PERCEVAL AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR VISIT THE KING.—DIVISIONS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE REGENCY.—LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. PERCEVAL.—MR. PERCEVAL'S REPLY.—THE PRINCE ENTERS ON THE REGENCY.—CAPTURE OF THE ISLE OF FRANCE.—THE KING'S INTEREST IN THE IMPROVEMENTS IN ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL AT WINDSOR.—BATTLE OF BAROSSA.—RETREAT OF MASSENA.

Tuesday, *Jan.* 1*st.*—Frost and snow.

House of Commons. In Committee on Restrictions, the last proposition came under debate respecting the King's household, and the vesting the whole with the powers of appointment and removal in the Queen. Lord Gower moved an amendment, for vesting in the Queen the sole direction of "such portion" of the household as should be necessary, &c. For the amendment, 226; Against it, 213.

2*nd.*—The King was reported, by the private account to Ministers, up to last night, as having made and secured an *effective progress* in amendment. But the public bulletin was, that the King had continued nearly in the same state for the last two days.

House of Commons. Debate on Restrictions; and division only upon the Household question. For the resolution as amended by Opposition, 217; against it, 213. The Master of the Rolls spoke at length upon the whole of the restrictions, and in support of them.

3*rd.*—Bulletin: "The King has not *declined* from the state he has been in for the last four days." Private account from Perceval, that Willis says he is now better

than at any time since his first attack. And, although he may possibly have another paroxysm, he will probably awake from it in a more advanced state of amendment.

House of Commons. Perceval brought up his correspondence between the Treasury and the Exchequer about army issues, and stated the nature of the difficulty which had arisen.

4th.—Bulletin: "The King continues much the same as he was yesterday." Private account concurs. He has but indifferent nights; is quiet in the day; but the same delusions prevail.

House of Commons. Debate on Exchequer issues. Resolutions agreed to without a division, and reported.*

5th.—The King the same as yesterday.

6th.—Bulletin: "The King is as well in all respects as yesterday." Private account: his health improves, but the delusions continue. His uppermost idea is that something is to be done about Hanover. It is the same delusion that he had towards the close of his former illness; and from which he recovered gradually by puzzling out his own misconception.

The present expectation is that the soonest the Regency Bill may pass is on Saturday the 26th inst.; but more probably about the 31st, or the 1st February.

Frost severe. River half filled with ice on the west side, and all the arches on that side choked, except the one arch west of the centre.

* These resolutions had been rendered necessary by a scruple felt by Lord Grenville as Auditor of the Exchequer. The sums wanted had already been appropriated by Parliament; but the warrant under which those sums were to be issued was called "His Majesty's Warrant," and, when signed, contained a declaration that it was so signed "in accordance with His Majesty's sign manual," which at this time clearly could not be obtained. And the law officers of the Crown stated their opinion that, under the circumstances, the warrant of the Lords of the Treasury was not in law "a sufficient authority, imperative on the Auditor." Perceval therefore moved the House into a committee, and then proposed a resolution to authorise the Lords of the Treasury to issue the necessary warrants, and to authorise the Auditor, &c., to obey those warrants. Comp. Twiss's *Life of Eldon*, ii. 140.

7th.—Bulletin: "His Majesty is as well as he has been in any part of the preceding week, the whole of which passed favourably."

House of Commons. Agreed to the appointment of Committees to attend the Prince of Wales and the Queen with the Regency Resolutions.

8th.—House of Commons met, and appointed a joint Committee with the Lords to wait on the Queen and Prince of Wales.

The physicians' account from Windsor at night said that the King was in a continuation of the progress already communicated, and which was likely to lead to something better. Received the following letter from Perceval: —

My dear Mr. Speaker,—I thank you for your indefatigable trouble. I agree with you fully that the order in my apprehension might well be executed without waiting for the answer, which it was *my* fault, and mine alone, was not given, as it ought to have been at the time.*

The Lords, however, are the persons whose difficulties are in our way. And they are ready to take the greater part of the inconvenience which will attend the holding it to be expedient, if not necessary, to receive the answer before the Committees set off for Windsor; as they propose to meet at ten o'clock on Thursday morning (in that indeed we must bear an equal share of the inconvenience), and to adjourn till six o'clock before they begin business, in order to wait the return of the messengers.

Her Majesty will be ready to receive the Committee the moment it arrives.

This arrangement having been communicated to me as settled, as far as the Lords are concerned, if we will agree to it, I have thought it best to close with the suggestion: To take steps to get an attendance at this unseasonable hour; and was just going to write to you when your last messenger arrived.

The following is a copy of a letter just received from Windsor: —

Sir,—The day has not passed without error and delusion. Yet it appears to be getting less prominent, and His Majesty

* See Journal, January 10, *infra*.

has either more power of laying it aside from his mind, or at least more power of concealing it — we consider the day as a continuation of the progress we have before noticed; and as likely to lead to something better. He begins to talk more of his own family, and upon the whole is going on well, though not without considerable marks of remaining indisposition.

We have the honour, &c., to be,

H. R. Reynolds.
M. Baillie.
W. Heberden.
David Dundas.

Most truly yours, Sr. Perceval.

9*th*.—Bulletin: "The King has passed a good night, and remains as well as he was yesterday." Lord Winchelsea told me that this was reckoned by the physicians as the eleventh day of intermission; and that some persons, naming them, had betted upon the probability of a relapse yesterday, as being the tenth day.

10*th*.—At a quarter before ten I went to the House of Commons: a House was soon made, and Perceval moved to send the necessary message by Lord Lovaine, acquainting the Lords with the number and names of the members appointed by the House of Commons to go with the Lords and carry the joint Addresses to the Prince of Wales and the Queen.

This had been omitted before the rising of the House of Commons on Tuesday evening; and the Lords (or their Clerk, Mr. Cowper) thought it necessary to require this communication, before the Clerk would give out the official copy of the Resolutions so to be presented.

I thought that, although it would have been more conformable to the last precedent to have sent an answer first, yet that the want of it was no insuperable bar. The precedents between the Restoration and the Revolution were frequently without any such communication, either prior or subsequent to the going of the joint Committee; and as the order of each House was *imperative* upon its own members to go, it would

be time to complain of any informality on either side, if any had occurred, for want of a proportional number being appointed.

The King continues to go on well.

House of Commons. The only business was ordering a writ to be issued "in the room of Lord Dursley, now Earl of Berkeley," *without* requiring it to be stated that he is "called up to the House of Peers." Upon a division, 30 to 24; the minority comprising the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Williams Wynn, Long, and Bankes: *contra*, Whitbread, Abercromby, Horner, and Sir Samuel Romilly; upon the motion of Henry Howard.*

11*th*.—His Majesty appears to be a little improved since yesterday.

The Prince of Wales this day gave his answer † to the joint Address of the two Houses, which was reported to the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Queen's answer by Lord Clive. Adjourned till Monday, when Sheridan said he should make his stand against the Commission under the Great Seal.

12*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty is *not quite so well* this morning as for some days past."

13*th*.—"The King has passed a good night, and is better to-day than he was yesterday." Private account: "The King is fully as well to-day as we have seen him at any time. The delusions discover themselves less; and he has made inquiries after the Duchess of Brunswick, whom he knew to be unwell, and to have been attended by Dr. Baillie."

News from Portugal. Lord Wellington's letter of

* The House of Lords did not admit Lord Dursley's claim to the Berkeley peerage, and he continued to sit in the House of Commons as Colonel Berkeley for some Parliaments. He was afterwards created Lord Segrave in 1831, and Earl Fitzhardinge in 1841. The title became extinct at his death in 1857.

† For the history of this answer, which was drawn up by Sheridan, and of that which was framed by Lords Grey and Grenville, but rejected by the Prince, see *Moore's Life of Sheridan*, ii. c. 20.

the 29th, that by the taking of a disguised aide-de-camp of Massena, who was sent to look out if any reinforcements were coming, it appeared that the French army had had little or no communication with Spain or France since November.

14*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty is as well to-day as he was yesterday."

House of Commons. The Lords sent down the resolution for a Commission to pass the Great Seal for opening the sessions, to which the House of Commons agreed, after one speech of splash from Sheridan, well-answered by Perceval. The rest of the Opposition not opening their lips, and being already extremely dissatisfied with Sheridan.

Lord Grey told Lord Liverpool, with expressions of ill-humour, "That he had nothing to do with the Prince's answer to the two Houses, for it was all Sheridan's doing."

15*th*.—Bulletin: "The King has passed a good night, and is as well as he was yesterday." Private account that the physicians have had a longer conversation than usual; that the former delusions have disappeared; and they can speak with increased confidence of his recovery, although there still remain such marks of his indisposition as prevent them from promising with certainty that his recovery will be speedy.

The current rumour is of a difficulty between appointing Lord Fitzwilliam or Lord Holland to be the Prime Minister.

House of Commons. The session opened by commission; and the Regency Bill brought in and read a first time.

16*th*.—Bulletin: "The King's state is little different from what it was yesterday." Private account: "The disorder declines more rapidly than we had any reason to expect."

Regency Bill read a second time.

Perceval gave notice of moving for a secret committee to inquire into the amount of the King's Privy Purse

Charities and Salaries, &c., for which a reservation is to be made in the Regency Bill.

17*th*.—Bulletin: "The King is the same as he was yesterday." House of Commons. Went into Committee on the Regency Bill. Division on limiting the Peerage restrictions to *six* months (instead of a year): For the six months, 160; for the year, 184. Three other divisions took place upon the Household clause: For Ministers, 209 *v.* 187; 204 *v.* 177; 202 *v.* 180.

Canning evidently consulting and co-operating with Adam.

18*th*.—"The King the same,"—this the bulletin; but by the private account,—"The King walked an hour yesterday upon the terrace without being fatigued; he was much refreshed by it and was quiet, though somewhat wandering in his discourse." By *more private* accounts, he grows very impatient and passionate, and when in a passion *always talks Latin*, as he did within a very few days of the time when he appeared in public *as recovered*, after his last illness of the same sort.

House of Commons. Went through the rest of the Regency Bill. The Vice-Chamberlain to the King (Lord John Thynne) moved to insert the Duke of York's name at the head of the Queen's Council, but this was negatived without a division.

19*th*.—"The King very much the same as for the last few days." Private account,—"The King walked again yesterday upon the terrace, and desired to go upon a particular part that it might be seen that he was alive." Willis thinks it right that he should know more or less of all that is passing, when he inquires about it, that it may not come upon him with too much weight if it is all kept back till completed.

20*th*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty appeared to be rather more indisposed in the course of yesterday, but is this morning as well as he was before."

21*st*.—Bulletin: "His Majesty appears to be in a favourable state this morning."

House of Commons. Debate on Report of the Regency Bill. Division against the Household clause as framed by the Ministers: For it, 212; against it, 190.

N.B. This division was taken by express direction from Carlton House, *against* the opinion of the leaders of the party.

22*nd*.—The King as well as yesterday.

23*rd*.—His Majesty appears rather better to-day.

The House of Commons passed the Regency Bill with a few verbal amendments, and a restriction upon the Vice Chamberlain to grant offices for more time than during His Majesty's pleasure.

Sheridan told me to-day that the Prince of Wales had intended to give a dinner to him and all his parliamentary friends, on Sunday next; but that my dinner would supersede that intention, as Mr. Fox had decided long ago that the Prince's commands dissolved all other engagements *except* the Speaker's parliamentary dinners.

N.B. Sheridan the next day sent me a note "particularly sorry that it will *not be in his power* to have the honour of waiting on the Speaker on Sunday." *He dined with the Prince that day.*

24*th*.—His Majesty is as well as he has been any preceding day. Upon inquiry yesterday at the House of Lords about the proxies entered, and the blank proxies sent for, it was answered (among others) that the Prince of Wales had sent for ten.

25*th*.—Saw Perceval; talked over the probable progress of the Regency Bill by days, upon which it appeared that possibly next Thursday, more probably the Saturday following, but *most* probably on Tuesday se'nnight, the royal assent would be given, unless new occurrences intervened.

Also talked over the form of *Commission* of which the Chancellor had already had "several" drafts prepared for his consideration, but cannot satisfy himself.

Yesterday, at the instance of the physicians (parti-

cularly of Willis), Perceval and the Chancellor went to Windsor for the purpose of seeing the King, if the physicians should make it *their* own desire, Willis having stated it to be very important medically to the King's recovery, that he should no longer remain in ignorance of what is passing, of which at present he has not the smallest conception.

The physicians, after consultation, gave it as their written opinion that it was desirable for the King's Ministers to see and explain to him the present state of affairs. They said that His Majesty's *understanding* and *comprehension* were perfect to every purpose of such a communication, but they could not undertake that his *judgment* would be so upon what it might be proper to do upon such things as he would nevertheless thoroughly comprehend.

This consultation however having taken up so much of the morning as to make it uncertain, if such an interview took place, whether the Chancellor could return in time for the House of Lords, it was agreed that the interview should take place to-morrow (Saturday).

The King has never named public business to his physicians, or expressed a desire to see his Ministers, or to have papers sent to him; all which they ascribe to his constant feeling that he is King, and his unwillingness to receive a refusal.

But he has talked to others about him, expressing his surprise how his Ministers can go on with the monthly payments to the army and navy without his warrants; saying that he does not recollect having signed any papers since September last; that, if his Ministers have obtained his signature during his illness, such signature must have been countersigned, and they will have got themselves into a great scrape; but he knows they are upon good terms with the Bank, who may perhaps have helped them, and they may trust for themselves to a Bill of Indemnity, &c.; reasoning upon all these suppositions with the most perfect correctness.

Bulletin: "His Majesty continues in the same state in which he was yesterday."

The House of Lords in committee upon the Regency Bill amended it in many parts, and principally by striking out the Household clause, and inserting a reference to such Bill as should hereafter be passed for making some arrangement of it. Majority upon striking out the clause: for Opposition, 12; majority for inserting Lord Lansdowne's amendment, 9.

26*th.*—Bulletin: "His Majesty goes on in a satisfactory manner." Perceval and the Chancellor went down to Windsor, and saw the King for an hour and twenty minutes. He could distinguish their features: Lord Eldon's immediately; and Perceval's after some time and more effort. He talked of his family and foreign operations, but did not touch upon the state of his government at home; nor did they think it right, under all the circumstances of their interview, to begin upon it. At the end of the time limited by the physicians their audience was broken off rather abruptly.

27*th.*—The King passed the rest of yesterday after this interview, as well as any other day, and spoke of it with perfect composure. Bulletin: "His Majesty continues in the same state as before."

The expectation of the Opposition is that the Regency Bill may receive the Royal assent by commission on Saturday next. That an adjournment for a week may then take place so as to get afterwards to a report of ways and means by the 21st February. Some strong intimations of such an arrangement of subsequent business as will prepare for an early dissolution.

Portugal. News from the army to the 11th inst., but nothing materially different from the preceding accounts. Rainy season not over.

28*th.*—His Majesty is rather better to-day than he was yesterday. House of Lords on report of the Regency Bill, sat till three in the morning. Seven divisions.

First division:

	For Ministers.	Against.	Majority.
	88	84	
Proxies	51	38	
	—139	—122	17.

Second division:

	88	86	
Proxies	51	38	
	—139	—124	15.

Third division:

	82	80	
Proxies	51	39	
	—133	—125	8.

Fourth division:

	81	85	
Proxies	51	39	
	—132	—124	8.

Fifth division:

	80	83	3.

No Proxies.

This was upon Lord Lansdowne's motion for postponing the Household arrangements to a future Bill.

Sixth division. Upon inserting the Duke of Bedford's name in the Queen's Council.

For Ministers.	Against.	Majority.
86	68	18.

Seventh division. Upon Lord Grey's motion to leave out Lord Eldon's name from the Queen's Council.

	For Ministers.	Against.	Majority.
	89	38	
Proxies	50	16	
	—139	—54	85.

29*th*.—His Majesty goes on favourably.

Dined at Perceval's. To-day Perceval saw the King at Windsor for above an hour. On his arrival he sent to request an audience upon public business. The King replied that he was ready to see him, and to hear all that he had to say. Perceval opened the present state of things to him from the beginning, which he heard without comment, till Perceval mentioned the examination of the Physicians before the Privy Council. The King then asked many questions about the behaviour

of the physicians, the attendance of Opposition, Lord Grenville, &c.; and their conduct; all of which was represented to be perfectly proper and respectful. When Perceval came to state the money difficulties, and how they had been got over, the King said "that had puzzled him, for he was aware that issues must have been wanted for which his signature was necessary." And he much approved of what had been done. He then asked what had been done since; and whether Parliament had been sitting, and what they had been about. In answer to which Perceval told him, that the same course nearly had been pursued as that which had been approved of by His Majesty after his illness in 1789; so as to provide for his finding everything as nearly as possible upon his recovery in the same state as before. That the measure had been carried forward in the House of Lords, and that a few more days would complete it.

The King said he had no doubt everything had been done for the best, and with the best intentions. He was ready to sign or do anything that Perceval should recommend. Perceval to this replied that His Majesty's physicians did not think him at present sufficiently recovered to be troubled with public business; upon which the King observed that they knew best, and he should conform to their advice.

He then dwelt upon his own advanced age of seventy-two. That it was time for him to think of retirement. That he must still, however, be "King;" he could not part with that name, but *otium cum dignitate*, &c., was the most suitable to his age, &c.

Upon representation to him of the duties which a religious sense of his situation would still require him to discharge. He listened with some unwillingness, and said, "He should always be at hand to come forward if he was wanted," and, upon the whole was rather impatient of any pressure upon the subject of resigning his power.

Throughout this long conversation there was a most

marked and important degree of improvement in his mind and manner since last Saturday.

I afterwards understood that, for the first half hour of this conversation, nobody could have supposed from the King's manner that he had been indisposed at all. But the other half hour was not so good.

30*th.*—Bulletin: "The King continues as well as he was yesterday." By the private accounts, the King's conversation in the afternoon, after Perceval left him, was perfectly composed and right. In the night he slept between five and six hours.

31*st.*—Bulletin: "His Majesty continues in the same favourable state in which he has been for the last week."

Friday, Feb. 1*st.*—"The King the same as yesterday."

It appeared afterwards that the Duke of York had been with the Prince nearly the whole of this day: in the evening the Prince sent to acquaint Lords Grenville and Grey, who were employed upon arrangements for a new Administration, that "it was not His Royal Highness's intention to make any change at present."

2*nd.*—"The King is quite as well as for some days past."

The Queen, it seems, has written to the Prince of Wales to acquaint him with the King's approaching recovery; and the Prince of Wales thereupon wrote to the Queen for answer that under such circumstances he should not change the Administration, which determination he at the same time communicated to Lords Grey and Grenville.

Perceval said he heard this from all quarters, but he had not received any such communication from the Prince.

3*rd.*—Perceval told me that the account of the King for the whole of yesterday was of a sort surpassing all former amendment.

Bulletin of to-day: "His Majesty continues nearly in the same state as yesterday."

It was understood that Lords Grey and Grenville were to have an audience of the Prince of Wales to-day upon the subject of his change of determination. And that it certainly was *not* at *their* instance.

4th.—Bulletin: "There has been little variation in the King's state since yesterday." Perceval and Yorke went to Windsor and saw the King, who grows very much alive to what is passing, and "is quite sure that it could never enter into the Prince's mind to change the Ministry."

House of Commons. Received the Lords' resolution for a Commission to give the Royal Assent, and agreed to it without a division; but Ponsonby, Elliot, and others, having made violent protestations against it as a fraud and forgery, &c., I assigned* my reasons for

* Mr. Plumer Ward in his Diary says of this speech of the Speaker's: "His argument was admirable, and galled Opposition a good deal." "I walked home with Perceval, who, agreeing with me upon the excellence of his speech, said he had not intended it that night at least; as he did not know of his (Perceval's) intention of going into committee."—*Plumer Ward's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 379.

The following is an abstract of the speech in question:—

The Speaker commenced by stating that as the question was *now* reduced to the single issue respecting the form of proceeding—whether by Bill or by Address—he should submit the few cardinal points on which, in his judgment, the argument hinged; after vindicating the *loyalty* of the present Parliament (which had been attacked by Sir T. Turton), he proceeded to show that the right and duty of the two Houses to fill the throne, if vacant, and also to supply any temporary defect in the personal exercise of its power, were generally acknowledged; that if the throne was *vacant*, the true mode of proceeding is by Address, but that if the throne be full, the proceeding must be different. The first thing, *then*, is to define what office shall be established; the next, to provide for the present welfare and possible resumption of power by the still reigning monarch; and that such measure should be accomplished by acting during the sovereign's incapacity, as nearly as circumstances would allow, according to the same practice as it would obtain if he were well; making, by the Great Seal, that to be law, which should bind both Parliament and the nation under a known sanction of authority which no liege subject could controvert. Then showing that the Restoration Parliament of 1660 had made use of the Great Seal, and answering the objections that this mode was to employ a "fiction, a fraud, and a forgery," and adding that if the two Houses proceeded by Address the Regent must within a month be guilty of a like fiction in using the Great Seal, he concluded by summing up the result: That the Regent (whatever should be his powers) must be appointed by the two Houses: that not only the Regent, but the reigning monarch, must be provided for, and that "both these ends

the vote I should give in support of the proceeding by Bill in preference to Address.

5th.—Perceval showed me the following letter which he had just received from the Prince of Wales.

Carlton House, Feb. 4th, 1811.

The Prince of Wales * considers the moment to be arrived which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him in the administration of the executive government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the Bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the Great Seal.

The Prince feels it incumbent upon him at this precise juncture to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their situations those whom he finds there as His Majesty's official servants. At the same time the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation he may be placed, explicitly to declare that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery.

This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.

Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the Prince has only to add that, among the many blessings to be derived from His Majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the Prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis; and most difficult to be reconciled to the general principles of the British Constitution.

should be accomplished by the same measure of equal solemnity as to both, of contemporaneous effect, and of universal obligation," all which could only be done by a statute.

* This letter was drawn up by Sheridan.—See *Moore's Life*, vol. ii. p. 20.

MR. PERCEVAL'S ANSWER.

Downing Street, Feb. 5th, 1811.

Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to Your Royal Highness, and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Royal Highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning.

Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to Your Royal Highness for the frankness with which Your Royal Highness has condescended explicitly to communicate the motives which have induced Your Royal Highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services in the stations entrusted to them by the King. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure Your Royal Highness that in the expression of Your Royal Highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the King, and of anxiety for the restoration of His Majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to Your Royal Highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote Your Royal Highness's views for the security and happiness of the country.

Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of Your Royal Highness with regard to the provisions of the Regency Bill which His Majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to Parliament. But he ventures to submit to Your Royal Highness that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive government, Your Royal Highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the Royal prerogative which has been introduced by Parliament, in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion. And that whatever Ministers Your Royal Highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with Your Royal Highness's commands they would feel confident that they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable Your Royal Highness effectually to maintain the great and important interests of the United Kingdom.

And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts that, whatever doubts Your Royal Highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, Your Royal Highness will feel assured that they could not have

been recommended by His Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by Parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous conviction, that they in no degree trenched upon the true principles and spirit of the Constitution.

Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add that he holds himself in readiness at any moment to wait upon Your Royal Highness, and to receive any commands with which Your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to honour him.

Bulletin: "His Majesty continues to go on favourably."

Sir John Nicholl, Bankes, and Long thanked me for the service I had done by rescuing the Regency Bill from the obloquy thrown upon it by the language of the protesters last night.

The Regency Bill passed by Commission in the Lords. At night summonses were issued for a Privy Council at Carlton House to-morrow at two o'clock.

6*th*.—At ten minutes to two I went to Carlton House. The number of Privy Councillors assembled was about eighty or ninety; Ministers, Opposition, and every description.

We met in the long gilt saloon next the garden; and after *waiting near an hour and a half*, the Prince, preceded by his six brothers and the officers of his household, passed through the saloon and the room beyond it into a third room next to Pall Mall, in which was a long table and two rows of chairs. The Prince took his seat at the upper end of the table, those who passed across the bottom of the table bowed in passing, and when all were seated and the doors shut, the Prince said:—"My Lords, understanding that the law requires me to take certain oaths, I am now here ready to take them."

Then the Lord President rose, and, standing on the Regent's left hand, read the oaths successively, which the Regent repeated, or appeared to repeat; and at the end of each the Clerk of the Council upon his knee tendered the Gospels to the Regent, who kissed and returned the book.

When the Regent rose to take the oaths, all the Council rose at the same time, and continued standing till they were finished.

Then each Privy Councillor, advancing in his turn to the Prince's end of the table, kissed his hand, and retired to let others advance. When this ceremony was finished, the Prince withdrew with his officers, and the Privy Councillors remained to sign their attestation to the Roll on which the Prince had signed his name; after which they dispersed.

The ceremony in the Council Chamber began about twenty-five minutes after three, and finished a few minutes after four.

The House of Commons met according to adjournment. Not more than twenty members were present; and at four o'clock, the Speaker being absent, a member desired (as the practice in such cases is) that the clerk would adjourn the House to the next day.

Perceval came to me before five. The Prince in his audience expressed an opinion in favour of a short prorogation in preference to an adjournment, if it could be done without inconvenience, but that he did not make a point of it. Suggesting at the same time something about a short Bill for continuing on the private business. The Prince had adverted to all that had passed, saying it was impossible for him to alter the opinion he had entertained for so many years, but that now it was done and over; he also intimated that the speech which was to be made for him should not contain the expression of any sentiments which he was known not to entertain, but that, having undertaken the Government under the present circumstances, he should not think it proper to go down to the Houses in person, and exhibit himself as a pageant during the illness of the King. The Speech, therefore, would be delivered by commission.

The Chancellor told me that the King, when he saw him yesterday, said, "I don't think it a very pleasant thing to be put out of office, any more than any of you may do. But my Ministers tell me that my physicians

think it best that the weight of business should be taken off my hands; and my physicians tell me that my Ministers think so; and, as I have a perfect confidence in you all that you will do what is best for me, I shall very readily acquiesce."

7th.—Bulletin: "His Majesty seems to be making gradual progress towards recovery."

A difficulty has occurred about delivering up Lord Dartmouth's vacant blue ribbon: and it is doubted whether it should be given up to the Sovereign of the Country, or to the Sovereign of the Order; and whether the Regent can or cannot give it away.

8th.—Bulletin: "His Majesty continues to make gradual progress towards recovery." To-day the King for the first time saw the Queen and the Princess Augusta.

9th and 10th.—The King advancing towards recovery.

The Bishop of Salisbury wrote me, at my desire, the following full statement of all that he had done, with the King's approbation, at Windsor.

Seymour Street, Feb. 9th, 1811.

Dear Sir,—The building in which I ventured to make the alterations which I mentioned to you yesterday, is St. George's Chapel, the Collegiate Chapel at Windsor.

If I mistake not, it was in the year 1787 that the King began the alterations and improvements of the Chapel. His Majesty confined his attention to the choir, as particularly connected with the Order of the Garter, leaving the rest of the edifice to the care of the Dean and Chapter.

As His Majesty had undertaken to do such great things for the choir, the Dean and Chapter felt themselves called upon to undertake the reparation and ornamenting of the rest of the Chapel.

I, at that time, held the office of Treasurer, a part of whose duty it is to attend to the fabric. His Majesty thought proper to appoint me to superintend all the works which he had engaged for, in order that the whole might be under the direction of the same person.

The King was in the constant habit of attending the progress

of the works till his melancholy illness at the end of 1788. The works however were not suspended during his illness. And it was in the interval between the commencement of the illness and the recovery that I ventured upon striking out or covering all those false ornaments which occurred at the intersections of all the various arches in the roof. In the ante-chapel or nave I made no exception; but obliterated all the painted devices because the side walls are all perfectly plain. But in the choir I ordered the keystones of the centre arches in which were placed the arms of Edward the Confessor, and of the kings Edward IV. and Henry VI. to be repainted and gilded, because these harmonised with the sides of the choir, which were highly ornamented with the arms and escutcheon of the Knights of the Garter.

Upon the King's recovery and return to Windsor, his first visit was to the chapel, where he fully approved of whatever had been done in his absence. And, as a proof of his approbation he sent me the next day a bank note for 1000*l.* to pay immediately the workmen who had persevered in their labours during his indisposition.

His Majesty's expenses amounted to more than 16,000*l.*

Those of the Chapter to about 6000*l.*

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant, T. SARUM.

P.S. There were various coloured devices at the intersection of the arches in the roof of the choir. All these were obliterated, except the arms in the centres which I mentioned above.

12*th.*—Rode with Lord Camden. The Prince, when the speech was read to him yesterday in council, said, "It could not be better." He had expressed the same sentiment on Sunday in a letter returning the draft of the speech to Perceval.

In the House of Commons. Milnes moved the Address in a long speech and a good manner. Wellesley seconded it. Ponsonby in a few words wished to decline all debate upon it; there was much in it that he approved, and upon any doubts which he might have respecting the affairs of the Peninsula he reserved himself for a future opportunity and more information. After a few words from Lamb, &c. the House adjourned.

13*th* to the end of the month.—Bulletins favourable.

13*th*.—House of Commons. On the Report of the Address. Speeches between Whitbread and Perceval about the Spanish campaign.

This day news arrived of the capture of the Isle of France on the 3rd of December last by Admiral Bertie with the Cape squadron, and General T. Abercrombie with troops from India.

15*th*.—News of the capture of the Isle of Banda near Amboyna, with property in spices, &c., worth 400,000*l*., by three frigates under Captain Cole, and the seamen landed out of them.

18*th*.—Saw Ryder. He had been two days successively with the Prince, and two hours each time, upon the business of Ireland. And the Prince had at length declared himself satisfied with the conduct of the Ministers at home; and had approved of their proposed despatch to the Lord-Lieutenant.

21*st*.—Motion for Madras papers on the civil and military disturbances.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Debate on Mr. Pole's letter upon the Convention Act in Ireland, prohibiting the election of managers for the Catholic petition from each county. Division upon Mr. Ward's motion for more papers: For it, 43; against it, 80.*

25*th*.—House of Commons. Division on Whitbread's† motion: For it, 83; against it, 193.

* The Catholic Committee in Dublin had determined to assemble in that city a kind of congress, to consist of delegates from all parts of Ireland. And Mr. Pole (afterwards Lord Maryborough) issued a circular letter to all the Sheriffs and chief Magistrates in Ireland, requiring them to arrest and commit to prison (unless bail should be given) all persons concerned in publishing any notice of the election or appointment of any such delegates, or in voting or acting in any manner in the choice or appointment of such delegates. Mr. Ward now, intending to condemn Mr. Pole's letter, moved for copies of any despatches which had been received from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland bearing on the subject. And he was supported by Grattan; who while he admitted "that a national permanent convention in Ireland ought certainly to be prevented," affirmed that "it was wrong to lose sight of the distinction between such a body and the Catholic Committee," a distinction however which he himself did not very clearly explain.

† Whitbread, referring to the transactions of 1801 and 1804, and condemning especially the conduct of Lord Eldon, who at this time, as keeper

26*th.*—The Regent's first levee. I did not go, because the Speaker never goes to the King's levee during the session of Parliament, and because I could not risk the chance of being prevented from being in my place in the House of Commons at the usual hour.

House of Commons. Division on Wardle's motion for an inquiry into Courts Martial in Sussex. For it, 1 (viz. the Colonel of the Oxfordshire, who, being accused, desired the inquiry); against it, 93. Tellers for the motion, Mr. Wardle and Sir F. Burdett.

March.—The bulletin is issued now only three days in the week; the accounts generally favourable.

25*th.*—Cadiz and Lisbon news arrived. General Graham's defeat of Victor in front of the Isle of Leon.* Massena's retreat from Santarem.

26*th.*—Sir William Drummond's letter came, mentioning that he had communicated to Mr. Hamilton for Lord Elgin's information the same statement which last year he had given to me, respecting the authority given by the Porte to Lord Elgin for collecting his marbles.

31*st.*—"The King continues to go on well:" signed by all five physicians. The bulletins are in future to be only twice a week, Wednesdays and Sundays.

Saturday, April 6th.—Lord Wellington's despatches arrived with news of Massena's retreat from Santarem to the River Mondego, and up its southern bank. By the latest accounts Lord Wellington was on the 20th of March within one day of Galegas, which Massena had reached on his road towards Almeida.

8*th.*—Third reading of Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill for taking away the capital punishment from certain larcenies.

10*th.*—Mr. Colman, the Serjeant-at-Arms, came to

of the Great Seal, had allowed acts to be done in the King's name while he was in a state of mental incompetency to sanction them, moved for a Committee to inspect the Journals of the House of Lords (in order now to found upon that conduct some ulterior motion). A somewhat similar attack was made upon Lord Eldon in the House of Lords by Lord Grey; who did not however make any formal motion.—See Twiss's *Life of Eldon*, ii. 147.

* This was the battle of Barossa, fought March 5th.

know if he might go back to Portugal. I told him that with the sincerest good wishes for his honour and prosperity I could only say that *I* individually and personally should not complain of his absence; but that, if appealed to *officially*, I could not think myself justified in saying that it had either *my leave* (so far as I was capable of giving leave), or that it had my *approbation*, so far as the service of the House was concerned. That an officer so high in its service, and with a salary of 2000*l.* a year, was naturally and necessarily expected to give his attendance substantially; and, although by his patent, he might appoint a deputy upon whom the more constant and ordinary duties would devolve, yet it could not be thought right that if that deputy (for instance) was disabled by accident or illness, the Serjeant himself should not only not attend, but that he should moreover be absent from the country, so that no other deputy could be appointed; and that it could not be satisfactory to the House to have the duties of the office executed by the Housekeeper, or by a common messenger.

He left me apparently under an impression that he must wait till a later period of the session before he could with propriety return to the army.

Sir James Graham came by appointment to state the general dissatisfaction amongst members attending Committees upon private Bills for the want of a sufficient number of *competent* clerks; complaining of the inadequacy of the establishment and of their inadequate pay towards encouraging a succession of qualified persons.

As to *number*, I satisfied him that the number now actually in attendance was equal to the average demand of Committees sitting upon any one day for the largest number of Bills, viz. at this time seven short-hand writers and eleven clerks, of which latter number four were *extra* hands brought for the occasion out of other branches of the clerks' offices; but that I had expressed my opinion that the establishment did now require to have four such clerks added for constant Committee

service, instead of resorting to extra hands taken from offices where their services were also wanted.

As to *pay*, I showed him my abstract of the returns made to the Committee of public expenditure last year; exhibiting a graduated succession of pay from the junior rank to the highest, beginning with boys at 35*l.* and 70*l.*, to lads at 100*l.*, and grown men from 200*l.* to 700*l.* a year, with four retiring sinecure offices of each 800*l.* a year nett, for such as leave off usually between fifty and sixty years of age; and three great situations, viz. the Journal Office, Election Committees, and Clerk of Fees, which in emoluments fixed, or almost necessarily incident to their situation, cannot be less than 1500*l.* to 3500*l.* a year.

Upon this view he expressed his surprise and satisfaction, and his determination to assure Mr. Ley that he would be no party to giving him any trouble upon the subject, hoping at the same time that before another session such addition would be made to the permanent establishment.

21*st.* — The bulletin was: "His Majesty proceeds to make a favourable progress towards recovery;" and notice that the bulletins were to be discontinued in future, except on Sundays.

25*th.* — Called on the Duchess of Brunswick, who related to me the interview of last night with the Prince of Wales at the Antient Music, and his gracious behaviour to her. She had not seen him since he was nine years old, although she had now been between two and three years in England.

Lord Wellington's despatches of the 9th inst. arrived to-day, with the news of his having driven the French beyond Almeida.

26*th.* — Met Lord Camden, who told me the King had not been so well for the last two or three days, owing, as it was conceived, to some agitation from the receipt of the keys of his private drawers, which had been redelivered to him.

House of Commons. Thanks to Lord Wellington.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1811.

PRINCE OF WALES AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE ELGIN MARBLES.—CANNING'S DESIRE TO BE MEMBER FOR OXFORD IN THE EVENT OF A VACANCY.—BULLION COMMITTEE.—BUDGET.—BATTLE OF FUENTES D'ONOR.—THE DUKE OF YORK RESUMES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY.—BATTLE OF ALBUERA.—FÊTE AT CARLTON HOUSE.—STATE OF THE KING'S HEALTH.—PROROGATION.—LETTERS FROM LORD AUCKLAND, MR. WILBERFORCE, ETC.

Saturday, *April* 27*th*. — I dined at the Royal Academy Exhibition. The Prince of Wales dined there, and after dinner made a long speech in praise of the improvements made of late years in the fine arts, and particularly in the art of painting. Mr. West, the President, made two or three injudicious speeches in compliment to the Prince and the arts.

28*th*.—Bulletin at St. James's: "His Majesty is going on well." Lord William Bentinck is going as Ambassador to Sicily, and to command the troops there.

29*th*.—Nelson trust. Perceval, Rose, Lord Nelson, and Mr. Hazelwood met me. Upon full consultation we made a minute authorising Mr. Lichfield to bid 79,000*l*. for the house and estate, reckoning a further payment of 21,000*l*. to be demandable from us for timber, fixtures, &c.; total 100,000*l*.; whereof 90,000*l*. only being our means, 10,000*l*. of it must be provided by selling off some outlying farms. The house now called Somerley (near Ringwood) was estimated to have cost 25,000*l*. or 30,000*l*.; and was valued now at 12,000*l*. in this purchase; the rest of the estate valued at 96,000*l*. Total value by the surveyors and architect, 108,000*l*.

Afterwards Lord Elgin came to say that he had made up his mind to sell his collection, including

marbles, casts, moulds, and drawings, for the expenses which he had incurred; the amount to be valued by a committee of the House of Commons. He waived all question about the property, and title to them; considering them however to be wholly his own; in which he was recently confirmed by Mr. Adair, our late Minister at the Porte, who says that he was expressly informed by the Turkish Government that they entirely disavowed ever having given any authority to Lord Elgin for removing any part of his collection, and did still refuse to allow the removal of some articles remaining behind.

Lord Elgin further proposed to let the proposition for purchasing his collection be brought forward by Mr. Long; and seconded by Mr. William Smith; and he went from me to speak to Mr. Long on the business.

With respect to Sir William Drummond's statement, he accounted for that as proceeding upon the authority of a person, who, in a family transaction of Lord Elgin's had behaved in a manner too scandalous to be brought forward in a Court of Justice. And from that source he conceived these opinions to have been circulated. But, according to the course now proposed, such questions had become unnecessary.

30*th*.— Long mentioned to Perceval in my presence Lord Elgin's proposition of selling his collection to the public for what it had cost him. Perceval agreed to a committee for inquiring into the proposition; if he were first satisfied that it did not exceed a reasonable sum; and Lord Elgin must first state a sum which it should not exceed.

Wednesday, May 1*st*.—Went to the meeting of Commissioners for Reduction of the National Debt.

	Stock.
Total debt	£800,000,000
Whereof redeemed	200,000,000
Unredeemed	600,000,000

And for the current year thirteen millions sterling income to be applied to the redemption.

3rd.—From Long I heard the substance of his conversation with Lord Elgin about the marbles this morning. Lord Elgin talked in a vague way of his expenses having been not less than 50,000*l.*, upon which also he expected to be allowed interest; that Buonaparte would have given him any price; that Mr. West, &c., would be ready to give evidence of their invaluable excellence, &c. &c.; all of which Long said he would, if desired, represent to Mr. Perceval, but he could not expect that he would consent to any sum approaching to that amount.

6th. — House of Commons. The Attorney-General came into my room, and talked over the news of the time, the King's convalescent state, &c. On account of Mr. Justice Le Blanc's illness, the argument of my case with Sir Francis Burdett is postponed.

Canning afterwards came; he talked over the state of the Regency, &c., and then took occasion to say that the rumours had been so prevalent at the time when a change of Administration had been expected, respecting my removal to the House of Lords, and the appointment of Bathurst to succeed me as Speaker, that he had thought it right to mention, to some of his friends at Oxford, that in such an event he should wish to be considered as a candidate for the University. And he had communicated the same to the Duke of Beaufort, who had given him the most favourable assurances of support.

I told him frankly that I had never had the thing in contemplation; and that it had never been mentioned or breathed to me as a proposition or a probability.

But that his steps were perfectly natural; and that in such an event I did not know that Christ Church could do anything more proper than give him their support.

He talked further of the rumours having come very positively from Tierney, who was a great newsmonger, but that he (Canning) had not considered Bathurst as a likely person, on account of his short sight, &c.

7th.— House of Commons. Bullion Committee till two in the morning. Only three speeches, Vansittart, Huskisson, and Lord Castlereagh, from six to one. Then Morris spoke for half an hour, and the Committee adjourned. Sixteen more speeches expected, and the question as moved by Horner expected by him to be lost by three to one.

N.B. The general opinions that prevailed upon this question were,—

1. That the resumption of cash payments by the Bank within two years was impracticable, and that, although the Bank ought to be warned and required to put itself into a state of preparation for resuming such payments whenever called upon by Parliament, nevertheless no fixed period for it could be determined. 2. Those who alleged an *excessive issue* of paper by the Bank as the cause of present high prices, conceived the fault to be wholly in the *Bank of England*, and did not propose to touch *country paper*.

8th.—Committee on Bullion Report continued till four in the morning. Parnell, Baring, Perceval, Canning, &c., spoke.

9th.—Committee on Bullion. Wilberforce, Whitbread, Long, Sir F. Burdett, &c. &c., spoke, Horner replied. Division at four in the morning. For Horner's introductory resolutions, 75; against them, 151. For the last resolution, limiting the Bank to two years for resuming payments in cash, 47; against it, 181.

News came that General Blucher had resisted an attempt of French troops to enter Colberg.

Perceval told Canning that his view of our public situation was nearly the same as Baring's. And that we could not possibly maintain our present scale of military and naval exertions with our present means, considering the increased and increasing amount of our expenses and our taxes.

11th.— Received the following letter from Lord Elgin.

Park Lane, May 10th, 1811.

Sir, — I have had the mortification of learning from Mr. Long, the result of his communication with Mr. Perceval, on the subject of transferring my Athenian collection to the public. The terms offered for my consideration are so wholly inadequate either to the expenses incurred, or to the acknowledged value of the collection, that I cannot hesitate in declining them.

I had previously prepared the enclosed paper for Mr. Long's information, both in regard to the outlay and to the proceedings prior to my application to him. In that view it is no longer necessary. Yet, as Mr. Long mentioned that you had not foreseen the amount of that outlay, I attach, I confess, too strong a feeling to the opinion you may form on this business, not earnestly to request you to peruse the paper, and to observe the nature of the charges in which my enterprise unavoidably involved me. I have the honour to be, Sir, with great respect, your obedient humble servant, ELGIN.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

12*th.*—Bulletin at St. James's: "His Majesty continues much in the same state as last week." Perceval told me that the King made no progress.

13*th.* — Sir William Scott said the King made no progress; was unable to resume in any degree his royal functions, and still laboured under the same delusions.

14*th.* — I sent an answer to Lord Elgin's letter of Saturday last, and on the 15th received the following from him.

Park Lane, May 15th, 1811.

My dear Sir, — I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yesterday, enclosing the *Moniteur* of the 20th ult. May I further request you will have the goodness of returning to me the copy of the letter I had prepared for Mr. Long, which, after your perusal of it, is of no further use.

I have greatly to apologise for all the trouble I have given you on this occasion. But, as I held no communication on the subject, beyond what you are apprised of, you will feel that I really was quite ignorant of there being any limits so far below the value of my collection, beyond which Parliament would not go for a similar purpose.

At the same time, I certainly do feel that the terms offered

by Mr. Perceval, viewed in the light of an encouragement to the arts, and without any very strong impression in regard to the peculiar nature of this collection, are in the highest degree liberal. I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, your most faithful servant, ELGIN.

LETTER FROM MR. LONG.

Army Tax Office, May 15th.

My dear Sir,—I return you Lord Elgin's letters, which I before omitted to send. Though he has taken his line, I think we shall hear from him again. I wish he would talk more liberally upon the subject; but at present we are so far off that, without a strong disposition on his part to approximate, I almost fear we shall not meet soon.

Most sincerely yours, CHARLES LONG.

15*th*.—House of Commons. On Bullion till eleven, when the last division took place, and the debates ended. For Tierney's amendment (viz. that the Bank should, during the suspension of cash payments, regulate its issues by the same rule as it had done while it was liable to pay in cash), 24; against it, 76.

16*th*.—The King last week indifferent. This week he has made one of those sudden advances which have occurred in his convalescences, and is considered as very materially recovered.

17*th*.—The Court of King's Bench this day gave judgment in support of the authority of the House of Commons, to commit for contempt, and to break open doors in execution of their warrants.

Lord Elgin sent this day to propose to the British Institution to remove into their possession, and take care of for him, his collection of marbles, &c., allowing the inspection of them to artists. To which they replied that they had no place in which to deposit them.

18*th*.—At Whitehall Chapel, the Guards went to Divine Service, with the Dukes of York and Cambridge, the Commander-in-chief and his Staff, &c.; and before the Te Deum, the six French eagles, with the invincible standard of the French taken in Egypt, and

six other large pairs of captured colours, were brought in by a special guard, and lodged on each side, and over the altar.

19*th*.—His Majesty is quite as well as he was last week.

20*th*.—The King rode on horseback to-day, for the first time since his illness commenced.

House of Commons. Budget. Supply, 49,000,000*l*. Great Britain; * , Ireland; Total, Loan, 12,000,000*l*.; Exchequer Bills funded, 12,000,000*l*. more; Total, 24,000,000*l*. Taxes for the interest of English loan, spirits, cotton from America, Baltic timber, pearl and potash from America. All these Bills already in the House. No opposition to these taxes, except a few words from Baring upon cotton from America. Irish Loan, 2,500,000*l*.; Irish Taxes, 6,569,000*l*. The rest guaranteed by the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain.

21*st*.—House of Commons. Address to the Regent to pay Mr. Palmer's arrears of percentage, viz. 54,000*l*. Carried by 107 to 42.

N.B. The Lords took notice of the vote of the Commons, for payment of a debt which the Lords had denied to be due, but adopted no proceeding upon the subject at this time.

24*th*.—Lord John Thynne delivered the Regent's answer to the Address for advancing the money, "that he would do it when the money shall have been provided by Parliament."

25*th*.—News of Lord Wellington's victory over Massena near Almeida.†

Rode with Lord Liverpool; talked over the Regent's answer with him, and afterwards with Perceval and Ryder; told them all that, however the answer, if construed as applying only to Palmer's case, under the circumstances of the declared opinion of the Lords, might be justifiable, yet, that this was the first in-

* Left blank in original MS.

† This was the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, May 5th.

stance of any answer from the Sovereign declining to issue money for which the Commons had addressed; and that, being coupled with the intimation that it was not issued, because not yet provided for, the inference went to the destruction of the whole privilege of addressing for issues of money, which always assumed that the money was not yet provided, but pledged the Commons to grant it afterwards. This intention Perceval expressly disclaimed; the practice, whether desirable or undesirable, being now too long established to allow of its being overturned.

In the House of Commons, Whitbread gave notice of a motion upon the subject of this answer, and Williams Wynn complained of it as affronting and insulting to the House of Commons.

Sir Francis Burdett brought forward a complaint of flogging a local militiaman in the Liverpool Militia. Debate upon it adjourned for a week, to make inquiries.

26*th.*—I left my name with the Duke of York, now Commander-in-chief.

Bulletin: "His Majesty has not been quite so well this week as he was the week preceding."

27*th.*—News arrived by telegraph that Marshal Beresford had repulsed Soult with 25,000 men, who had attempted to raise the siege of Badajoz.*

House of Commons. Lord Milton gave notice of a motion upon the Duke of York's appointment.

The King materially worse in wanderings and delusions of new and different sorts.

30*th.*—Whitbread's motion against Ministers for advising the Regent's answer to the address for Mr. Palmer. Opposition differed among themselves. Negatived by 162 to 68.

31*st.*—House of Commons. Debate on Grattan's motion for referring the Catholic petition to a Committee of the whole House. Division at four o'clock in the morning. Negatived by 142 to 86.

* At the battle of Albuera, fought May 16th.

The King is again separated from his family by order of the physicians. Baillie does not think his *bodily* health materially impaired, although his legs are somewhat swelled.

The Prince has put off his fête from June 5th to 12th. Probably it will not take place at all.

Saturday, June 1st.—News of the death of Lord Melville two days ago. News of the retreat of the French from before Badajoz the day after the battle between Beresford and Soult.

Saw Perceval about putting off his birthday dinner in consequence of an intimation from the Prince of Wales.

2nd.—Bulletin: "His Majesty has had some fresh accession of his disorder; but it does not appear to be increasing."

News of the battle of Albuera by Lord Wellington's despatches arrived to-day. A most sanguinary battle, but a complete victory gained by the Allies over Soult, who retreated the next day upon the road to Seville.

4th.—Lord Mulgrave told me he had had a letter from Major L'Estrange, who saw the attack of the Polish lancers upon the rear of the British in the battle of Albuera; when Marshal Beresford, riding with his sword undrawn, was suddenly made at by a Polish officer, who was endeavouring to cut him down, Beresford put spurs to his horse, rode at the Polish officer, seized him by the throat, threw him off his horse upon the ground, where the infantry despatched him.

5th.—House of Commons. Debate on motion for a committee to inquire into the causes which retard the decision of suits in the Court of Chancery. For it, 36; against it, 36. Whereupon I gave my casting vote with the Ayes; it being upon a question "whether or not this House shall exercise its own power of inquiry into the causes of existing grievances."

6th.—House of Commons. Motion by Lord Milton, seconded by Lord Althorpe, against the advisers of the Duke of York's re-appointment as Commander-in-Chief.

Negatived by 296 to 47. With the majority voted Ponsonby, Lamb, Adam, Piggott, &c. In the minority were Williams Wynn, Wilberforce, Whitbread, Sir F. Burdett, Wardle, &c.

Received news from Lord Liverpool that Massena, Loison, and Junot are gone to Paris.

7*th*.—House of Commons. Thanks to Marshal Beresford. Whitbread's motion for a committee on the state of the nation respecting the King's health, negatived by 94 to 22.

8*th*.—Regent's fête put off till the 19th.

Letters from Lord Wellington that he expects another battle with the whole French force in a few days from the date of his letter; but the more they are and the sooner they come the better.

News also of great discontents in France. Placards in Paris, "Down with the Tyrant." Much dissatisfaction at the state of the Church.

9*th*.—"His Majesty has been more composed during the last week; and his disorder has in no respect increased."

13*th*. — House of Commons. Motions respecting government and laws of Trinidad; and upon exchange of prisoners with France.*

14*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Loveden's Divorce Bill on a proposed clause for maintenance. I moved to adjourn the question.

18*th*.—House of Commons sat till past three in the morning upon Sir F. Burdett's motion respecting corporal punishment in the army; Loveden's Divorce Bill, &c.

The House of Lords in the years 1768, 1769, 1771, &c., allowed maintenance to the divorced wife; and in 1793, Brown's case, the House of Commons amended a Lords' Bill by inserting a clause of maintenance.

In 1796, Shadwell's case, the House of Lords refused

* This was a motion made by Mr. Brand for copies of or extracts from the correspondence which had taken place between the English and French Governments on the subject of an exchange of prisoners, which had ended in the French refusing to enter into any arrangement for that object.

to receive any maintenance clause; and also inserted a clause to destroy the jointure of the adulteress; from which time the practice upon both points continued till Lovêden's Bill this year. And now the Lords sent down the Bill without any clause to destroy the jointure.

The House of Commons thinking differently of the policy of this sort of legislation (as the Lords had begun to adopt a new course), by amendments in the third reading, added a clause of maintenance of 400*l.* a year for her support, immediately and during the rest of her life; but they also added a clause destroying the jointure to which she would otherwise have been entitled hereafter on her husband's death. Division; for both maintenance and jointure, 19; against it, 28.

19*th.* — Went to the fête at Carlton House. By previous inquiry I managed my going and coming without the smallest difficulty; I drove up Warwick Street to within a few paces of the small gate at which the chairs come *out*, and by walking that length I was in the house in a few moments. I went at ten minutes past nine, and came away by the same road at about twenty minutes past four in the morning.

At the top of the hall steps I found Colonel Palmer and other aides-de-camp, waiting to receive the company. They took my ticket, and Lord Moira who was close by, told me in which way I could best see the apartments before the company filled them; and he would have gone with me, but was in waiting at the head of the first steps to receive the royal family of France.

The great rooms lie all on the right side of the building; the smaller apartments on the left; and in them the Prince waited to receive the King of France, &c.

About ten they arrived; and the Prince, after seating the King of France in one of the small rooms, hung with *fleur de lys* furniture; and paying his compliments to him *as King*, released his French Majesty from all further ceremony, and conducted him as a private person with the rest of the French court, through the different apartments. Having done this once he left

them to themselves, and for the rest of the evening walked about alone, in every direction, and into every room.

He passed me several times; and I think once made a slight acknowledgment of me by look. At other periods during the evening I had long and marked conversations with the Duke of York and Duke of Cumberland; also with the Duke of Clarence and Duke of Gloucester.

The Duchess of York and Princess Sophia of Gloucester also recognised and talked to me.

Lord Yarmouth, upon finding that I had no ticket for supping at the Regent's table, gave me one, as a person who ought to be of that party (viz. one of that 200), from which, however, many of the highest rank were excluded.

At a quarter to two the card marked that we were to assemble in the gilt room; and so did 500 other persons who had nothing to do with the Regent's party. This was the only thing ill managed, for with this enormous crowd, and waiting there one hour before the doors were opened to go down to supper everybody was heartily tired; and the King of France, who (as Lord St. Helens says all kings do) must have been heartily tired of *swinging from one foot to the other*.

At length the doors opened, four aides-de-camp stood inside, and as soon as the Prince had handed down the Duchess d'Angoulême, and the King of France handed the Duchess of York, Monsieur with Princess Sophia of Gloucester, &c., all other persons were stopped at the door who did not present their tickets.

Luckily for me, during the hour of waiting, I found myself close to Lord Chichester; and upon communication we found ourselves ticketed, and without any lady attached to either, so we agreed to make common cause. Lady Chichester not being in a state to bustle, had by the Prince's gracious permission, seen all the preparations in the morning.

Upon descending into the conservatory, Perceval,

Lord Chichester, and myself, after some difficulty of finding places, separated, and it ended in my going with Lord Chichester to the vacant end of the Prince's long table, which could not be less than 200 feet long. My children would have been amused with the river of water and the little gudgeons swimming about in the whole length of this table; and all the *grown* children were equally delighted.

Tierney said to me in the course of the evening that he had previously seen and admired the whole spectacle, except that Sadler's Wells business of the rivulet and the swimming fishes.

Nevertheless it was oriental and fanciful, towards the Prince's end particularly; for in that part the table widened, and the water also, and fell by a succession of cascades into a circular lake surrounded with architectural decorations, and small vases, burning perfumes, which stood under the arches of the colonnade round the lake.

Behind the Prince's end of the table there was a magnificent sideboard of gilt plate three stories high.

A band in the garden, not seen by the company, played the whole time.

After the supper was well ended, and before the company rose to go up stairs again, there was a grand crowd from the supper room beyond the brass railing, of fine ladies and gentlemen, who came to lean against and look over the railing at our superior lot, and to endeavour at descrying the gudgeons in our river. "There I see them;" "Look, look;" "Don't you," &c. by all the Misses and company, old and young, not to mention Lady Mansfield, Lady Buckingham's niece, old Mr. Hastings, and many other souls old and young, whose eager and ridiculous curiosity was very entertaining.

At length the royals all rose and went up stairs; Lord Chichester had undertaken to pilot me all round the rest of the supper apartments; Lady Chatham and

a young lady of her family were tacked on to us, and so we proceeded.

A few minutes so completely filled the conservatory in which the Prince's table was placed, that before we got fairly round, the crowd and pressing was beyond anything I ever saw or felt; until, not without an intolerable cram and jam, we made our way with one tide which bore down another tide, and thus we saw the other six rooms all in continuation of the same line as the conservatory. The furthest room was seven or eight steps higher than the rest, and commanded a long but indistinct view of tables and tables not less than 500 feet in distance.

Besides these rooms there was supper under tents in the gardens. Certainly, the supply, waiting, and arrangements seemed to be admirable. No delays in arrival, no difficulties, no accidents.

23*rd*.— "His Majesty continues much the same as he was last week."

Hatsell brought me a note from Lord Sidmouth, with an account of Lady Sidmouth's death.

24*th*.— House of Commons. Monuments voted to General M'Kenzie, and General Longworth, killed at the battle of Talavera.

Perceval has no cause for expecting the next session before the middle of January. Nor any expectation of a change of Administration.

20*th*. — Perceval came to say that we must have a House to-day to receive consents to Bills, before the Commission could take place for passing the Money Bills. Also that the Prince of Wales had desired the prorogation might not take place until *after* the quarterly declaration of the physicians, respecting the King's health; which must necessarily be made next week, and should be laid before Parliament.

It was agreed, therefore, that an adjournment to-day should be till Friday se'nnight.

Afterwards it turned out that the Prince, who was to have seen Perceval again to-day upon the subject,

was so blockaded by visits to see the late preparations at Carlton House, that he could not be approached; the audience, therefore, was postponed till to-morrow.

Perceval also said, the King was, by the account of the physicians, perfectly well enough now to be restored, but they, the physicians, thought also that, if he were, he might also by business soon relapse.

They had tried him by proposing to him to hear the debate upon the Catholic question read to him, to which he said, he had no objection, that he knew he must practise self-command; but that, as he had not yet had the preceding day's debate read to him, he would take it in its order, and so he did. And the only remark made upon the Catholic debate was, after the division was read, that he was glad it was carried by so great a number.

29*th*. — Perceval came, and we talked over the effect of the Lords' division on the Berkeley peerage, so far as it concerned the seat of Sir William Guise, elected in the room of Lord Dursley, alleged to have been Earl of Berkeley; untruly alleged, as it now appears, and we were all of opinion that the writ and election of Sir William Guise must be declared void if questioned. What might become of Lord Dursley's right of sitting, which would then be restored to him as Mr. Berkeley, would then be liable to doubt, he never having delivered in any qualification, by which failure (he not being heir apparent of a peer, &c.) his seat is void under 33 George III.

30*th*. — Bulletin at St. James's: "His Majesty remains in the same state as during the last week."

Wednesday, July 3rd. — Saw General Hope, who informed me of Lord Wellington having raised the siege of Badajoz, and retired upon Elvas, keeping Badajoz under a strict blockade. Soult, in the meantime was advancing again with additional forces from Cadiz; and Marmont coming from the north of Spain by the Puerta de Baños, down upon the Tagus; Sir Brent Spencer descending also in a parallel direction towards the Alentejo.

6*th*.—News that 1000 British were sent to garrison Tarragona.

7*th*.—Perceval showed me the quarterly certificate of the Queen's Council, respecting the King's health, which stated that,

"Having met together on the 6th of July (by virtue of an Act passed in the 51st year of His Majesty's reign), at the Queen's Lodge at Windsor; and having called before them and examined upon oath the physicians and other persons attendant upon His Majesty; and having ascertained the state of His Majesty's health by all such other ways and means as appeared necessary for that purpose, they did hereby declare and certify, that the state of His Majesty's health was *not* such as to enable His Majesty to resume the personal exercise of his royal functions.

"That His Majesty's bodily health was but little disordered.

"That a change had taken place in the system of management; and that His Majesty's mental health was represented to them by all the physicians, as certainly improved since the 6th April [the date of their former Quarterly Report].

"That some of His Majesty's physicians did not entertain hopes of His Majesty's recovery quite so confident as those which they had expressed on the 6th of April, while the persuasion of others of the physicians that His Majesty will completely recover, is not diminished; and that they all appeared to agree that there was a considerable probability of His Majesty's final recovery," &c. &c.

Signed by the two Archbishops, the Chancellor, Lord Ellenborough, Sir William Grant, Duke of Montrose, Lord Winchelsea, and Lord Aylesford.

11*th*.—Dined at Lord Hardwicke's. Lord H. told me of the recent application of the divinity professor and above 100 scholars of Maynooth to the Bishop of Kildare to receive their recantation of the errors of Popery. Query?

12*th*.—Board on the Royal Military Canal; present, Duke of York, Mr. Perceval, Ryder, Lord Liverpool, Lord Mulgrave, General Brownrigg, and Lord Palmerston. Upon consultation with the Committee of Engineers, and reading the correspondence, the following points were settled:—

1. Arming the Canal. The Board of Ordnance agree to furnish eighty Danish guns, as required by the Quartermaster-General.

2. They agree to direct a project for closing the right flank of the Canal, near Cliff End.

3. The Board of Ordnance are to communicate to the Royal Military Canal Commissioners such plans as they think most effectual for completing the Shorncliff defences by closing the left flank of the Canal, and the Board of Ordnance are to execute the same to that point when the Royal Military Canal Commissioners shall deem it expedient. The rest to be completed under the authority of the Royal Military Canal Commissioners, they retaining possession of all their own ground, upon which they do not permit the Board of Ordnance to erect works.

N.B. The Duke of York said that, since the 25th of May, 13,000 troops had been sent to reinforce Lord Wellington's army, and a considerable part of it in cavalry.

15*th.* — Debate on second reading of Gold Coin Bill till three in the morning. For it, 133; against it, 35. All the Prince's friends voted for the Bill.

16*th.* — News that the King was very dangerously ill.

17*th.*—Met the Duke of Montrose, who told me that the King had taken some nourishment, and had had some sleep.

House of Commons. Committee on Gold Coin Bill. The House decided, without a division, that the Bank-proprietors were not disqualified from voting on this Bill.

18*th.*—Bulletin. "His Majesty had some sleep last night, but is not better this morning."

19*th.*—"His Majesty has had a sleepless night, and is not better this morning."

House of Commons. Third reading of Gold Coin Bill, and passed upon a division of 95 to 20; Sheridan speaking against Tierney, and *e converso*.

A message was brought about half-past nine by Tyrwhitt from the Regent to Perceval, "excusing himself from dining with him to-morrow, on account of the King's state;" but adding, that "when this was over, whether the event was favourable or unfavourable, His Royal Highness should consider his engagement to dine with him as still holding."

News from Mr. Stuart*, dated Lisbon, 4th inst., that intelligence was just come there by telegraph from Elvas that Blake had entered Seville on the 28th ult.

N.B. This proved to be untrue.

20*th*.—Bulletin. "The King had several hours' sleep last night, and His Majesty is in no respect worse this morning."

21*st*.—After church saw Perceval, and communicated to him my notes upon the Parliamentary proceedings on a demise of the Crown. He seemed to have no apprehension of any immediate danger to the King's life, but the ravings were very wild; sometimes the King talked as if he were conversing amongst the dead with persons long since gone; such as Perceval's father, or, at another time, some old Hanoverian Minister; sometimes also conceiving himself to be shut up in Noah's ark as an antediluvian; this latter idea very remarkably prevailed in his mind during one of his former illnesses many years ago.

The bulletin was: "His Majesty has had some sleep in the night, and is, upon the whole, a little better."

24*th*.—The Prince Regent's speech was delivered by his Commissioners, and Parliament was prorogued.

25*th*.—A report of the King having been seized with a paralytic affection last night. I called at Perceval's; he was not at home, but sent a note in the afternoon that the King's state was very discouraging as to future hopes, but not attended at present with any apprehension of immediate danger to his life. Went down to Kidbrooke, and remained there till January 3rd.

* Our Minister at Lisbon; afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

The quarterly report of the Queen's Council in October stated,—

"That His Majesty's bodily health did not appear to be essentially altered since the date of their last report.

"But that His Majesty's mental health did appear to be materially worse, and that His Majesty's recovery was represented to be very improbable by all the physicians in attendance upon His Majesty but one."

Letters or Extracts of Letters received during Mr. Abbot's absence from London.

FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Eden Farm, July 31st, 1811.

My dear Sir,—. . . . . It seems to be thought (at least it is said) by those who ought to be best informed, that, though the existence of the poor King is become grievous to himself, the closing scene may still be distant. During several days of the last week he certainly took no food except by constraint, and had no sleep except by the effect of laudanum. Still it is supposed that there are strong bodily powers. . . . . .

Our army in Portugal has certainly shown great bravery, and has been conducted with great ability; but I continue to see the results "as through a glass, darkly." I shall be sorry for the Portuguese as well as for ourselves if we should be obliged to abandon the Peninsula to its fate, but I shall not be sorry for the Spaniards, except for our own political interests.

Ever, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

FROM MR. WILBERFORCE.

Hurst-mon-ceux, Aug. 22nd, 1814.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—. . . . . The account of the King this morning—I was going to call it melancholy account; but much as it in general claims that epithet, yet not the more from the prospect of a speedier termination than was expected of his protracted sufferings. The account of his Majesty's extreme danger makes me doubt whether, with convenience to you

or to myself, I may be able to accept your obliging information, if (I mean) his dissolution actually takes place in the interim.

I am not quite clear in my recollection as to the consequences of the King's demise, whether (as, if I mistake not is the law) the House of Commons be to meet in fourteen days, and sit six months previous to any dissolution, unless the latter should be immediately resolved on. This last I should think a very probable measure, if the Prince Regent has made up his mind as to the servants he intends to employ, as the phrase is, for those who sometimes are his masters. (. . . (Private.) . . .) I have so high an opinion of your judgment, and have on so many occasions experienced your kindness, that I have an additional reason for wishing to have the pleasure of seeing you now: one that is of a personal nature. I would on no account wish it to transpire prematurely, but I have for some time been considering, with two or three particular friends, whether or not I should retire from a situation to which my health and strength, both bodily and mental, and the state of my family, render me no longer so well fitted as I could wish to be. I have a high idea of the importance of the precept, *Solve senescentem*, &c.; and a man's age must be estimated, not by his years, but by his constitution. But, supposing the question to be decided for retiring, a second question remains, whether to quit the House of Commons altogether, or, supposing *an opportunity* to occur *, of coming in for some quiet borough, on the very ground of meaning to attend only on great occasions, and so far as might be compatible with the claims of health, family, &c.; whether, I repeat it, if such an opportunity should occur, it ought to be embraced or rejected. For the dissolution coming on me two years sooner than I expected, finds me with many businesses unwound up, if I may so express it; and also, a seat for a quiet borough falling in my way might be vacated at any time; while, if I were to declare for absolute retirement, I could not afterwards return to public life without discredit. But still, to say nothing of that which however is very material, the probability of my being, from temper, habit, sense of duty, &c., too much of a political man to attend to anything else if I remain in the House of Commons at all (though it were even for Old Sarum, of which, however, I need scarcely say I have no prospect), there is another consideration in which I confess your judgment would have great weight with me; I mean whether ad-

* In fact, Lord Calthorpe had offered to return him for Bramber.—*Wilberforce's Life*, vol. iii. pp. 533-537.

vancing years, long service, &c., may fairly be admitted as an excuse for that rare and occasional attendance in which too many indulge themselves without so good a plea, and which I have always endeavoured to discourage by my example; or whether I should not be undoing the good of that example.

My dear Sir, your very faithful, W. Wilberforce.

P.S.—I really think I ought to add that my thinking about retiring from my present situation is not grounded on any probable contest. I do not believe there would be one now, for several reasons. The idea has been for some time to be considered whenever the time should come.

FROM MR. CORRY.

London, Sept. 16th, 1811.

Dear Speaker,— . . . . If I were sitting with you in your library, you would inquire something about Ireland. The intelligence on that subject is in a narrow compass. Roman Catholic claims and proceedings engross the public attention. The Proclamation has made them adopt a certain *retenere* in the manner of their proceedings for choosing delegates, but has not stopped them. The trial of the electors in Dublin will come on in November, or soon after. Much will then depend on the pannel returned; and the sheriffs are *not* partial to Government. No proceedings of a like kind have been taken in the country against the electors; and it is the wish of the Catholics to take the field on the question of the Convention when met. The rods will then be tied together with, as they hope, greater strength to resist.

Lord Manners came to town from Cheltenham to meet the Prince, by desire. The part taken by H.R.H. on the proclamation you are, of course, acquainted with. There is no surmise whispered of any change of Government in Ireland.

As to politics here, whatever you may know *better*, yet you shall have what I receive *later*, for times and minds are very changeable; and, moreover, I believe my information to be good.

There is no thought of calling you to meet your friends in your great wig before January; no impatience of the restrictions; no desire to convoke Parliament on the point of the six weeks' sitting, before the end of the term of the Regency Act; no expectation of the demise of the King; and, even if that were to take place, no necessary forethought for a hasty dissolu-

tion of the present Parliament; *a fortiori*, no thought of a dissolution without it, as has been talked of and canvassed for in many places.

Perceval, I hear, is in high favour; Lord Wellesley the same; *per contra*, Lord Grey the like: Lord Grenville otherwise. That sort of account is *old*; but it is always *new* that things continue as they were, since we know that in this mortal life changes and chances happen one day or other.

Faithfully yours, ISAAC CORRY.

FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Eden Farm, Nov. 23rd, 1811.

My dear Sir,— . . . . I have seen a statement this morning from a person, who, in the course of his duty, saw the King last week. He found him seated at a table, striking on it with his fingers, as if playing on the harpsichord. Whilst this was going on, the King was told that the dinner was ready, and very deliberately ordered it to be brought up. After eating of the first dish, he was told there were pancakes, which he directed to be served up if good. He ate moderately, but with apparent appetite; and, during the whole time that this person was in the room, the King was composed, and without any observable derangement of bodily health.

Most sincerely yours, AUCKLAND.

FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Eden Farm, no date, but about a week after the last.

My dear Sir,— . . . . I have lately had occasion to see authentic accounts of the poor King, from a person who has access to him. He is represented as being frequently calm for a great part of the day, and as having occasionally a good memory and recollections; but the reasoning faculties are considered as quite gone. These accounts add that apparently his personal health is not materially affected.

I trust that all the historiettes about the Duke of Clarence are lies and "waggeries;" but, when we are told that he first offered himself to Miss Long, and immediately afterwards to Miss Mercer, and then to Lady Berkeley, and that he has made himself a reviewing General of regiments, and an inspecting

Commissioner of Dockyards, it is difficult not to apprehend that there may be more business for Messrs. R. and T. Willis.

Our predicament in Ireland is certainly not improved by Mr. Wellesley Pole's manœuvres. As to America and Portugal, and the want of foreign corn and of bullion, and the increasing difficulties of maintaining armies on foreign service, I will say nothing, because they are matters in which, before we are two months older, you will be treated with abler opinions *usque ad fastidium*. . . . . .

Yours ever most sincerely, AUCKLAND.

FROM LORD GLENBERVIE.

Brighton, Nov. 30th, 1811.

Dear Sir,— . . . . . Lord Yarmouth also came over here from Oatlands* yesterday, told me the Prince had not yet been able to leave his bed; that he is still in great pain when he moves his foot, and probably must remain a long time at that place. At first he took at the rate of 100 drops of laudanum hourly, to the amount of 700 drops a day, as Lord Yarmouth had counted; others say to the amount of 1200. In other respects his health is good. I doubt much if he looks forward to the 18th of next month† as the young minor pants for twenty-one. Yours most faithfully, GLENBERVIE.

Extracts from Letters from Mr. Planta of the British Museum.

British Museum, Aug. 30th, 1811.

Dear Sir,— . . . . . I have another subject to mention, which, if you have not heard it already, may interest you. Four young artists, two Englishmen (Cockerel and Forster) and two Germans, visited lately the Island of Ægina, where they knew of a temple of Jupiter Panhellenicus; they obtained leave to dig, and in sixteen days they found sixteen capital statues, not of gods or goddesses, but of naked athletic figures in strong action. They are all in good preservation, *con proprio naso*; and, it is said, inferior only to the Laocoon, the Torso, and the Dying Gladiator. I have seen Cockerel's letter to his uncle, the banker in Pall-Mall. He says that what may

* The seat of the Duke of York.

† Lord Glenbervie means the 18th of February, as that was the day on which the restrictions on the Regent were to expire.

fall to his and Forster's share shall be offered to the Museum. The report now is that our Prince Regent has sent orders for the purchase of the whole; and that a frigate will be forthwith detached from our fleet in the Mediterranean to fetch them away; and it is added that he intends them for our Museum. Of these last circumstances I have not the best evidence. I have some reason to believe that he has views upon them, but abundance of impediments may thwart his intentions; the avidity of the Turks, the intrigues of the French Consul at Athens, who, if the statues are really as fine as we are told, will no doubt have orders to use every means to obtain them; and as to ourselves, may not H. R. H. if they arrive safe, think fit to ornament his own palace with them? All these are points which greatly abate my expectations. I shall not fail to communicate to you whatever else I may hear on the subject.

I have the honour to remain, dear Sir,
Your most respectful humble servant, J. PLANTA.

British Museum, Oct. 14th, 1811.

Dear Sir,— . . . . . The Elgin collection is actually in Burlington House. I have seen Mr. Hamilton, who tells me that it is to be exhibited, but whether for money he did not say; and I thought it a delicate question to ask.

He, as well as Barrow of the Admiralty, told me that orders were actually gone to our admiral in the Mediterranean to send a vessel to Athens to bring away the Ægina statues, if they are to be had. Ever respectfully yours, J. PLANTA.

British Museum, Nov. 1811.

Dear Sir,— . . . . . I am just returned from a visit to the Elgin collection. It is in a shed in a back-yard at Burlington House, with top lights very unfavourable to artists who may wish to copy any of the marbles. Hamilton met me there; I learnt from him that it was not at present intended to tax the admission, but he intimated that, if not otherwise disposed of, he should advise Lord Elgin to stand the first brunt of the abuse, and derive a profit from the exhibition.

I met General Turner at Burlington House; the Ægina marbles are certainly sent for, and they may be had for 4000*l.*; the English artists waive all emolument. They are already removed to the island of Cerigo (Cythera), where they are

thought to be out of the grasp of the most rapacious among the Turks. If we have not all, I hope we shall get a few of them; for we want a few more large statues. Smirke has shown me some sketches sent him by Cockerel; the heads are certainly of the old heroic style.

Dear Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

J. Planta.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1812.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS ATTACHED TO THE NATIONAL SOCIETY.—RESIGNATION OF LORD WELLESLEY.—CAPTURE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO.—SUCHET TAKES VALENTIA.—DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE UNDERLINGS OF THE MINISTRY IN IRELAND.—DEBATE IN THE COMMONS ON THE STATE OF IRELAND.

FRIDAY, *January 3rd.*—Returned to London.

The expectation is that there will be no Parliamentary conflict until after the restrictions are expired.

6th.—Dined with Mr. Perceval. The Regent's speech was read: it spoke of the King's continued inability to resume the powers of Government; and the necessary provision to be made for his household; the war in the Peninsula; the pending negotiations with America: the East India Company's charter; Irish Revenue, &c.

7th.—Parliament was opened by the Regent's Commissioners. Upon my reporting their speech to the House, Sir Francis Burdett, rising suddenly, got preaudience over Lord Jocelyn, the intended mover of the Address. Sir F. Burdett concluded a long desultory, violent, and miscellaneous speech, defamatory of the policy of this country at home and abroad for the last eighteen years, with a very long address to the same effect; very wicked and very foolish. He was seconded by Lord Cochrane, and upon a division counted one (his friend Mr. Cuthbert) against 243.

Lord Jocelyn's intended Address was turned into an amendment; and, after a few words from Whitbread, Ponsonby, and Perceval, passed without a division.

8th.—By appointment I went to Downing Street, and Perceval gave me the key of a box in which he

would put all the papers and correspondence which had passed upon the subject of the Household arrangements; which were now to be provided for by Parliamentary measures, that I might see in what form they should be brought forward.

We had also a short conversation about the regulations proposed for the Schools of National Education; in which I told him of my concurrence with his opinion for opening them to all Dissenters who chose to come, and to leave them free to attend their own places of Divine worship.

From thence I went to attend the Committee of the National Society. Both the Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Durham, Salisbury, and Carlisle, &c. &c., were present. The first question standing for this day's consideration was, "The expediency of admitting Dissenters to the benefit of the schools."

Upon its being mentioned, I desired that it might be made plain to the Dissenters, whether, by sending their children to the school they did or did not undertake for their going also on Sundays to church. And, moreover, expressed my own opinion that it ought to be expressly declared that they were not to be required to do so; that of course all were to be taught according to the religion established by law, and then, as there should be no compulsory rule as to their mode of worship, I certainly hoped and fully expected that they would ultimately go there.

The Archbishop of Canterbury* explicitly declared that to be his opinion. And the Bishop of Durham† stated that to have been his own practice in his schools at Auckland for the last three years. At this period of the discussion I was obliged to leave the meeting; but I collected that the Archbishop of York was also of the same opinion, and Sir John Nicholl and Turton told me that they entirely agreed with me.

I expressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, apart,

* Dr. Sutton. † Dr. Shute Barrington.

my earnest hope that this important point would be so settled, and published as speedily as possible, on account of the great importance of early impressions in such matters. And, as to the mode of communicating with the other schools, we both agreed that it should be by corresponding with the Bishop of each diocese, and not by periodical reports from each local establishment.

House of Commons. On the report of the Address a short debate took place between Whitbread and Perceval, on foreign affairs. No division. House rose at seven.

11*th*. — News of the arrival of the "Topaze" frigate at Malta, with the statues lately dug up at Ægina.

13*th*.— House of Commons. Report of physicians' examination. It appears that the King has had a violent return of his paroxysms since Friday: such as to any person of less constitutional strength would be considered as dangerous to his life.

14*th*.— House of Commons. Notice of moving for a Committee of the whole House, on Monday the 27th inst., upon the state of Ireland; particularly the condition of the Catholic population. The notice was given by Ponsonby in the name of Lord George Cavendish.

Tyrwhitt told me in the morning that this proceeded from the Duke of Clarence having reported that the Prince had said, "He had yet the Cavendishes with him."

15*th*.— At the National Society for educating the Poor, after a long discussion, it was resolved *not to require as an indispensable condition* to admitting children into these schools, that they should all go to church, but "earnestly to recommend it;" and universally to require that they should be taught the Catechism and the Liturgy.

Only the Bishop of Carlisle and Messrs. Norris and Turner finally persisted in the exclusion of all who did not conform to the requisition of attending Divine service according to the Church of England. The Bishop of London, Exeter, and Chester spoke for the

exclusion; and Lord Shaftesbury but yielded to the more prevalent opinion.

16*th*.—Tyrwhitt called about a private petition. He told me that, by a letter from the Princess Elizabeth to the Prince of Wales, the King was worse to-day than he had ever been; and the medical people could not approach him so as to feel his pulse. Dr. John Willis had tried, and found it impossible. That the present Ministers would certainly split upon the Catholic question, and that Lord Wellesley was for concession, &c.; but that Perceval was for a peremptory and perpetual exclusion of all hope of change in their condition; that the Prince had determined upon not dining with Perceval; that he was conscious that he was watched, and that misinterpretations would be put upon his dining with Perceval at this time, but he would dine with him on some other occasion; that the Prince was frightened about his head, and thought its numbness had a paralytic quality; but Sir Henry Halford thought it was only the consequence of pressure from the rings upon his fingers, which it had been necessary to *saw* off.

That the arrangements for the Queen's household would excite great clamour, and that she was *voracious*, and had tormented the Prince in his worst illness, at Oatlands, with a visit to prevent his giving the Princesses an independent establishment. That Lord Wellesley had had a long audience of the Prince, which must of course be followed by another long audience with Mr. Perceval.

N.B. The Prince did put off his dinner with Mr. Perceval, to which he had invited himself.

In the House of Commons Perceval opened his household arrangements. Ponsonby made some opposition of doubt and reserve. Tierney delivered a violent invective against the Queen's Court, which would grow out of the numerous offices about the King, which were to be under her appointment. Sheridan endeavoured to revive the Prince's right to the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall, but without success. No division.

17*th*.—Despatched letters of thanks to Lord Minto, &c. &c., for the conquest of Mauritius*, Java, &c.

Tyrwhitt told me that the Administration must split *before* the Catholic question came on.

House of Commons. Seamen voted in supply; also miscellaneous services, including the printing for the House of Commons, upon which Tierney remarked on the expensive style of engravings in the reports, particularly on the Irish drainage. Desultory debate on the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the state of the nightly watch, and the police of the metropolis.

18*th*.—Perceval told me the King was worse to-day than at any time since July last.

Tyrwhitt said that the splitting was now complete; and that he believed Lord Wellesley had resigned.†

19*th*.—Tyrwhitt came to ask me whether the Serjeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons could act by deputy.‡ I told him clearly *not*, so as to leave the whole, or even the ordinary duty to the deputy exclusively. That Colman had done so too much; that I had remonstrated, and had told him it could not be justified. Of course with a new officer it must be so stated to him at the outset.

He then said the Prince meant to appoint Lord Hertford Chamberlain; and had explained to him that Tyrwhitt must be Serjeant if he chose it now, or Black Rod when Sir Francis Molyneux died; and it was so arranged. He said for himself that he would not be Serjeant if he was to act; but he should be glad to be Black Rod if it fell vacant, especially as it would take him out of the jealousies attached to his present situation of living at Carlton House and being supposed to give political

* The conquest of the Mauritius has been already mentioned.

† Lord Wellesley did resign about this time, much to the annoyance of his brother, Lord Wellington, who thought his complaints against Perceval unfounded. His expression was, "That he was willing to serve *with*, but would never again serve *under*, Mr. Perceval."—*Stapleton's Canning*, p. 196. He was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Castlereagh.—Vide *infra*, Feb. 13th, 25th.

‡ The office was vacant by the recent death of Mr. Colman.

advice. Nor would he be a paymaster, or hold any official situation which was to give him Parliamentary trouble.

He then said the King was so violently agitated, and in such a tremor to-day, that his life was in great danger; and it was not impossible that any hour might put an end to his life. He would take no sustenance. Willis had attempted to give him milk and water, but had been unable to approach him or persuade him.

(N.B. Lord Rivers (Lord in Waiting) told me privately that the King had taken up the notion that they wanted to poison him.)

Tyrwhitt further said the Queen was evidently disturbed, and the Prince would go down this evening to console her, but felt himself unable to bear the fatigue.

That the political dissensions in the Ministry were now come to an issue; and Lord Wellesley, who had never attended or voted upon the Catholic question, would go down and speak for the concessions on Friday next. That the Prince would certainly not put himself in the hands of the Opposition. That Lord Wellesley (notwithstanding his *private* habits of life) was an eminent public man, and *new* upon this question. That it was to be wished the other Ministers would agree to resist it only on the point of *time*, and not upon principle, as *never* to be granted. Could not the Prince say that in the King's *present state* it was not to be done?

I told him that it appeared to me the Prince might take any line, for or against; and that (without my meddling with the policy either way) the country would think the Prince had a fair and full right to pronounce any opinion whatever, *for* or *against*, or *for time;* but that it could not be for the Prince to *withhold all opinion*, and say that nobody had a right to ascribe opinions to him merely because his Ministers held them. It seemed to me that whatever his Ministers said must be taken for the advice they had given the Prince, and that his employing them as his advisers would by the country be necessarily construed into his adoption of that advice;

but that I was no minister, nor statesman, nor had anything to do with these matters, otherwise than as telling him my impressions upon the consequences of any supposed line of conduct, &c.: and so we parted, after laughing about the Mace and Black Rod.

The Chancellor, Lord Liverpool, and Perceval met to-day, and (as it was supposed) had an audience at Carlton House.

20*th*.—House of Commons. Passed vote of supply of 100,000*l*. to the Regent, for his expenses in the outfit of his regency; with some observations upon the Prince having formerly declined and now desiring an advance upon this occasion.

Tyrwhitt told me that he believed all would be patched up; that the Regent would not increase his father's miseries by granting the Catholic demands, but would deny them so as not to extinguish hope. The King is quieter.

21*st*.—The Archbishop of Canterbury came to talk over the National Society's regulation for requiring attendance of *all* children at church on Sundays; which he (at the instance of several bishops) wished to avoid *saying anything* about; "as he could not consent to exclude them for non-attendance, and yet wished not to hold out that attendance ought not to be required."

In the evening, fearing I might not be able to attend to-morrow, I wrote him the following letter, stating my sentiments at length:—

Palace Yard, Tuesday evening, Jan. 21st.

My dear Lord,—Since I had the honour of conversing with your Grace this morning, I have not had the opportunity of communicating on the subject with any of our colleagues of the National Society; but upon further reflection I much doubt the propriety of rescinding the former resolution about "earnest recommendation," &c., without a formal notice for a future day, that there may be no imputation of acting by surprise, either upon those who may be present to-morrow, or upon those who having been present at the former meeting may be absent to-morrow; and indeed I incline to think we should make some standing order, that no resolution of a prior meeting should ever

be rescinded without express notice of the meeting being called for that purpose; and perhaps without the presence of one of the two archbishops and some specified number of bishops; or else upon some future occasion much mischief may be done, and perhaps irreparably, when it is least apprehended.

Having the honour to agree with your Grace in opinion that we should not deny the benefit of our schools peremptorily to all children who on the Sabbath Day do not attend divine worship according to the rites of the Church of England, I cannot but think also that our intention should *not* rest *unexplained*, and that we owe it to ourselves and the public to make that important point quite *plain*, either by the form of *some general resolution*, or by some *practical regulation* for *our own school*; and such resolution and regulation may be then communicated by our Committee of Correspondence to all persons applying for information on that subject. As an *example* by any such practical regulation for our own school may be more generally followed than if we should appear to be enforcing the same principle by the assertion of an *authority* in which the diocesan or central schools might not be disposed to acquiesce.

I trouble your Grace with this communication the rather as I find that indispensable and official business may very possibly prevent my attendance to-morrow; but I venture to say, for your Grace's *private* information (although I am not authorised to make any public declaration upon the subject), that Mr. Perceval and the Attorney-General are both strongly impressed with the impolicy of making any *exclusion*, or adopting any course *tending* to an exclusion of those who dissent from the Established Church.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c., CHARLES ABBOT.

22*nd*.—At the National Society, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed a rule, which was adopted, for making all rules and regulations the subject of a motion at one meeting and a confirmation at another, before they should be deemed to have force. And I proposed a subsequent resolution (also adopted) by which no such rules or regulations could be rescinded without a meeting being called at seven days' interval, with a notice of such motion expressed in the summons.

Afterwards the archbishop gave notice of a motion to rescind so much of a former regulation as made *any mention* of the necessity of all who came to the schools

going also to church on Sundays. And I gave notice that upon such discussion I should desire the opinion of the meeting upon the expediency of making some plain and explicit declaration upon the subject; and also should propose some regulation to the effect of not excluding from the schools any scholars by reason of their non-attendance at church on Sundays, provided a satisfactory cause for their absence should be assigned.

23*rd*. — Went to the Bishop of London, and explained my ideas of *amending*, and not *rescinding*, the resolution of the National Society, about going to church. He agreed it was better to amend; also that the "recommendation" should be made a general "injunction;" also that there should be a discretionary power in the managers of the school to excuse non-attendance for causes satisfactory to them. But he hesitated about declaring that "dissent" should be deemed a sufficient cause. I afterwards saw Burton, who concurred with me *in omnibus*, and wished me to see the Bishop of Ely (head of the Corresponding Committee, from which the *strict* propositions of exclusion had proceeded). He desired also my proposition in writing: I agreed to both, and sent him a paper, in which I argued "that some plain and clear declaration upon the subject should be made," because "the managers of the diocesan and central schools, formed in union with the National Society, were entitled to receive a clear explanation of our opinion upon this important point." That "we had in this country not only an established church, but also Dissenters; and that as shutting our eyes and ears and never naming them would not make them disappear, our language towards them ought to be direct, open, and plain."

That "we should bear in mind that although our primary object is to educate the poor in the principles of the Church of England as established by law, the Dissenters also are established by law; and that, with the hope and view of bringing them by sound instruction within the pale of our own Church, we should not

set out with a fundamental rule of exclusion or proscription upon the ground of nonconformity in their mode of worship."

Therefore, "those who are adverse to any such exclusion, and yet wish to hold high the general obligation of attending divine worship according to the Church of England, would do better by amending the resolution" which bore upon the point, instead of rescinding it. And I suggested an amendment which should state "that the benefit of education in these schools be not denied to any child by reason of its non-attendance with the master at church, provided the parents or guardians, &c., of such child should undertake for its attendance at some place of public worship."

House of Commons. Long debate on excommunications by process from the Ecclesiastical Court, ended in a request to Sir William Scott, and his consent to bring in a Bill for abolishing that process and substituting a common power of imprisonment for contempt of process, as in the civil courts.

24th.—Went by appointment to the Bishop of Ely, and met Burton there. The Bishop had my paper before him, and went over some of the paragraphs with comments. He maintained that going to *church* was required of *all* the children, as the original resolution already stood; it being implied in the direction for educating them in the doctrine and *discipline* of the Church of England. But he was unwilling even to make that plainer by an express declaration to that effect; and positively objected to allowing any excuse for non-attendance on the ground of dissent from the Church of England. He talked a good deal against the Bible Society, as being of the same tendency with the Lancaster schools; and that both of these schemes proceeded upon the notion that the Bible *alone* was sufficient for spiritual instruction; and, if so, then there was no need of interpretation or interpreters, &c. He admitted, however, that much inconvenience might ensue if the opinion of the Society was left unexplained, although he was unwilling

to record the explanation. At parting he desired to have my paper, or a copy of it, to communicate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which I begged leave to decline, it being my own intention to do that from myself; but I promised (and sent) him a copy for his own *private* use, begging that it might not pass out of his own hands beyond the Corresponding Committee. He said he would not by any means communicate it to *all* of them.

Query. — Why not?

Afterwards I saw the Bishop of Durham, to whom I related my conversation with the Bishops of Ely and London; and I read to him my paper, to which he assented most cordially in all points.

I also sent my paper to Lord Redesdale; he returned it with a general agreement, but a deprecation of pressing the amendment unless it could pass without much debate.

House of Commons. After the Committee of Supply, Sir John Newport asked Mr. Perceval what was the meaning of the *record books* being no longer delivered to Members of Parliament; and there being some pause, I said:—

"That having been appointed by His Majesty to that Commission, I probably (if it was deemed within order for me to do so) could give the information desired. That about two years ago, the volumes printed under the Record Commission greatly exceeding in number any former delivery to Members of the two Houses of Parliament, it was submitted to the Treasury to make a delivery of such a number as should supply every public library and repository in the United Kingdom, and then, for the joint purposes of giving an opportunity for those who were most desirous to possess them, and, at the same time, to liquidate in part the necessary expenses of the Commission, the residue should be put into a course of gradual sale; that, with the sanction of the Treasury, this had been done, and the public distribution was made by a precise list, approved also by the

Treasury, who had appointed the persons by whom the sale of surplus copies should be conducted.

This not satisfying Sir John Newport, he gave a general notice that he should, on some future day, move for an address to the Prince Regent to direct the distribution to Members of Parliament as heretofore.

25*th*.—I wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and sent him a copy of my paper of considerations upon the exclusion of Dissenters from the national schools.

Tyrwhitt told me the Ministry was patched up again for the moment, but it was impossible it could last.

My first Parliamentary dinner to the Ministers. Perceval talked of his own situation as very *precarious*. The Prince had approved of not observing the 30th of January this year. Also Perceval told me of a long conversation he had had with the Archbishop of Canterbury last Friday, in which it appeared that Perceval (without communication with me) had argued the question of excluding Dissenters from the national schools, exactly as I had done.

26*th*.—I received the following letter from Perceval:—

Downing Street, Jan. 25th, 1812.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—I should be quite contented with your amendment to the resolution; but I am not quite sure whether it might not be more acceptable, both to Dissenters and Church of England men, if the special injunction in the first branch of your amendment was to require the attendance of the master of the school at a place of worship according to the Church of England, and the attendance of the scholars *with him* and *under his care*. But that the benefit, &c. &c. should *not be denied* by reason of the scholar's non-attendance *with the master*, provided the parents, &c., should prefer and undertake his attendance *with them* or *some of their family* at some place of worship on the Lord's day, instead of his attendance with the master, or shall, &c. &c.

This mode of wording the resolution, without pointedly applying to Dissenters, would effectually provide for them as well as yours, and perhaps less invidiously. However, we agree fully on the main object, and we do not differ in any material degree on the mode of obtaining it. Our ideas are substantially the

same, and it may perhaps be little more than a matter of conjecture which will be the least exceptionable to those who will have to decide on the question, as well as to those to whom the regulation will apply.

I am, my dear Mr. Speaker, yours most truly,

SP. PERCEVAL.

27*th*.—I went by appointment to the Archbishop of York*, on the subject of the National Society. He agreed with me in all points, and took a copy of my paper, that he might see the Bishop of Ely on the subject. He also declared his determination never more to attend the Society if they adopted the principle of exclusion.

He told me also of Dr. Milner, the Dean of Carlisle's question with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who were determined to *blackball* him, though Dean of Carlisle for seventeen years, Master of a College at Cambridge, and several times Vice-Chancellor, upon some dislike of his supposed opinions, and his intimacy with Wilberforce.

News from Spain. Valentia and General Blake taken.

Ciudad Rodrigo besieged by Lord Wellington, and the French defeated by Colonel Skirrett at Tarifa.

As to Ministers, "all afloat again" is the news at Carlton House.

28*th*. — The Bishop of London brought me the amended resolution as settled by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely, simply stating that the scholars should constantly attend divine service in church, &c., "unless such excuse for their non-attendance be assigned as shall be satisfactory to the persons having the direction of such schools."

Upon reading it, and considering it, I told him I was much disposed to acquiesce in it; although it was not so explicit on the point in question as I could have wished; but I must decline giving a final answer until

* Dr. Harcourt.

I had seen Mr. Perceval, with whom I had hitherto communicated.

I saw Perceval. We agreed that it by no means precluded all doubts for the future upon the disputed point, and although (as now worded) it might be fairly construed to allow a discretionary power of admitting Dissenters' children, yet it might not unreasonably be construed the other way, when taken in context with the rest of the declarations and resolutions of the Society. At last we agreed that (rather than risk either the archbishop or myself withdrawing) it might be better to acquiesce upon an understanding that no member would be deemed to act in contradiction to the true and fair intent of the amended resolution if, in the exercise of a sound discretion, he thought fit to admit Dissenters.

Accordingly, I wrote to the archbishop, stating that I had discussed the matter with Mr. Perceval. That "we certainly did not think that the proposed amendment was formed in the best way to preclude all doubts upon the question which had been raised by the Corresponding Committee of the National Society with respect to the admission of the children of Dissenters into the national schools.

"But, at the same time, being fully sensible of the importance of preserving the utmost unanimity in our public proceedings, that I was prepared to acquiesce in the form of amendment communicated to me by the Bishop of London *upon the understanding* [mentioned in my conversation with Perceval.] And that an explanation to that effect from His Grace in proposing the amendment would entirely deliver me from the necessity of expressing any other sentiments than those of perfect acquiescence."

29*th*.—The Bishop of London wrote to deprecate any *explanation* at the National Society of the resolution to be proposed by the archbishop. I answered that, if the archbishop would himself explain, it would be

best; but otherwise I could not preclude myself from explaining the grounds on which I assented.

At twelve I went to the meeting. There were twenty-seven persons present, of whom ten were archbishops and bishops.

The archbishop and I had some short conversation before he opened the business; and he then (for the first time) proposed to *explain* his amended resolution; so that it should be plainly his intention thereby *not to exclude nor* to *invite* Dissenters, but to *allow* of their having the benefit of the schools whenever (in the exercise of a sober discretion) it might be expedient to admit them.

He opened the business accordingly.

I then said: "Upon the fullest consideration of all that has passed upon this subject at our former meetings, and the amended resolution as now proposed and explained, I shall not think it necessary to trouble the Committee with many words.

"For although I certainly wished for a distinct and explicit declaration upon the important question which has been already agitated out of doors, and will be agitated in all parts of England; nevertheless as this resolution does not lay down any rule of exclusion, and does now practically provide for *admitting* any child of a Dissenter into any of our schools wherever (in the exercise of a sober discretion) it shall be judged expedient to admit them, I shall be perfectly contented, for my own part, to acquiesce in this resolution."

After some pause and no attempt at further discussion, the question was put; and several held up their hands for it: none against it.

N.B. I have no doubt but that the Bishop of Ely (Dampier) will try some device to have this resolution turned in some way to the exclusion of Dissenters, by instructing the managers of all the principal schools not to allow *dissent* as an excuse for non-attendance at church.

I had it from very good authority, that he had said

in the course of these conversations that he had rather be *ill* with Dissenters than not.

31*st.* — House of Commons passed the Regent's Household Bill without debate.

House of Lords. Lord Wellesley declared his opinion for concessions to the Catholics, and that although he would not now grant them to their violence, he would neither procrastinate nor delude.

Contents, for Lord Fitzwilliam's motion, 42; proxies, 37; total 79; non-contents, 86; proxies, 76; total 162.*

The news of the day was that Yorke had resigned, and that Wellesley Pole is to succeed him.

Monday, Feb. 3rd. — Lord Morpeth's motion on Ireland. Canning declared for the concessions with securities; but not *now* in this moment of turbulence. He commended the resolution of petitioning the Crown, and recommended the proposal of some detailed plan hereafter to be prepared by the executive government, and brought forward with the sanction of the Crown. Debate adjourned.

News of Suchet having taken Valentia on the 9th January. Bombardment and capitulation.

Ciudad Rodrigo†, — news of its being taken by assault.

4*th.* — Adjourned debate in the House of Commons on the motion for going into a committee on the state of Ireland. At four in the morning divided. For the motion, 135; against it, 229. Lord Castlereagh declared himself for concession with securities; Grattan for concession unconditionally.

N.B. In these debates a pamphlet was much quoted and commented on as a report from the Select Committee of the Catholic Convention; and chiefly written

* Lord Fitzwilliam's motion especially charged the Crown Solicitor in Ireland with tampering with the panel of the jury selected to try one of the Catholic delegates, and generally opened the whole question of the disabilities affecting the Roman Catholics. Lord Morpeth's motion in the House of Commons was confined to the disabilities.

† On the 19th of January.

by Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Scully, entitled "A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland," with commentaries, in two parts.

To this an answer was shortly afterwards published, without a name, but sent to me by Mr. Corneille, with a letter mentioning it to be his production, entitled "A Refutation of the Statements," &c.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1812.

THE PRINCE OF WALES CONTINUES HIS CONFIDENCE TO PERCEVAL'S MINISTRY. — WISHES LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE TO COALESCE WITH IT. — CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ. — PITT'S PLEDGE WITH REGARD TO THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — CHANGE OF POLICY IN RUSSIA. — MURDER OF MR. PERCEVAL. — HIS CHARACTER. — MR. S. WORTLEY'S MOTION FOR "A STRONG AND EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION." — INQUIRY INTO THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE FORMATION OF A NEW MINISTRY, WITH LORD MOIRA, LORD WELLESLEY, LORD GREY, ETC. — LORD LIVERPOOL BECOMES PRIME MINISTER. — VIEWS OF THE NEW MINISTRY ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION. — BUDGET. — NATIONAL SOCIETY.

Wednesday, Feb. 7th. — Rose told me that the Chancellor had brought a message yesterday from the Regent to Mr. Perceval, appointing an audience to-day; the terms of the message were not even communicated to the Cabinet, but it was supposed to imply a general alteration in the Ministry.

Despatches arrived from Lord William Bentinck in Sicily, stating that he had thought proper to strengthen his army by drawing troops from Malta, but not from any apprehensions of any attack from Italy.

9th.—Rose told me that Perceval was to see the Regent again to-day; but, in the meantime, he had not thought himself at liberty to communicate to the Cabinet anything that had passed.

10th.—It is now understood that the present Administration continue for the present.

11th.—Rode with the Bishop of Durham, who told me, from what I knew to be good authority, that Lord Castlereagh was expected to make part of the new arrangement, but that it was considered at Carlton House as patchwork.

12th. — News of the day. Duke of Kent to be

Master-General of the Ordnance, vice Lord Mulgrave, and Lord Cholmondely to be High Steward, vice Lord Aylesford.

13*th*. — The news is that Perceval and Yorke stay; and some overture is to be made to the Grey and Grenville party, which they are not likely to accept.

(Later the same day.) The Duke of York carried a letter of overture to Lords Grey and Grenville for a coalition.

The letter declared the Prince well satisfied with the conduct of his present Ministers; also more especially in their successful conduct of the war in Spain: but expressed a further desire for a coalition between the present Ministers and Lord Grey, &c.

(Separately and privately.) The Prince has acquainted Mr. Perceval that in any such coalition, it is his intention that Mr. Perceval should retain his present situation with a majority in the Cabinet; and that the Prince will not accede to the Catholic claims during the King's life.

House of Commons. Debate on Whitbread's* motion for American papers. Negatived by 136 to 23. Neither Ponsonby, Tierney, nor any of the Grenvilles attended to support Whitbread. Perceval in debate told Whitbread, who talked of "the new reign," that "He could not hold out any hopes which to him (Whitbread) would be very consolatory."† This was taken as a declaration that Perceval was to continue Minister.

15*th*.—At one o'clock the answer from Lords Grey

* Whitbread's motion was designed to fix blame upon "the parties who had conducted the negotiation pending between us and the United States" on the question of the system of blockade which had been established by our Orders in Council (mentioned before) in retaliation for the Berlin and Milan Decrees; and, with this view, he moved for copies of the correspondence which had taken place between the British and American Ministers.

† According to Mr. Ward's Diary (vol. i. p. 412) this was said by Perceval in reply to Mr. Curwen, and "Whitbread said this was announcing himself as the settled Minister of the country." The Diary of the next day records "great sensation in the streets and clubs, &c., caused by Perceval's declaration last night."

and Grenville was given to the Prince. Very cold. And in substance that they must have all or none.

Between three and four the Prince sent for Perceval.

Wellesley Pole told me that Lord Wellesley had made no communications to him, but he understood that Lord Wellesley had resigned upon a ground which made it impossible for him to remain in office with the present Government.

16*th*.—Called upon Perceval to congratulate him upon the issue of the political negotiation.

He showed me a copy of the Prince's letter of Thursday last, addressed to the Duke of York, and communicated by him to Lords Grey and Grenville. Also he related to me the substance of their answer, as communicated to him by the Prince yesterday, at four o'clock, when the Prince desired him to retain his present situation.

Met Tyrwhitt. He thinks Perceval's situation scarcely tenable with the loss of Lord Wellesley; and that there will be bitter opposition. The Prince will be called upon to take upon himself the state of Sovereign; and the Princess will be brought forward, &c.

Lord Temple considers the Catholic question as the great trial of strength; expects Lord Sidmouth will be applied to by Perceval, &c.

17*th*.—The news of the day is that the arrangements are again suspended by a suggestion which Lord Wellesley has desired to submit to the Prince; and it is supposed to be an offer of going to Spain himself, and putting Canning into the new Administration.

Lord Moira is said to have refused the Garter, and declined supporting the new Government.

18*th*.—The news of the day is that Lord Wellesley's proposition of himself to be First Minister, and to include Canning and Lord Castlereagh, has been laid aside by the Regent.

The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Fitzwilliam have refused the Garter. Lord Chichester is to go as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland. (This not true.)

House of Commons. A message from the Regent that he had created Lord Wellington an Earl, and desired to be enabled to confer an additional pension of 2000*l.* a year, which he had granted him to support that dignity.

21*st.*—Lord Wellington's pension voted with the single dissentient voice and speech of Sir Francis Burdett. A monument was also voted to General Robert Crauford, mortally wounded in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, and buried in the breach there.

25*th.*—Perceval told me that Lord Castlereagh was to take his office after next Thursday's debate on the state of the nation.

27*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on Sir Thomas Turton's motion for a Committee on the state of the nation. Divided at three o'clock. For it, 136; against it, 209.

Perceval and Lord Castlereagh declared that they and the present Ministry were unanimous *against* granting the Catholic claims *now*. Perceval added that *he* did not foresee the time or circumstances under which he should *ever* be *for* granting them. Lord Castlereagh thought the time *might* come when it would be very proper, but for the present he agreed in the denial, reserving himself free for hereafter. Canning was for granting them speedily, with conditions and safeguards, to be proposed and supported by the authority of Government and favour of the Crown.

29*th.*—Frost mentioned Sheridan's apprehension that his not being invited to my dinner was a mistake: I desired he would say "No;" but that, Sheridan having so often either *declined* or *not* come after he had *accepted*, I was led to suppose the sort of dinner was *disagreeable* to him.

Sunday, March 1*st.*—Lord Sidmouth told me of the pending arrangements to take place after Easter. Himself to be Lord President; Bathurst, Secretary of State; Lord Buckinghamshire, President of the India Board; Vansittart, First Lord of the Treasury, and

Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland; and Hiley Addington, some Privy Councillor's situation.

Met Sheridan, who told Lord Sidmouth and me that he entirely disapproved of the language and conduct of his own friends; that party was very well; but there was another thing still better, and that was the country, which they seemed to have forgotten.

We had an explanation about his dinner-card, which I told him I had not sent, because I thought from some circumstances he disliked such *bag and sword* dinners.

3rd.—Debate on Orders in Council.* For a Committee, 144; against it, 216.

4th.—Williams Wynn noticed the inconvenience to the House of Commons for want of a *Lord Steward* to swear in members, and the doubts of Mr. L. Dundas having vacated his seat by his taking the out-door oaths yesterday before a deputation of Lord Aylesford, who had ceased to be Lord Steward for many days.

Whitbread also noticed the want of a Lord Chamberlain, who might fill up the two offices of Serjeant and Deputy-Serjeant.

The Archbishop of York related to me the occurrences at Carlton House, and the loud discourse of the Prince of Wales to large companies about all sorts of persons and things.

5th.—Saw Perceval about the Indemnity Bill for Mr. Cavendish and Mr. Dundas, on account of their oaths being taken under the void deputation of the Lord Steward. The Lord Chancellor is of opinion that the interval of time between the actual avoidance of the office and the deputation (viz. the 19th of Feb., and the subsequent oath-taking, viz. by Mr. Cavendish,

* This was a motion made by Mr. Brougham about the Orders in Council (see above, on Feb. 13th). He desired a Committee, which, among other objects, should inquire "whether these orders had not assisted the policy of the enemy; and also what was the nature, cause, and extent of the distress existing in the country." He also in his speech especially condemned the "licensing system," by which licenses were granted to trade with France and Holland on certain terms.

27th Feb., and Mr. Dundas, 3rd March) was too long to allow of holding that there was necessary and reasonable cause for upholding the deputation to that extent. In the case of the Duke of Lennox's death, 16th Feb., 1623, all sworn *previous* to the *news arriving*, were holden to be well sworn, although many, and possibly *all there*, were sworn subsequently to the *fact* of his death. So that the actual point of time at which the Principal lays down his office does not appear to put an end to the deputation absolutely, and under all circumstances, and to all purposes.

House of Commons. Mr. Walsh was expelled after a long debate, by 101 to 16. The principle of the expulsion: The facts incontrovertibly proved (upon the trial at the Old Bailey) of his having plotted and practised a gross and infamous breach of trust in a money transaction, to his own emolument; and the *precedent* (by which that principle had already been extended to transactions respecting not only public, but also *private property* in the case of individuals) argued and relied upon was that of the Charitable Corporation in 1732, when, for indirect and fraudulent practices, three members were expelled; and the legal conviction of any indictable offence in those practices was held to be so little necessary to *precede* the expulsion, that they were expelled first, and the legal prosecutions were ordered afterwards, as is commonly the practice of Parliament, where it first vindicates its own honour, and then consigns the individual to legal prosecution, which may or may not be able to fix legal guilt and punishment on the delinquent.

The King is now in a state of almost complete fatuity; his body swelling, and his strength declining. It is proposed soon to remove him from Windsor nearer to London.

6*th*.—House of Commons. The Indemnity Bill for Mr. Cavendish and Mr. Dundas was brought in, read three times, passed, and sent to the House of Lords.

9*th*.—In the House of Lords, Lord Wellesley was to

have stated his reasons for resigning his office, but did not; but postponed it till a regular question should be brought forward on the Prince's letter.

10*th.*—House of Commons. Bill brought in to repeal the Acts concerning the oaths to be taken by members before the Lord Steward or his deputies.

13*th.*—House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett's motion about abolishing flogging in the Army; lost by 6 to 79.

19*th.*—In the House of Lords Lord Boringdon's motion. Lord Wellesley did not speak. Division: for the motion, 72; against it, 165.*

23*rd.*—House of Commons. Committee on the Regent's message for immediate increase of annuity to the Princesses.

24*th.*—The Ministerial arrangements are settled thus: Lord Sidmouth is immediately to become Lord-President, and Lord Buckinghamshire President of the Board of Control. And at the end of the session, Bathurst, with a seat in the Cabinet, is to be Treasurer of the Navy; Vansittart, after the Duke of Richmond's return, is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, and in the meantime Board Lord of the English Treasury.

25*th.*—Canning came by appointment, chiefly with a view to a new Parliament, to know my probabilities of vacating Oxford, which I told him were *none*. But I would let him know whenever (if ever) anything of the sort arose, and came to a definite point: that my first communication must be to the Dean of Christ Church,

* Mr. P. Ward (vol. i. p. 469) records that great expectations had been excited about this debate, the motion being in effect one "upon the Prince's conduct," and it having been universally announced that Lord Wellesley, being "willing to make an effort to retrieve his personal importance," intended "to state the causes of the differences with Perceval which led to his resignation;" and Lord Boringdon, in his opening speech, actually expressed his understanding that "Lord Wellesley would explain his reasons that evening." Lord Grimstone moved, as an amendment, a "counter-Address, in which the Prince was congratulated and thanked for his wisdom and firmness in settling things as they were, and this was carried by the large majority of 93." Lord Wellesley continued "seated all the evening, to the surprise and disappointment of all who attended only to hear him."—Comp. *infra*, April 22nd.

and my second should be to him. At Oxford the Christ Church plan was *not* to propose a candidate from Christ Church for the next vacancy, whether mine or Sir W. Scott's, but to let that be contended for between Heber and Richards, or Sir John Nicholl, who had been suggested.

Canning entered into his own views contingently as to Oxford, Liverpool, &c.

Afterwards he talked of Bankes's Bill; the no-stir about the Catholic question at Oxford, or in the country; the possibility of a dissolution after the Catholic question, if carried by a large majority; and the passing a Bill in a new Parliament to preclude the necessity of a further dissolution in case of a demise of the Crown without intermediate recovery.

He talked also of the Princess of Wales, the book, &c., to all of which I said nothing.

Tuesday, April 7th.—[After the Easter recess.] House of Commons. Some conversation about the apprehended scarcity in Ireland. Perceval spoke to me about the names of officers whom Lord Wellington thought should have been included in thanks for Ciudad Rodrigo.

11th.— Mr. Perceval came to inspect and take notes from the minutes of the Secret Committee, which was appointed to examine the payments out of the Privy Purse at the beginning of the present session.

Whilst employed in his extracts we had some conversation about the Roman Catholic petitions. An expectation that the majority against them would be about 100. Also about the rumour at Oxford respecting the next election, and Sir William Scott's possible vacating his seat for a peerage (of which he denied all probability), and he suggested (as from Sir W. Scott) the currency of the report of an opposition to both him and me; to him on the score of the Residence Bill; and to me, because (forsooth) I had appointed a Cambridge Chaplain: all of which I held to be very idle and empty talk. But Mr. Perceval rather intimated that I might as well inquire into it. He considered it better to post-

pone his Budget to as long an interval as could be after the last financial operation, and seemed to apprehend considerable trouble from the East India Company's renewal of their charter.

In the evening answered Mr. Butler's letter about a proposed petition from the Roman Catholics of England.

N.B. An equivocating letter, proposing to present a petition from the Roman Catholics of England, referring to their petition in the last session; whereas, upon looking back, it appeared that they had presented *two* petitions upon the same day: one, *offering securities;* the other omitting all mention of them: and some of the same names affixed to both petitions.

12*th.*—Dined at Kensington Palace with the Princess of Wales.

I had a long conversation in the evening with Miss Hayman, about the Princess Charlotte and her neglected education, of which Miss Hayman complains strongly.

13*th.*— House of Commons. Committee of Supply on barrack and commissariat estimates*, &c. Violent speeches about war, scarcity, Orders in Council, &c.

14*th.*—Debate on Colonel MacMahon's appointment.† Motion for its production negatived; 176 to 100.

17*th.*—House of Commons. Petition‡ against Orders in Council.

22*nd.*— Met Tyrwhitt in the Park, who showed me a written statement on two sheets of paper, which was put into his hands by Sir H. C. Montgomery, yester-

* Whitbread especially objected to the vote for money for erecting barracks, affirming that they were fortresses to control the kingdom; and late in the evening attacked Perceval as "an adventurer from the bar."

† Mr. C. W. Wynne objected to the appointment of Colonel McMahon as "Private Secretary to the Prince Regent," saying that it was "a new office," unconstitutional, because, 1. The salary was to be paid in obedience to a Treasury Minute; 2. Because such a person would know secrets that could not be properly entrusted to him if not a Privy Councillor; while, if he were a Privy Councillor, his office would disable him from fully performing his oath of giving necessary advice, &c.; and moved for a copy of the appointment.

‡ This petition was from Birmingham.

day, purporting to be a representation of the causes of Lord Wellesley's resignation; and evidently drawn up by him, or under his personal direction. It complained of the inadequate state of the war plans in the Peninsula; and the impolitic denial of all concessions to the Roman Catholics. It spoke disparagingly of Mr. Perceval and his talents and attainments, as unfit for the place of First Minister, and, though not declining to act *with* him, refused to act *under* him.

The Prince had been much hurt at the scurrilous language of Lord Donoughmore in last night's debate; but comforted by Lord Moira's handsome language towards him.*

In the evening Lord Castlereagh sent me the printed declaration of the Regent upon the subject of the French official report, 10th March, controverting the maritime rights of Great Britain.

23*rd.*—News arrived of Badajoz being taken by assault on the 6th inst: 50 English officers killed or wounded; 500 men killed; 1900 wounded; of whom 500 were Portuguese.

House of Commons. Debate on Catholic petitions. Adjourned till to-morrow.

24*th.*—House of Commons. Adjourned debate on Roman Catholic question. Division between five and six in the morning. For Mr. Grattan's motion, 215; against it, 300. This is probably the largest number that ever attended upon any division.

27*th.*—House of Commons. Thanks to Lord Wellington for the capture of Badajoz, with comments by General Tarleton and General Matthew.

On the subject of Mr. Pitt's pledge on the Catholic question, Rose gave me to read a letter of the Bishop of Lincoln†, of August 18, 1801, with corrections sug-

* Mr. Ward (vol. i. p. 479) records that Lord Donoughmore, who moved for a Committee to inquire into the Catholic question, was very threatening and intemperate. He spoke of the public having been "insulted with ridiculous mummery" of the "minions of the Court," and said "nothing was forgotten but the interests of the people."

† Bishop Tomline.

gested of a paper, purporting to be heads of a message to be delivered from Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Rose, to the King, at Weymouth, assuring the King, that "at no time and under no circumstances would he bring forward the question respecting the Catholics of Ireland." The Bishop of Lincoln added that Mr. Pitt would resist it upon this ground, "that such a proposition ought to be brought forward only by his Majesty's Ministers, and that he should oppose it now and at all future times whenever it should be brought forward from any other quarter."

28*th.*—Debate upon referring petitions against Orders in Council to a Committee of the whole House. Lord Stanley's motion agreed to by the Administration.*

Friday, *May* 1*st.*—Rode with the Duke of Clarence. News of a change of politics in Russia.

2*nd.*—Saw Captain Manby's experiments for saving shipwrecked persons by firing a rope over the ship from a mortar. It was exhibited upon the Serpentine River in Hyde Park, in the presence of the Duke of York, Lord Melville, &c.

4*th.*—The Bishop of Durham had heard that the Bishop of London, in Essex, last week, told the clergy, who met him upon the institution of a district society for schools under the National Society, that the construction of the excuse for children *not* going to Church on Sundays did not mean a liberty of going to *other* places of Divine worship with their parents, &c., if Dissenters.

House of Commons. Evidence on Orders in Council till nine o'clock. Debate on the Report of Bankes's Sinecure Bill till four. Carried by 134 to 113.

5*th and* 7*th.*—Evidence on Orders in Council.

8*th.*—House of Commons. Passed Parish Registers Bill, after endless trouble with it out of the House; the Bishops having directed and suggested and resuggested various provisions; but not a word of *debate* upon it in any stage.

* Lord Stanley, doubting the policy of, and disapproving of perseverance in, the Orders in Council, moved to refer the petitions to a Committee.

Mr. Brand's motion for Parliamentary Reform, viz. for a Bill to entitle Copyholders to vote, and for a Bill to enlarge the number of voters in certain boroughs (to be named in the Bill).

For the motion Mr. Brand, Lord Tavistock, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Whitbread, &c., spoke.

Against it, Mr. Elliott, Mr. Wood, &c.

Division: for it, 84; against it, 215.

11*th*.— The House of Commons being in Committee hearing evidence on the Orders in Council, at a few minutes after five, I was called down from my room into the House by a message that

Mr. Perceval was shot in the lobby.

As soon as I had taken the chair, the assassin, a bankrupt Liverpool merchant, John Bellingham, was forcibly brought to the bar. I detained him till a Magistrate was brought, who came almost instantly; and then the assassin was conducted to the prison room belonging to the Serjeant-at-Arms, where he was examined before Mr. White, a Westminster Justice; and Mr. Alderman Combe and Mr. Taylor, two Members who were also Justices, and thereupon committed to Newgate for murder.

Mr. Perceval's body (for he fell lifeless after he had staggered a few paces into the lobby) was brought into my house, and remained in the first picture room till the family removed it (for privacy) at one o'clock in the morning to Downing Street.

12*th*.—I wrote to invite Ponsonby, Whitbread, Lord Castlereagh, Ryder, Canning, Master of the Rolls, Wilberforce, &c. &c., to meet here at three o'clock, and consult upon the proper course of recommending Perceval's family to the protection of the Crown. There came also Elliott, Adair, Wellesley Pole, &c. &c.; and Lord Castlereagh stated the Regent's intention to send a message on the subject; in answer to which Ponsonby, Whitbread, Canning, and Bankes fully and at length declared their unqualified assent.

Finding Tierney not present, I wrote to him before

I went into the House to excuse the omission, on the score of believing that through Ponsonby or Whitbread I should have seen him; and that the scenes and thoughts which for the preceding eighteen hours had surrounded me and occupied me must be my apology for this and, I feared, many other omissions.

I found afterwards that he had taken the omission heinously ill; but on Wednesday when he came into the House he appeared to be quite appeased by my letter.

In the House of Commons, by common consent, no other business was done. Lord Castlereagh presented the Message, and moved the Address. In most faces there was an agony of tears; and neither Lord Castlereagh, Ponsonby, Whitbread, nor Canning could give a dry utterance to their sentiments.

The House resolved by common acclamation to present the Address "as a House," and not by Privy Councillors.

All other business was put off for distant or nominal days.

13*th*.—House of Commons. Unanimous votes in Committee upon the Regent's Message, to grant 50,000*l*. among the children, and 2000*l*. a year to Mrs. Perceval for her life. A debate and division by which a further resolution was carried for 2000*l*. a year to Mr. Perceval's eldest son; but great ill-will towards this third proposition, which was moved by Mr. Sumner, and at first resisted by Ministers.

Evidence on Orders in Council till late.

14*th*.—Sumner came about the debate on the Regent's Message.

Received a letter from Canning about his own illness; and a postscript about Tierney's taking offence at not receiving a personal invitation on Tuesday, which I explained myself to have excused by letter to Tierney on Tuesday last.

At two o'clock I went to the House. At half-past two set out for Carlton House, and arrived there exactly

at three. The Prince received us in the great gilt saloon. Lord Castlereagh, as mover, and Mr. Ponsonby, as seconder, went on each side of me.

After I had presented the Address and the Prince had read his answer, he delivered the answer into my hand, and we all retired.

Whilst I was waiting upon the steps to go away, the Prince sent for me to his room, where his brothers were with him, and desired to have an opportunity of saying "how much he felt for all that had happened." I took the opportunity of begging leave to express my regret that custom debarred me from paying my duty to His Royal Highness during the session. The Prince said "he knew very well how that was; and that he was perfectly satisfied with all I did; and that it was all right." He then bowed and I retired.

House of Commons. The report of yesterday's Committee was received; and the resolutions for 50,000*l.* and 2000*l.* a year for Mrs. Perceval agreed to *nemine contradicente.* A debate followed upon the third resolution respecting the provision for the eldest son; and without a division it was agreed to re-commit it for to-morrow.

15*th.*—House of Commons. Motion for an address and *monument* to Mr. Perceval in Westminster Abbey carried by 199 to 26. The vote in Committee for 1000*l.* a year to Mr. Perceval's eldest son, till he should become entitled to his mother's 2000*l.*, passed without debate or division.

16*th.*—Mr. Perceval was privately buried at Charlton.

Went to Kidbrooke.

Perceval, though by no means an eloquent speaker, was the ablest debater in the House; but his treatment and management of the House of Commons was by no means satisfactory to me; and I think he was not desirous of holding high either its credit or its authority. (See his conduct on Sir Francis Burdett's case in 1810; and also his evasion of the Address for Palmer's renumeration in 1811, May 24—25; also on the prose-

cution of Sir Christopher Hawkins for bribery in Cornwall; and upon Curwen's Bill for repressing corruption in elections.)

18*th*.—Bellingham was executed at Newgate.

Returned to London on Wednesday.

20*th*.—Upon the House meeting, a writ was moved for Northampton in the room of Mr. Perceval; and another for Old Sarum in the room of Mr. Vansittart, now Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The present Ministers, without any junction, mean to try if they can stand. Lord Liverpool to be First Lord of the Treasury.*

Mr. Stuart Wortley gave notice of moving an address to-morrow on the inefficient state of the new Government.

Young Perceval's annuity of 1000*l*. a year passed on the report of the resolution by 171 to 16.

21*st*.—In this day's "Morning Chronicle" was a copy of the recent negotiations between Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning, and Lord Wellesley upon the subject of forming a new Administration.

Saw Lord Auckland upon the news of the day. In the street Lord Liverpool stopped me and got into my carriage, and desired me to set him down at Carlton House. In our way he spoke of his own new situation (as First Lord of the Treasury) and its difficulties; that he wished to call upon me some morning, &c. N.B. He never did.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Wortley made his motion to address "For a strong and efficient Administration;" and said he did not know who would second it, for he had not applied to anybody.

* Immediately after it [the assassination of Mr. Perceval] occurred, the remaining Members of the Cabinet deliberated whether they should be able "to go on without they obtained more strength by overtures either to Lord Wellesley or Mr. Canning, or to Lords Grey and Grenville. They decided to invite the former; but the negotiations failed on the ground of the Roman Catholic question."—*Stapleton's George Canning and his Times*, p. 100. A detailed account of the deliberations of the Cabinet at this crisis is given in *Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon*. vol. ii. p. 209.

Lord Milton seconded it.

After a debate, in which Wilberforce, Eyre, Ryder, Canning, Lord Castlereagh, and Sir John Newport spoke, the Address was carried by 174 to 171. The motion that the resolution should be laid before the Regent by *the whole House* was withdrawn. Secondly, that it should be carried by *Privy Councillors* was negatived (more members coming in) by 176 to 174. Third motion. That it should be carried by the mover and seconder (which after some conversation about the extraordinary mode) was carried, without a division.

N.B. Nov. 11th, 1689, an Address was ordered to be presented by Privy Councillors and Sir John Guise. When Addresses are presented by joint Committees of both Houses, members are then also appointed by name; but in all other cases Addresses have been presented by the whole House, or Privy Council, in the case of the Sovereign.

Upon the Regency there were Addresses to the Prince of Wales, and members appointed by name.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Mr. Wortley reported the Prince Regent's answer, "That he would take the resolution into his most serious and immediate consideration."

In the evening the Prince sent for Lord Wellesley.

24*th*.—Lord Wellesley* at seven o'clock this evening made his report to the Regent of his interview with Lords Grey and Grenville, and his communications

* Upon this the Regent authorised Lord Wellesley to construct an Administration. His Lordship's first step was to consult Mr. Canning; the result of their joint deliberations was that Lord Wellesley made an offer to Lords Grey and Grenville to form part of the Government, and Mr. Canning made a similar offer to Lord Liverpool and his colleagues. The latter offer was at once refused. . . . . The offer to Lords Grey and Grenville was declined on the plea that "to conduct a Cabinet on a system of counteraction was inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform and beneficial course of policy." — *Stapleton*, pp. 200, 201. Another arrangement with Lords Grey and Grenville was attempted to be carried out by Lord Moira, which failed on a misunderstanding respecting the removal of the officers of the Prince Regent's household. See *Courts of England under the Regency*, vol. i. 353, &c.; *Moore's Life of Sheridan*, vol. ii. p. 441.

through Canning with Lord Liverpool and the ex-Ministers.

25*th.*—House of Commons. Evidence on Orders in Council from five o'clock till twelve. Sir Charles Burrell made an amendment on Cecil Jenkinson's Bill, respecting the Accountant-General's practice of selling Exchequer Bills, and incurring the expense (also profit) of brokerage, instead of exchanging them for others when paid off by Government.

Webber of Oxford came to tell me that Canning was publicly canvassed for at Oxford by the Dean of Christ Church; and Dr. Pett as a candidate for the University in the event of my being removed by any change from the House of Commons.

In the House of Commons Lord Castlereagh was questioned as to the state of the Government, and announced that there was not yet any settled arrangement.

27*th.*—Ryder told me that after Lord Wellesley had reported upon the impossibility of forming an Administration, the Prince had desired the present Ministers to propose any arrangement by which they could carry on the Government, and that they (though for different reasons) had unanimously concurred in representing to His Royal Highness the impossibility of their offering any such proposal. Since that answer Lord Moira had been closeted with the Prince this morning.

When the present Ministers informed the Regent of their inability to offer any arrangement for carrying on the Government, His Royal Highness sent for Lord Moira on Tuesday evening; and yesterday Lord Moira was again closeted with the Prince, and Lord Wellesley was again sent to, but no Administration was yet formed. The Chancellor and Lord Moira also were in communication with each other.

29*th.*—I attended the Chancellor and delegates of the University of Oxford, with the address upon the murder of Mr. Perceval. We were appointed at two o'clock,

and received at half-past three. The delegates were (as usual) 4 Doctors in Divinity, 2 in Law, 2 in Physic, 2 Regent Masters, and 2 Non-Regent.

We dined afterwards with Lord Grenville. The High Steward (Lord Eldon) excused himself.

30*th.* — In the House of Commons MacMartin, of Galway, gave notice of a motion on Wednesday next, if an Administration should not be formed before that time. Nothing else said, though the principal party leaders attended.

Arbuthnot showed me a note from McMahon this evening, stating that the Regent had seen Lord Moira and Lord Wellesley, but that there was no advancement made in the formation of a Ministry; but on the contrary, that matters were rather retrograde, and that Lord Wellesley was gone into the country.

31*st.*—Lord Liverpool told me of the new statute for supernumerary Knights of the Bath to be created in time of war, and only for special services.

Monday, June 1*st.* — Mr. Canning stated that Lord Wellesley was this day authorised by H. R. H. the Prince Regent to form an Administration.

2*nd.* — News that Lord Grey declines or hesitates because Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning have not offered * him seats enough in the Cabinet to constitute a majority of his friends.

3*rd.* — Mr. Canning announced that Lord Wellesley had this day resigned into the hands of the Regent that

* One proposition made was, that "if the Cabinet was twelve, Lords Grenville and Grey might name four; if thirteen, they might name five."—*Pearce's Lord Wellesley*, vol. iii. p. 261; *Twiss's Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 214. But afterwards "Lord Wellesley, by command of the Regent, made an offer to the Whig Lords, which Mr. Canning afterwards described as 'generous, liberal, and even rash,' so to compose the Cabinet as to give them a majority of one."—*Stapleton*, p. 201. And Stapleton adds, that he was subsequently told by Canning himself that "the real, though unavowed, cause of the breaking off of these negotiations" was that the Regent had himself chosen the First Minister, and had not left him to be selected by the Whig party itself. The whole of the correspondence between Lord Wellesley, Lord Moira, Lord Grey, &c., on the subject of Lord Wellesley's attempts to form an Administration is given in *Pearce's Life of Lord Wellesley*, vol. iii. pp. 241-280.

authority which he had received on Monday last for making a new Administration; and he deprecated any discussion upon Mr. Martin's motion for an Address to the Prince to give effect to the wishes of the House of Commons, &c., as such discussion could only serve to increase animosities of which there was already too great an abundance. Mr. Martin, after a short and desultory conversation, gave way to the apparent wishes of the House.

It was understood that, after Lord Wellesley abandoned the task of making a Ministry, Lord Moira had received the same commission.

4th. — Lord Moira is reported to have failed in his endeavours to form a new Administration.

5th. — Rode with Montague*, who told me of Perceval's strong apprehensions of his impending fate for several days before it took place, and that he had given his will to Mrs. Perceval, with some expressions indicating its probability.

House of Commons. Strong expressions of impatience and dissatisfaction that no Administration was yet formed. General Gascoyne gave notice of moving a further Address on Monday next; and after great hesitation the House determined to adjourn till to-morrow.

7th. — The news is that Lord Moira, by the Prince's command, offered the whole Government to Lord Grey and his friends, which they declined to undertake, unless, as preliminary, the present officers of the Household resigned, and their offices were put at the disposal of the new Administration. The Prince had offered to leave the Household to future discussion and arrangement; but that was not accepted as sufficient.

Lord Moira and Mr. Canning are now employed in forming an arrangement.

8th. — Lord Castlereagh informed the House that Lord Liverpool had this day received his appointment

* Mr. Matthew Montague succeeded his brother as Lord Rokeby.

as First Lord of the Treasury. After some conversation all the public orders of the day were put off, and the House adjourned.

9th.—Met Spencer Stanhope and Lord Sidmouth. The Prince's determination to stand by the present Ministry was not known to Lord Liverpool yesterday when he went to the Council at Carlton House.

House of Commons. A conversation by which several public and private Bills were passed; and, amongst the rest, the Bill making provision for Mr. Perceval's family. After other miscellaneous business, the House adjourned without any discussion respecting the Ministerial arrangements.

10th.—Upon a question put to Lord Castlereagh by Spencer Stanhope, about the principles of the new Administration respecting the Irish Catholics, Lord Castlereagh answered, "That the present Government would not, as a Government, resist discussion or concession, if any such should eventually be thought expedient. That every Member of the Government would be free to act upon his own individual sentiments, and that he individually should promote these concessions according to his own views, if the temper of the Catholics, and other circumstances were favourable."

There was a considerable discussion about the days to be fixed for Canning's motion respecting the Catholics, and also for Brougham's respecting the Orders in Council.

11th.—Debate on Wortley's motion to address the Regent for strengthening the present Government. Amendment moved by Lord Folkestone; also by Lord Milton. Division upon the address as amended by Lord Milton*: for it, 164; against it, 289.

In the course of the debate all the written negotiations of Lord Wellesley and Lord Moira were read by Mr. Ponsonby and Canning. Lord Yarmouth also declared the intention of almost all the present House-

* Lord Milton's amendment expressed a desire for an Administration "in which the country could place confidence."

hold to have resigned in case Lords Grey and Grenville had come into office.

15*th*. — In the House of Commons. Conversation between Sheridan and Lord Yarmouth about Sheridan's notice of motion respecting his advice on the late negotiations for a new Ministry.

16*th*. — On a debate on the Orders in Council, Lord Castlereagh announced the intention of Government to revoke them, at least for the present.

17*th*. — House of Commons. Budget. The principal taxes were double duties on leather; double glass; 1*s*. 10*d*. on tobacco; auction duties regulated; and assessed taxes, viz., 1. male servants; 2. carriages; 3. horses; 4. dogs; 5. game certificates. Total increase of assessed taxes, 515,000*l*. N.B. None upon houses.

Supply.		Ways and Means.	
Navy (fractions omitted)	£19,700,000	Annual Duties	£3,000,000
Army . . do.	14,500,000	Surplus Consolidated Fund	3,600,000
Extraordinary, do.	5,200,000	War Taxes	20,400,000
Do. unfunded, do.	2,300,000	Lottery	500,000
Ordnance	5,270,000	Loan from Exchequer Bills funded	6,789,000
Miscellaneous	2,350,000	Vote of Credit	3,000,000
Vote of Credit	3,200,000	Naval Stores	441,000
Subsidies	2,400,000	Supply Ways & Means, 1811	2,000,000
Total charge for the United Kingdom (including fractions)	58,188,000	and Loan	15,051,000
Separate charge for England	4,187,000		
	62,375,000	Total	£55,390,000
Deduct Irish Proportion	7,045,000		
Total for Great Britain	£55,330,000		

18*th*. — The Bishop of London came in great ill-humour about the Regulations of the Orchard Street School; which he complained of in one particular as not conforming to the principles of the National Society. I told him that the Rule of 6th Feb., 1812, left it to the judgment of those who had the direction of such schools to settle what should be a satisfactory excuse for not going to church. 2ndly. That the Directors of this school had exercised that judgment, according

to local circumstances as well as upon general principle, and had thought it more proper to make their opinion known to those who were desirous of taking the benefit of the school.

The Bishop was much dissatisfied, and said it was never so understood by the General Committee of the National Society. To which I replied that I had always so understood it, and had agreed to the rule upon no other understanding; that I had always so expressed myself to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to himself, and at the General Committee; where I had expressly declared my concurrence in the rule as there proposed, only because it *did practically* provide for the comprehension which I had always thought essential to the true spirit of such an institution, and that I should have liked it still better if it had *explicitly declared* that which it *meant* to allow. The Bishop wished our regulation to be immediately altered. I told him that was *impossible*, and, if possible, that I could not consent to it.

He said the Society must disclaim this regulation, and perhaps withdraw their subscription.

I told him that it might be debated, if thought proper, upon these grounds in the General Committee; and I should be ready to maintain the propriety of what had been done: after which, if the General Committee decided against the school, and disavowed it, they might do so, and I should be equally free to retire from the Society.

At parting, he pressed me to say that the excuse was always to be matter of particular leave, and not of general exemption. I told him that I could not agree to say we *did*, and also *did not* allow the excuse, but that the undertaking of Dissenters to take their children to some place of public worship must be given in all cases to the satisfaction of those to whom the undertaking was to be given. And so we parted, on civil terms, but in no very good humour.

19*th*.—House of Commons. Sheridan proceeded to

complete his narration of his own good conduct, and the palpable misconduct of his opposition friends in the late negotiation.

20*th*.—I received to-day a letter from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, with three resolutions against the Curates' Bill now in the House of Lords; and a note from Sir Wm. Scott, desiring to see me on the subject. I mentioned this to Lord Harrowby, who showed me a letter from Lord Grenville to the same effect, but saying that although this representation would require him to give his full attention to the Bill, he must ultimately act upon his own judgment, which was still unchanged from its original sentiments in favour of such a measure.

22*nd*. — Debate and division on Canning's motion for taking into consideration early in the next Parliament the law relating to the Roman Catholics in Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

Carried by 235 to 106, and ordered that the Resolution should be laid before the Regent.

23*rd*.—Orders in Council repealed; in the House of Commons a conversation upon the new Order of Revocation, declared to be satisfactory to all parties.

24*th*.—Went to the National Society. The draft of the General Report was read by the Bishop of London, and agreed to with corrections; afterwards the regulations of the Orchard Street School were read. The Bishop of Ely (Sparke) objected to the second regulation so far as regarded the allowing the children of Dissenters to come, and to be excused from attendance on Divine Service, provided their parents undertake for their attending with them at some place of public worship on the Lord's day. The Bishop of Exeter also objected.

I stated the grounds upon which I had approved of the regulation.

1st. As being consistent with the plain and clear sense of the Society's own rule (6th Feb.), which left the sufficiency of the excuse to those who had the direction of the school.

2nd. That I had originally consented to that rule upon the express understanding that it did provide practically for that case; an understanding to which I had come in conjunction with Mr. Perceval, whose words they were: and which I had also expressly declared at the table of the Committee when the rule was agreed to upon the 6th of February.

3rd. That this construction was not discordant from the practice of the Corresponding Committee, which had itself adopted the York School, whose original resolutions, as printed and circulated to invite subscriptions, had expressly declared "That the benefits of the school were not refused to Dissenters' children," and that this did of necessity import that they were not required to conform in worship: or else it was only an invitation to Dissenters who did not dissent.

4th. I urged that the exercise of this discretion, according to local circumstances, was founded upon the true spirit and policy of the Church of England, which was comprehension, and *not* exclusion. And that, if the Church of England should unfortunately place itself upon the narrow base of exclusion, it must inevitably fall. Nor were the times in which we now live fit times for holding such opinions, of which the tendency must be fatal to the best interests of the Church, &c. &c.

Lord Kenyon followed me as objecting also; and thought the Society would never recognise such a school as belonging to it. I challenged him to that question, as the true issue between us: "Let it be proposed to disavow the school, and disunite it from the Society." And should that be the decision of the Committee, my resolution was taken, and I should certainly resign the honour and trouble of belonging to the Committee, and withdraw myself from the Society.

Sir John Nicholl maintained my opinion, and said he also should withdraw in that event.

The Archbishop of York also stated that his clergy informed him of the necessity of such an admission,

and that if exclusion were insisted upon against all nonconformists, there could be no schools, because no scholars.

As my time for attending the House of Commons was now come, I left the Committee discoursing upon their future proceedings.

26*th*. — I received the following letter from the Bishop of London: —

Fulham, June 25th, 1812.

Dear Speaker, — I write this in great confidence, and in trust that you will commit it to the fire as soon as you have read it; but the conversation after you left the room was so interesting that I cannot forbear attempting to give you a sketch of it. Lord Kenyon moved that the consideration of the question should be adjourned to Wednesday next; and he declared that, if it were carried against him he should think it his duty to quit the Society. The Archbishop remonstrated with him, and he seemed to bend a little, but not much; he left the room under the impression that it was agreed to resume the question on Wednesday next. But the conversation afterwards became very interesting. All agreed in deprecating anything of separation or schism on either part; all agreed in their apprehension of the mischief resulting from it; and although it was the general opinion that you had gone too far in the general license apparently granted in your rule, they were as much agreed that nothing could be more detrimental than the rejection of the Orchard Street School, from which they hoped for great benefit, considering the hands in which it was placed; and trusted that the discretion meant to be allowed would be executed with sound judgment. They were content, therefore, considering that the school was already reserved, and the direction under which it was placed, to waive the question, and not even to recommend any alteration.

I wish I could describe to you the temper, and yet earnestness, with which this conversation was conducted. I am sure that you would have felt interested by it. There was an equal desire to satisfy either party. A private friend undertook to satisfy Lord Kenyon, and we altered the motion by leaving out Wednesday next, with the unanimous wish manifestly that the question might drop; and we even pledged ourselves not to mention that any dispute had passed.

I would not take any authority to say anything to you; nor

was it wished to make any conditions. I will only venture privately to suggest that, if the matter rests here, as I hope, it would be *gracious* to alter your rule, when there is opportunity, according to the terms in which the Society has expressed it, under which you may use your discretion as you please. With this intimation, which comes only from myself, I leave it in your hands; but you will consider this as very confidential.

Yours sincerely and faithfully, J. London.

I answered this letter, stating all the history of my taking up the school when nobody else would; the having rescued it out of the hands of its then managers, many of whom were separatists, and the having placed it under the visitation and perpetual superintendence of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, &c.; and that I was somewhat *indignant* at the reception given to my conduct.

That comprehension which comprehended nobody, admission of dissenters provided they did not dissent, and the delegation of authority to each local school to judge for itself, provided it neither declared nor notified its judgment to those whom it concerned, were propositions to which I could never give my concurrence.

With friendly expressions I concluded, assuring him that if mischief ensued from this or any other measure of mine, I should (from the same zealous desire of promoting the purposes of the National Society with which I had first entered into it) immediately take the most decisive measures for putting an end to any such consequences.

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh gave notice of a message to-morrow on the disturbed state of the Midland Counties.

27*th*.—Went with Dr. Carey to the central school of the National Society. Found Dr. Bell and others there. Saw the boys' school.

We saw boys of twelve years old and under, teaching those of their own age, by classes of from ten to fifteen at a time; afterwards the weekly prizes were distributed to those who had earned most tickets, and the black book

of offences being opened, a boy's name was found there, he having destroyed another boy's hat. A jury of best boys out of each class was immediately empannelled, a witness was called, who proved that he saw the thing done; the culprit denied it, but the jury, one after another, all said they believed the charge to be true. The culprit could not bring any witness to disprove the fact, nor any one good boy to give him a character. The jury were then required seriatim to say what his punishment should be, — one said "to be expelled," another "to be well beaten;" but Dr. Bell told him that "there were no rods in that school, he did not lay out his money in that way; that the punishments were confinement in school, or in the blackhole, or to be expelled." The vote was then given for the blackhole; others said it should be for one hour, for two hours, a night, two days, a week, &c. The majority being for one night in the blackhole he was sentenced accordingly; but his behaviour then grew so outrageous that he was by common cry expelled and turned out of the school.

House of Commons. Message from the Regent on the disturbed state of the country.*

* The counties stated to be in a state of disturbance were Lancashire, parts of Cheshire bordering on Lancashire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, in which large bodies of men went about attacking the houses of many of the master manufacturers and destroying the machinery. A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the subject, which reported the existence of a large society of conspiring workmen, bound by secret oaths, against which, as also against the perpetrators of the outrages alluded to, it was almost impossible to obtain evidence.

CHAP. XI.

1812.

DEBATE ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—OVERTURES FROM LORD LIVERPOOL TO CANNING.—FRENCH OVERTURES FOR PEACE.—WAR DECLARED BY AMERICA.—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.—BUONAPARTE'S INVASION OF RUSSIA.—LETTER FROM SIR E. PELLEW.—BURKE'S UNION WITH PITT IN 1792.—STATE OF THE WAR IN SPAIN.—CONVERSATION WITH LORD CASTLEREAGH.—DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS AT NIAGARA.—BUONAPARTE'S RETURN FROM RUSSIA.

Wednesday, July 1st.—House of Commons. Voted Clergy 100,000*l.* Catholic question in the House of Lords.*

2nd.—House of Commons. Upon a report from a Committee of Inquiry into Lincoln Gaol, the Committee having stated doubts about the consequences of sending for prisoners confined for debt, and the exposing the Sheriff to actions for the escape, I interposed, and prevailed upon the House to recommit the Report, and not suffer such a doubt to be raised.

6th.—The King dangerously ill with a fresh paroxysm.

7th.—The King better.

News of peace between Russia and the Turks.

Lord Wellington moving upon Salamanca.

* Lord Wellesley brought forward a motion similar to that which Canning had carried a few days before in the Commons, but he lost it by one vote.

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The greater part of Lord Wellesley's speech on this occasion is given by Pearse, vol. iii. p. 287.

The American President sends a message to Congress complaining of France.

9*th*.—News of Lord Wellington having taken possession of Salamanca with but little resistance from the French, who retired behind the Douro, between Toro and Zamora.

20*th*.—House of Commons passed the Bill for preserving the peace in the disturbed counties. Also the Bill for repealing the Conventicle and Five Mile Act; and prescribing the oaths to be taken by Dissenters teaching or preaching.

During the Committee upon the Framework Knitters Bill, I found Canning with Bankes and Wilberforce in my room. Upon their departure he told me of the renewed overtures made to him last week by Lord Liverpool; that he had, by Lord Castlereagh's desire, met him on Friday last at Lord Liverpool's, where they had met amicably with a perfect desire to act together, but a *settled determination* on the part of Lord Castlereagh to retain *the lead* in the House of Commons which had devolved upon him. And a determination equally fixed on the part of Canning not to act *under* him, but with a readiness to act *with* Lord Castlereagh, if the nominal lead were put in a sort of abeyance, so as to leave it in the hands of Vansittart (for instance) and each to rest upon his own equal and independent ground.

Lord Castlereagh was willing to resign the Foreign Office to Canning, and to take the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer for himself. Lord Liverpool had also offered him the option of any other situation, in consequence of which he had, by letter, yesterday signified his preference for the Seals of the Home Department, in respect of Ireland, it being already settled, at Canning's instance, that, in case of a junction, Lord Wellesley should be offered the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

The Regent had for the last six weeks exhausted all his means of persuasion with Lord Castlereagh, but in vain, to persuade him to go up to the House of Peers.

And so matters now rest.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER RECEIVED FROM SIR EDWARD PELLEW.*

"Caledonia," off Toulon, July 1st, 1812.

. . . . . I do not venture to touch on politics, and we have all been paralysed by the atrocious and unexampled destruction of that good man Mr. Perceval. I trust, the confusion which has followed will soon subside, by the union of talents, power, and integrity to rally round our Throne and Constitution. The world at this time appears to be in motion; never were discontents at greater height than at this moment all over the South, and, I trust, soon a terrible explosion will relieve suffering Europe from the most abject and debased slavery that tyranny ever exercised over enlightened people. In this quarter appearances are good, and the auguries favourable for the downfall of *this usurper*. That it may be as speedy as I wish, is the ardent prayer of, my dear Sir,

Your most truly faithful, &c.,

ED. PELLEW.

21*st*.—House of Commons. Debate upon the late overtures for peace with France.†

23*rd*.—Debated Finance Propositions till twelve. Vansittart held out prospect of large burthens next year, and possibly a tax partly on *capital* as combined with income.

24*th*.—Canning came to explain the negotiations with Lord Liverpool. The *superiority* in the House of Commons is disclaimed by Lord Castlereagh, but the management of the general business is required. To

* Commanding the fleet in the Mediterranean.

† In April, M. Maret, Duc de Bassano, the French Foreign Minister, had written to Lord Castlereagh, professing a desire for peace, and proposing a set of articles as the basis for negotiation, one of which was the independence of Spain under "une dynastie actuelle." Lord Castlereagh replied that if that meant the dynasty of Joseph Buonaparte, the Prince Regent was precluded, by every principle of good faith towards his allies, from acknowledging that as a possible condition. This reply prevented any further discussion; and Sheridan, who now moved for copies of the correspondence, took care to express his concurrence with Lord Castlereagh's view of the question, characterising Napoleon's proposition as "insidious and perfidious," having no other object but to enable him to withdraw 100,000 men from his Spanish army to employ them against Russia.

this Canning is disposed to accede, all but retaining as Secretary of State whatever belongs to any of the offices of Secretary of State. Upon this, further explanation is to be had.

Scheme of the arrangement. Canning, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Wellesley, Lord-Lieutenant. Chief Secretary, not determined and very doubtful. Wm. Fitzgerald, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland. Huskisson, Treasurer of the Navy. Lord Granville Leveson to go to the House of Peers with a Cabinet office, and Wellesley Pole, Secretary at War or President of the Board of Control with a seat in the Cabinet.

Canning is now going to the Regent upon some misunderstanding respecting Pole's seat in the Cabinet with an office.

25th.—Canning came with a draft of a letter to Lord Liverpool, acknowledging his former letter and two supplementary letters, and proposing, for a final division of the business of the House of Commons, that he (Canning) should do all that proceeded through the office of either of the Secretaries of State; and that Lord Castlereagh, besides the Finance as Chancellor of the Exchequer, should do all the other Parliamentary business, Army, Navy, Ordnance, Judicature, Trade, East India business, Civil List, &c. &c., and whatever else of anomalous growth might arise in Parliament. After discussing this with me, he copied it and carried it away with him to leave at Lord Liverpool's.

In the course of the morning (for this took from twelve till four), he talked over all the arrangements dependent on his own acceptance of office, and the understanding which had taken place about the Catholic question. On which every member of the Cabinet was to adopt whatever line he thought proper, subject only to an express agreement that the Government should have it freely discussed in Parliament, and intermediate intercourse to be opened with the Catholics for *information*, not for concession.

Vansittart to be President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint, with a seat in the Cabinet.

28*th*.— Vansittart, Combe, and Planta, came by appointment to settle the arrangements for Combe's mission to purchase the Ægina marbles. 1st. To have his passage out and home in a King's ship. 2nd. To carry out instructions to General Oakes, the Governor of Malta, authorising a purchase, at any sum not exceeding 8000*l*. 3rd. A discretionary power to Combe to proceed to Sicily, and even to Ægina and Athens, as circumstances might suit; with a view to the services and credit of the Museum. 4th. His expenses to be defrayed, and an imprest to be supplied to him of 300*l*. or 400*l*. for his outfit; and credentials to General Oakes for a further supply if necessary. 5th. His Museum salary to be continued during his absence; but no stipulation whatever for any extra remuneration. Should his mission be executed satisfactorily, that would remain hereafter for the consideration of the trustees, and of his Majesty's Government. Vansittart undertook for sending official answers to the original communications upon the subject from the trustees; whereupon Mr. Planta should send a letter to the Treasury, specifically detailing the points above stated (a draft of which letter was now produced and read to Vansittart), and an official answer to this second communication should be made, authorising and sanctioning the measure in all these particulars.

Vansittart remaining behind, told me that all the arrangements between Lord Castlereagh and Canning were now settled, and would be acted upon immediately. And that his own appointment to the Presidency of the Board of Trade, and Mastership of the Mint (3000*l*. a year) were with the entire approbation of Lord Sidmouth, and his other political friends.

As Vansittart went out Lord Castlereagh came in, ostensibly to speak about the business of the day in the House of Commons, but really to communicate to me the state of things. *All* had been understood *yesterday*

as *settled*. But after Lord Castlereagh's letter of remarks upon Canning's letter of suggestion (respecting the State Office) had been shown by Lord Liverpool yesterday to Canning, and apparently agreed to, it had been, through some channel, represented to Canning that Lord Castlereagh's letter implied more than he understood; and that, having obtained another perusal of it in the evening, it had appeared to him to contain expressions so opposite to Canning's real intentions of partition, that Canning had, *late last night*, written to Lord Liverpool, putting an end to the whole negotiation.

Lord Castlereagh regretted all this; but could not consent to give up the *official* superiority which belonged to the management of the business in the House of Commons, nor surrender the *exclusive conduct of all* business belonging to all the departments of the Secretary of State's office. He had found himself in possession of that management. If Canning thought fit to join the Government, Lord Castlereagh was ready to relinquish the Foreign Department to Canning, but not the lead of the House of Commons. He reasoned also much upon the inconvenience and consequent weakness of a Government divided into two squadrons, each looking up to separate leaders; and exposing both leaders to the obvious collision which their parliamentary opponents would constantly endeavour to produce.

The sum of the whole was, that Canning would not act *under* Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Castlereagh would not give up the lead to Canning; nor so far enable Canning to *act with him*, as to *divide* the political power and ascendency in Parliament by a division of duties approximating to anything like an equality.

Under these circumstances, much to be regretted every way, I advised him by all means not to delay the prorogation unnecessarily for a single day, if all accommodation was at an end. And so we parted.

In the House of Commons Sir Francis Burdett made a long, dull, confused speech for an hour and a half, upon all possible public topics; of judicial severity, dis-

tressed finances, parliamentary reform, peace and war, regency, &c., and concluded with moving an address, which nobody seconded.

29*th*.—House of Commons. Motions upon the West India disputes between Governor Elliott and the Assemblies of Antigua, Nevis, and Tortola.*

News of the American declaration of war.

30*th*.—Canning came to communicate the conclusion of his negotiation. I told him that Lord Castlereagh had, on Tuesday last, done the same thing. He produced copies of his minute with Lord Liverpool, made on Monday last, when all seemed to be settled; and his subsequent letter written to Lord Liverpool, after seeing the letter from Lord Castlereagh, insisting upon the "unity of authority" in his own hands; and objecting to any stipulation which should "impair his superiority," or establish an equality in the House of Commons.

He mentioned also his conversation with the Duke of Cumberland, and his representations through the Duke of Cumberland to the Prince, of the nullity of power in the Regent, or his First Minister, to produce any arrangements which the existing Cabinet did not choose to adopt; and that, worse as his condition might be in the hands of the Whigs, he was equally under control with his present Government.

A dissolution he thought would not alter the strength of his own Parliamentary friends, in more instances perhaps than one, Lord Binning.

Parliament was prorogued. Left London.

Saturday, *August* 15*th*.—Official account received of Lord Wellington's defeating Marmont in the battle near Salamanca.†

Sunday, *September* 6*th*.—News received of Lord Wellington's having entered Madrid.

* General Elliott had expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of some of the juries in these islands, who had acquitted men charged with acts of enormous cruelty towards their slaves, of which they were undeniably guilty.

† Fought July 22nd.

11th.—News * received of the siege of Cadiz being raised August 29th.

29th.—Parliament was dissolved.

Saturday, October 10th.—News of Buonaparte's having entered Moscow.

News also of General Hull's surrender to General Brock, in Canada; also of General Wadsworth's surrender to General Shafto; and death of General Brock.

Capture of the "Guerrier" by Captain Hull, in an American frigate. The "Guerrier" sank before she could be carried into port.

Capture of the "Macedonian" by an American frigate.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER RECEIVED DURING THE RECESS FROM MR. VANSITTART.

I have no particular news to communicate to you to-day. Election reports, true or false, I suppose, reach you in abundance.

General Hill appears to have been, on the 5th inst., at Cordova, and Soult at or near Grenada. Ballasteros had twice obtained some slight advantages over Soult's rear-guard. The last letters from Russia are as full of spirit as any which preceded them; but they are of an earlier date than some French accounts. The Russians are very positive that the French lost 20,000 men at Smolensko.

I am ever very faithfully yours, M. VANSITTART.

19th.—Came from Kidbrooke. Lord Liverpool appointed to see me on Wednesday, at eleven.

20th.—Called by appointment on Lord Sidmouth. Vansittart came in; talked over my re-election † as Speaker, and the mover and seconder. Canning was suggested by Vansittart; and Lord Sidmouth said he

* Wellington had entered Madrid August 12th, and was preparing to march against Soult to expel him from Andalusia, when that Marshal, in obedience to positive orders received from King Joseph, raised the blockade of Cadiz, destroyed all the works which the French engineers had constructed there, and an enormous quantity of stores, and on the 26th of August marched towards Grenada, where he was joined by Drouet.

† There had been a dissolution in Parliament during the recess, and Mr. Abbot had been re-elected Member for Oxford University.

was unquestionably the fittest person, but that he was sure it would give Lord Liverpool uneasiness, by giving so much importance to Canning, who was already of sufficient importance in the present position of the House of Commons. I then suggested Ryder, if he was well enough to be present; and both agreed that he was the properest mover; and a compliment due to him to place him in that situation. Vansittart undertook to propose it to Ryder. He could also look out for a seconder, such as Sir Charles Mordaunt, but would let me know before any step was taken. Vansittart himself would take the part of congratulating and moving the adjournment. Lord Liverpool had not written to me upon the subject, only because he thought it might appear to me to be an impropriety on his part, as Minister, to assume that it depended upon him, and wished that to be explained to me.

Lord Sidmouth then related to me his interview with Canning (since all the negotiations had broken off), upon an accidental meeting about Count d'Entraigue's papers; and that, having consented * to belong to a Government with him (though that arrangement had failed), there was no reason why there should any longer be any impediment to their meeting upon the friendly footing of gentlemen, apart from all considerations of political opinions.

The session is to be for money. No agreed measures yet as to the Catholic question, nor any settled course of proceeding. Lord Sidmouth, Lord Liverpool, and Lord Eldon would resist inquiry, meaning to resist concession; but Lord Harrowby, Lord Melville, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Mulgrave would concede all. Vansittart would go *pedetentim*. Lord Sidmouth, however, agreed with me, that whatever it was fit to alter in the present state of the Roman Catholics should be done at

* Lord Sidmouth, ever since his retirement from office in 1804, had felt such displeasure at Canning's conduct during his Administration that he had constantly refused to belong to any Ministry in which Canning also was to be in office.

once, as a measure of Government. And some things ought to be done, such as putting the Irish Roman Catholic soldiers upon the same footing in England as they were by law in Ireland, where they had enlisted. He inclined also towards putting the English Roman Catholics upon the same footing of privilege with Irish Roman Catholics, and assimilating their condition (as an Union principle), even though it were not expedient to improve it, considering it as a profession dangerous to the State for its political character. The main difficulty here was the consequence which might be drawn from it for equalising the condition of the Protestant Dissenters, and therefore repealing the Corporation and Test Acts in England; there being no such laws now in force in Ireland.

These matters we discussed without entering upon the larger question of concession, and debating these also as opinions, which we might, upon further consideration, see cause to vary. The Duke of Richmond stays another year in Ireland; and Peel is going on exceedingly well.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR E. PELLEW.

"Caledonia," off Toulon, Oct. 9th, 1812.

. . . . I am *extremely thankful*, and as much rejoiced at the news you are so good as to confirm of the discomfiture of Davoust. I trust affairs are turning against the oppressor of devoted Europe; every event appears to assure us of the rapid decline of his usurpation; the countries which surround me execrate his name, and wait only a favourable moment to raise their arms against his Government; they are kept down by the rigour of police; and those only who derive their support from public appointments. I am quite satisfied the military conscripts in these provinces will become the instruments of his downfall. At this moment affairs on the coast are critical, by the junction of Soult and Suchet * to Joseph, but I do not apprehend any necessity will arise to remove our little army from Alicante. And, if it should become necessary, I question if we should not

* Suchet, however, did not join Joseph so as to take part in any united plan of active operations.

create a still further diversion by landing in the town of Valencia (to Lord Wellington), who I hope to see among us. My own opinion and hopes are sanguine that Valencia will be freed this winter by Lord Wellington, as I have little doubt of our keeping on the coast through the winter. Admiral Hallowell, who is at Alicante, assures me they are proof against any attempt of Soult; and I am hourly looking for news from him. I am strictly watching to prevent the fleet from slipping that way. England will save the world from slavery.

I remain, with high respect, &c., Ed. Pellew.

21*st*.—Saw Lord Liverpool by appointment. Mentioned my interview of yesterday with Lord Sidmouth and Vansittart about nomination, seconding, &c.; in all of which he acquiesced with a considerable expression of pain and dissatisfaction when I mentioned Canning as having occurred to Vansittart and Lord Sidmouth as the person most prominent for the purpose.

He then told me the Prince had yesterday agréed to go in person and open the causes for holding the Parliament by a speech, &c.; and Monday 30th appeared to us to be the proper day for that purpose.

The session is principally for money, and passing the necessary Bills. We reckoned this would carry us to the 19th December; and, allowing for accidents, the whole might be closed upon the 21st or 22nd, so as to adjourn from Christmas Eve for five or six weeks into February.

A grant of 100,000*l*. will be proposed for Lord Wellington, to be laid out in land.

The Catholic question is not likely to come on till after Christmas. The *East India Company's question* most likely to be the troublesome question from its details, though not of the character of a political contest between political parties.

I asked what course of policy the Government was likely to pursue upon the Catholic question. He thought the Regent was not called upon to speak of it, as the House of Lords had declined to pledge itself, although the Commons of the last Parliament had voted that pledge. Whenever it came on he should resist inquiry,

meaning to concede, and therefore not to inquire. I suggested that the practical consideration would be what the Government should do if the inquiry was forced; and whether it would not be safer than for the Government to take the measure of concession into its own hands, and so divide the strength of its opponents, than expose itself to the risk of having the whole carried against them, and perhaps even to an extent that those even who might support did not really desire.

Lord Liverpool admitted that this was the practical consideration; but that it was better to put Grattan, &c., upon proposing their measure in the shape of a Bill; and then it would be seen more distinctly what was their project; and what the securities, if any; and how the present complicated laws of Ireland upon this subject were to be affected; and whether the test was to be done away in England, as it was already in Ireland.

I did not press the subject further. Lord Sidmouth was announced, and I took my leave.

About half-past two, returning to Palace Yard, I saw the tide rushing in. It soon rose to the door of Westminster Hall; flowed into it; and three or four boats full of men went into the Hall. The tide still continued to rise for three quarters of an hour. It filled my courtyard; and the horses were up to their bellies in water in the stable.

It ran into my house, being twenty inches perpendicular above the sill of the door; but by boards placed across, and great exertions, though it ran over the north cloister, and partly into the kitchen, it did not run into the west cloister, and only halfway up the east cloister, being stopped opposite to the folding doors of the ante-room upon the ground floor.

It did not get into the ground floor rooms at all, nor run over the curb of the garden wall; though a large puddle of water oozed up through the garden drains upon the grass plot.

On the laundry side the water issued up through

holes and between the chinks of the pavement in considerable quantities.

At half-past four I was fetched home by my own carriage through the water which still filled the courtyard. The sinking of the water through the drains was so slow that recourse was had to a fire engine to pump off the water in Palace Yard into the river.

In the evening the front door, laundry door, and glass doors next to the garden were bricked up in cement to prevent injury from another apprehended high tide at five in the morning.

22*nd*.—The tide did not rise high enough this morning to flow into the courtyard.

Set out for Oxford. I did not return to London till Nov. 21st.

LETTER FROM MR. R. LAWRENCE TO MR. ABBOT.

Oxford, Oct. 27th, 1812.

Dear Sir,—Indulging myself this morning with the melancholy pleasure of an hour's lounge over my late brother's* papers, I met with a letter of Mr. Burke, which, as it details some circumstances not generally known, relative to a Parliamentary transaction of some importance, I thought you might possibly be pleased to see. I have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing it to you, and of sending with it part of another letter from Burke to Lord Loughborough (in my brother's handwriting), as a singular specimen of the exuberance with which his ever anxious mind would overflow upon the most trivial occasions.

I have an interesting paper by me of some length, in which Mr. Burke details at large his efforts to produce a junction of some among his friends with Mr. Pitt's Administration. It is dated Nov. 29th, 1792. I believe I formerly sent you a quotation from this paper. Will you permit me to give another? At the conclusion he says, "Party ought to be made for politics, not politics for party purposes. I stand very nearly acquitted by my own conscience, as having left little undone within my power to save the country to which I belong, the order of things to which I was born, and the friends I love. I am very old,

* Mr. Lawrence's brother, Dr. Lawrence, had been Burke's executor; he also succeeded him as editor of the *Annual Register*.

but as yet healthy, and neither wholly unfit according to my measure, nor indisposed to action. And I have a son to second me: I trust in God I have."

In this paper also there is what some would call a direct prophecy of the conquest of Holland by the French.

He remarks, "Gentlemen say that when Holland is attacked this nation may be roused; but if we wait till then, its rousing will be in vain; it may as well continue its slumbers. To attack Holland in the actual state of affairs, and to take it, is one and the same thing. It cannot cost three weeks, especially *if the frosts should set in sharply.*" *

My veneration for Burke and everything remaining of him, a veneration in which I know that you participate, must plead my apology for again trespassing on your valuable time.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your much obliged and ever faithful servant,

RICHARD LAWRENCE.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD SHEFFIELD TO MR. ABBOT.

Sheffield Place, Nov. 6th, 1812.

. . . . . I hear dismal accounts from the North of England, from Scotland, and also from Ireland, of damage done to the corn, much of which is still out in the fields. And I am annoyed by dismal accounts of the state of the iron manufacture in Staffordshire, Birmingham, &c. Perhaps you noticed in a certain exposition I inflicted on you that the iron trade had more than doubled within the last five years, and that the manufacture surpassed the demand. The great iron masters have a very large stock on hand, and, not finding the same pecuniary accommodation as heretofore, are dismissing, and will dismiss a great number of hands.

I am in very good humour with the state of things in Russia, and in America. The people of the American States, having

* It was this identical circumstance which in 1794 (two years after Burke's letter) did so greatly assist the French in their reduction of the country. In their attack on the British at Metesen and Geldermansen, Jan. 4th and 5th, 1795, "they were aided by the excessive severity of the weather, which had frozen the Lengen, in front of the British line, and had made it passable everywhere, even for artillery."—*Life of Wellington*, vol. i. p. 8. The letters of Burke, mentioned in the beginning of Mr. Lawrence's letter, appear to have been returned by Mr. Abbot, without any copies of them being kept.

been so good as to relieve our Ministers from their difficulties by accommodating us with a declaration of war, we have now a complete opportunity of getting rid of that most impolitic treaty of 1794, when Lord Grenville was so perfectly duped by Jay. Perhaps you may recollect there is nothing of which I am more thoroughly convinced than of the impolicy of having any commercial treaty with the American States. When peace is to be made they should merely be put on the footing of the most favoured nation.

I shall have some letters for you on your return, from the Generals in Spain and Sicily. I dislike crusading with our Constitution almost as much as crusading with our Bibles in Spanish America. It is true that the Normans established in Sicily nearly the same constitution as in England; Barons, and a Parliament. But I doubt whether our constitution would suit any people but ourselves.

Ever truly yours, SHEFFIELD.

EXTRACTS FROM ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE SAME.

Sheffield Place, Nov. 19th, 1812.

. . . . . General W. Clinton, just as he was going to ascend Ætna, in company with a famous naturalist, received a summons to proceed to Palermo, and from thence to Alicante, to take the command of Maitland's army. The latest letter we have from him is dated Mahon, Oct. 15th, when he was preparing to cross over to Alicante, from whence he had advices of the 12th inst.; stating that the French, who had in that part of the world about 50,000 infantry, and 7000 cavalry, were retiring for want of provisions. But it is now very clear that they were marching to make a combined attack on Lord Wellington. The Alicante army is about 13,000 men; including 6000 British, and about 6000 Spaniards, under Roche and D'Erolles.

He mentions that Ballasteros was at Grenada with 10,000 men, and offered to join the Alicante army; adding that he could bring with him 5000 or 6000 more if he had arms. Clinton is just going to send him some Vin d'Almeria; but advises him, instead of forming a junction, to act on the flanks of the Alicante army should it move; but, if it remained in Alicante, to look to Soult's advanced corps; by the distressing which for provisions he would do much more service than by a junction.

We know nothing more from Clinton. But we hear that he soon reached Alicante, and forthwith marched to Allaé to prevent the return of Soult's army to Valencia. It appears,

however, from late accounts, that the French have destroyed the works; and are retiring; that is, the whole of the French troops are collecting, as it appears from Lord Wellington's letter, for the purpose of attacking him.

The situation of the two armies is tremendous. A general engagement seems almost inevitable. It may be possible that when the French Generals hear of the disasters in Russia, they may not think it prudent to risk a general action.

Yours sincerely, SHEFFIELD.

Sunday, Nov. 22nd. — Lord Castlereagh came by appointment. After talking over continental politics: Lord Wellington's present position on the Agueda, the dismissal of Ballasteros* for not employing his army of 16,000 men on the French flank, by which the evacuation of Madrid might have been prevented, &c.; the arrival of the two Russian squadrons, which were sent to us without any stipulation or condition whatever, but for the mere purpose of aiding us, and removing the risk of capture by the French; the conduct of Sweden, useful so far as it released 18,000 men from Wieland, and enabled them to reinforce Riga, &c., we proceeded to the consideration of the sessional business. The vote of thanks and grant to Lord Wellington, &c. The calculation of strength, computed at an increase of sixty on the side of the Administration, putting Lord Wellesley's and Canning's friends on the side of Opposition; and an increase of twenty-four above the Ministerial side as returned upon the Duke of Portland's Parliament in 1807.

23rd. — Canning called; talked over his Liverpool election. His ground of separation from the Administration; who (as he said) had put their Government upon the point of making Lord Castlereagh their leading Minister in the House of Commons. The

* Ballasteros was in fact deprived of his command by the Cortes, because, when that body conferred on Wellington the chief command of all their armies, Ballasteros refused to obey even the orders issued by the Cortes at Wellington's suggestion, and published a proclamation in which he protested against any Spaniard being placed under the command of a foreigner. — *Life of Wellington*, vol. i. p. 400.

Catholic question he considered as in Grattan's hands: the war in Spain as not adequately prosecuted during Buonaparte's employment in Russia.

24*th.*—The Houses met. At twenty minutes before three, the Lords sent for the Commons, and upon their return at three, the House proceeded to the election of a Speaker.

Sir John Nicholl moved my election, and Cartwright seconded it. Lord Castlereagh moved the adjournment, which it was intended should have been moved by Vansittart, but accidentally Lord Castlereagh rose first and persisted.

27*th.* — Gazette extraordinary. Defeat of the Americans at Niagara, under General Wadsworth, who surrendered with 900 men to General Brock's army. General Brock was killed.

28*th.*—Dined at Lord Castlereagh's to hear the speech. The speech too long, and not well put together.

30*th.*—At half-past one the Princess Charlotte of Wales, with the Princesses Elizabeth and Mary, attended by the Duke of Clarence, Lady de Clifford, &c. &c., arrived at my house.

The Duke of Clarence fetched Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt from the House of Lords, and the party (preceded by six of the royal footmen, &c. &c.) went through the lobby and long gallery to the House of Lords. The Princess Charlotte was seated on the Chancellor's woolsack, at the end on the right of the Throne; and with her face to the Archbishops' Bench. The other two Princesses at the opposite end of the same woolsack, with their faces towards the Lord President and the Lord Privy Seal.

The Regent came to the House of Lords at a quarter before two; and at two precisely entered the House, and seated himself in the chair of state. Lord Liverpool bore the sword of state; Lord Winchester the cap of maintenance, &c., Lord——bore the royal crown upon a crimson cushion, on the Prince's right, and

Lord Yarmouth (as Lord Warden of the Stannaries) bore the Prince's coronet, and stood on the right of the Throne. Lord Gwydir, as Great Chamberlain, stood on the Prince's right, between Lord Liverpool and Lord Yarmouth.

The Prince wore the robes of Prince of Wales, and his hat on his head. He read his long speech well; rather fluttered at first, but recovering himself, gradually delivered himself with great dignity and expressiveness.

When Black Rod came to the House of Commons to command their attendance, the bar was obstructed by members; and he (very properly) would not enter till it was quite clear.

The Princess Charlotte and suite returned to my house, where Mrs. Abbot received and entertained them with a *déjeûner dinatoire* of twelve covers in the tapestry room; they remained about an hour, having previously walked through my library and the lower apartments.

In the House of Commons. The debate upon the speech was opened by Lord Clive and Mr. Hart Davis, who moved and seconded the address; the latter in a very distinguished manner, for good sense and good taste. Whitbread moved *a peace* amendment. Canning concurred in the address. Lord Castlereagh, Ponsonby, Bathurst, William Elliott, Vernon, and Sir Gilbert Heathcote spoke; but, except Sir Gilbert Heathcote, nobody supported the proposition for overtures for peace, and there was no division.

Friday, Dec. 4th. — Russian and French bulletins of the beaten and distressed state of the French armies; and the attempt of Buonaparte to escape from Smolensko with a detached corps, in which he had failed.

House of Commons. Message for grant to Lord Wellington.

5th. — Sent off vote of thanks to Lord Wellington.

America. News that Sir John Warren's flag of truce was returned from New York to Halifax without success.

7th. — House of Commons. Grant of 100,000*l.* voted to Lord Wellington.

LETTER FROM MR. PLANTA TO MR. ABBOT.

British Museum, Dec. 12th, 1812.

Dear Sir, — Combe arrived last night somewhat emaciated. The tale of his miseries is a long one; and you will, I dare say, gladly dispense with it. As to the statues, he found them all packed and nailed up in cases, in a merchant's warehouse, and none of the proprietors on the spot, and no one particularly commissioned to transact the sale. Cockerel, however, was at Girgente, and was written to. He answered that he could not come over to Malta, but desired that Mr. Combe might be allowed to open the cases one by one, nailing up each before he opened another. This he did, and formed his opinion of the contents. Nobody knew anything of a day of sale. Cockerel only desired his correspondent to let him know what they sold for.

Combe's opinion is, that though the statues are not so entire as he expected to find them, and differ in their degrees of excellency, yet there are several so very superior that he cannot hesitate in recommending their purchase, even at the maximum allowed by the Government, which he found to be 8000*l.* This opinion he gave in writing to General Oakes, and, conceiving that this was the whole of his commission, he, with the General's approbation, took the first opportunity to embark for England.

The French have actually offered 160,000 livres for the collection, 10,000 to be paid down, and the remainder when it is safely landed at Marseilles or Havre. This offer has already been rejected; and as it appears that there are no other bidders, General Oakes will probably get it much below the maximum. Combe thinks we are pretty sure of it.

Yours ever, with great respect, J. PLANTA.

16th. — Gazette extraordinary of the defeat of Buonaparte in Russia.

17th. — Message for relief to the Russians suffering by French invasion objected to by Whitbread and Sir Francis Burdett; supported by Ponsonby and Lord Temple.

18th. — Went with Webber to examine the papers and correspondence of Sir Andrew Mitchell (Minister

from Great Britain at the Court of Berlin during the Seven Years War), now in the British Museum: much authentic and very curious information of politics foreign and domestic. Anecdotes of and conversations with Frederick King of Prussia, with large collections of public and private letters between Sir Andrew and Lord Holderness, &c.

The plans of battles, &c. in MS. very neat, but not very numerous. Many written also upon engraved maps.

House of Commons. Vote of 200,000*l.* in supply to relieve the distresses of the Russian peasantry, &c., from their losses by Buonaparte's invasion.

23*rd.* — This day the news arrived of Buonaparte's having returned to Paris upon the 20th inst., and the 29th French bulletin came over, confessing immense losses, but that the army, destitute of everything, had at last come in contact with its supplies from Wilna. It did not mention where Buonaparte was. At eleven o'clock, Lord Liverpool, Vansittart, and Wellesley Pole came by Lord Liverpool's desire to hold the first meeting of trustees for Lord Wellington's grant, under the Act which passed yesterday. We directed Mr. Lichfield (Secretary of the Treasury) to prepare the requisite memorial and power of attorney, and to fill up the warrant for the first payment of interest upon the 100,000*l.*, to be computed from the 22nd of July last, the day of the victory near Salamanca, to the 5th of January, 1813. And Lord Liverpool having communicated to us the steps taken to purchase the manor and borough of Wellington, in Somersetshire, and Wellington Park adjoining it, and Lord Wellington's letters highly approving of the purchase, we directed the necessary steps to be taken for completing the purchase.

The whole purchase-money for this object amounting to only 22,500*l.*, the manner of disposing of the rest was to wait for such answer as should be received from Lord Wellington, who has been written to on the subject.

N.B. The manor (and borough as it is called) of Wellington, cost 2,500*l.*, and yielded 100*l.* a year. The

park, consisting of 400 acres with good land and timber, costs 20,000*l.* and pays 4 per cent. on the purchase-money. Lord Somerville, whose property lies in these parts, had by Lord Liverpool's desire negotiated the purchase. A canal from the Bristol Channel to the British Channel is now making, which will run through the parish.

At one o'clock I left London for Kidbrooke.

CHAP. XLI.

1813.

JUNCTION OF THE PRUSSIANS AND RUSSIANS. — POLITICAL SENTIMENTS OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE. — INQUIRY INTO THE CONDUCT OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES. — REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE. — LETTERS FROM THE PRINCESS TO THE SPEAKER. — DEBATE ON THE SUBJECT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — CASE OF LADY DOUGLAS. — DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK. — THE CITY OF LONDON VOTES AN ADDRESS TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Tuesday, *January* 12*th*. — Came to town.

15*th*. — The Duchess Dowager of Leeds acquainted us that she was appointed to attend upon the Princess Charlotte as governess, for one year; Lady de Clifford having resigned.

16*th*. — Vansittart to-day mentioned to me the outline of his new plan of finance.

French accounts arrive of the Prussian army having gone over to the Russians; and despatches arrived from Lord Cathcart, that the Russians had entered Wilna.

20*th*. — An Extraordinary Gazette was published containing an account of the Russian operations up to the 25th December.

Orchard Street School. Dr. Bell told me that the clergy in general considered themselves so excluded by the rule from any relaxation in favour of Dissenters, that he could not prevail upon them to accept his explanation of the powers left to their discretion.

He also told me that, in going through the country last autumn, he could have allied double the number of schools to the National Society, but for the apparent strictness of the rule about church.

26*th*.—The Princess Charlotte dined yesterday at Carlton House. Her politics are strong and adverse to the present Government.

27*th*.—Lichfield* came about Lord Wellington's business, and the proposition made by Lord Somerville to let the purchased estate for seven years at 1100*l*. a year, which cost 22,500*l*. But the trustees have no concern with the letting, which Lord Wellington alone can decide, or his administrators in his absence.

30*th*.—Lord Castlereagh came upon House of Commons arrangements of business. In talking of the East India question, he said, the Ministers (Members of the East India Board) had had four days of free conference with the Directors (of the Committee of Correspondence), not fewer than ten in number, who had agreed to discuss, without any notice being taken, or any party being pledged to any opinion.

At four Canning came, and talked over the approaching business of Parliament. He blamed the Catholic Petition as being violent and ill-conceived. He praised the petition of the English Roman Catholics; he censured the conduct of the war with America. At parting he mentioned an overture which he had received through Lord Wellesley to put him at the head of the Opposition in the House of Commons in Ponsonby's place, which he had declined. He produced his proposed inscription for the monument to Mr. Pitt in Guildhall, and suggested some variations and additions: it contained no express reference to the establishment of the Sinking Fund, nor any to the Union with Ireland.

Monday, Feb. 1st.—Went to the levee. The Prince said to me that he supposed Hatsell would not let me come without the Mace. Full levee and Chapter of the Bath for the election of six new knights, three of them distinguished in Spain: Cole, Picton, and Leith; the other three by favour: Admiral Berkeley, General Keppel, and Sir John Doyle.

2*nd*.—The House of Commons met. Grattan gave notice of the Catholic question for the 25th inst. Motion to be for a Committee to consider of the Roman

* The Solicitor to the Treasury.

Catholic disabilities, &c., according to the resolution in the last session of Parliament.

Canning told me he should not agree to Grattan's proposition for an unqualified repeal, and, if that were negatived, he should probably bring forward his own proposition at some later period of the session. To my question whether he should now include in his proposition an alteration of the Test and Corporation Acts, he said he had not the smallest thought of the sort. He looked only to an *alleged* grievance, and to a remedy commensurate, but not to any theoretical reform.

5th.—We went to the ball at Carlton House. The same rooms open as at the original fête. The Prince was very gracious; the Queen also talked much to us. The Princess Charlotte of Wales danced with the Duc d'Angoulême. The Queen, after supper, played cards and continued at Carlton House till six in the morning.

Colonel McMahon told me that the Prince had often talked with the most marked expression of his desire to promote me from the House of Commons to the other House whenever I thought my service sufficient, &c. &c. N.B. This he proffered and repeated; to all which I only replied with expressions of gratitude, adding, that I did not presume to think I had anything else to do but to continue my labours where I was.

Bulletin of the King: "His Majesty had some excitement of his disorder in the beginning of last month, but is now in the same state as before," or to that effect.

8th.—Lord Castlereagh came upon the business of the call [for the 25th], and we had also some conversation upon the Catholic question; respecting which he thinks nothing material could be done without some arrangement with their clergy, under the Pope's authority, which, at present, is unattainable; but he still wishes to go into a Committee of the whole House for a fuller discussion than has yet been had.

9th.—In the evening read Lord Castlereagh's papers extracted from the publication of the Abbot of La

Trappe; detailing all the acts of Pius VII. before his removal by the French from Rome, exhibiting all the same principles which disgraced the highest period of papal supremacy, viz., indulgences, &c.

15*th*.—Debate on the Vice-Chancellor's Bill. Leach opened his proposition that the Master of the Rolls should supply the absence of the Chancellor, and that the Chief Baron, during the equity sittings of the Exchequer, should leave them to the three other Barons, and attend the Plantation causes in the Privy Council. The Bill went through a Committee.

16*th*.—Vansittart called. He resists the motion of Grattan for a general Committee upon the Roman Catholic claims. So does Bankes, though both voted for Canning's motion in June last.

16*th*.—At the Treasury Spencer Perceval* was sworn into his office of Teller of the Exchequer (given to him by Lord Liverpool on the death of Lord Buckingham). I met Lord Arden there with him, and advised by all means that he should now leave school, and go to the university, in which advice Vansittart concurred.

17*th*.†—Having received at night the following summons from Lord Sidmouth to meet at his office on Friday next, I this morning saw him; when he explained to me the business to which it relates.

NOTE RECEIVED FROM LORD SIDMOUTH.

Whitehall, Feb. 16th, 1813.

Sir,—I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to desire your attendance at this office at half-past one o'clock on Friday next on particular business.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
SIDMOUTH.

To the Right Hon. the Speaker of the
House of Commons, &c.

* The eldest son of the late Minister.

† The whole of the transaction relating to the Princess of Wales is here given without interruption. The ordinary Diary is resumed at the end of it.

The Princess of Wales's letter* to the Prince Regent respecting the Princess Charlotte, although it never was out of the hands of the Cabinet (not even left in the Prince Regent's hands for an instant), having been published in all the newspapers, the Regent decided upon submitting his whole conduct towards his daughter to his Cabinet, for his own justification, and the condemnation of the Princess of Wales's conduct. Thinking perhaps that it would be better to do nothing, but unable to disobey his commands upon them to consider the question of the Princess Charlotte's education as a State concern, they explained to him that *crimination* of the Princess of Wales, or *justification* of His Royal Highness's conduct, were not proper subjects for their deliberation otherwise than as grounds of *advice* for the future regulation of his conduct in the education of the presumptive heir to the throne.

These discussions have ended therefore in a reference to a larger portion of the body of the Privy Council than the official and confidential servants of the Regent, by comprehending all the principal Ecclesiastical and Judicial Privy Councillors, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. The total number of the Committee so formed was 23.

The Cabinet 12, viz.:

The Lord Chancellor, Eldon; the Lord President, Lord Harrowby; the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Westmoreland; the three Secretaries of State, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Bathurst; the First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Liverpool; First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville; President of the Board of Control,

* This letter was one of remonstrance against some additional restrictions which the Prince lately imposed upon the Princess's intercourse with the Princess Charlotte. The letter was returned unopened, and then the Princess wrote to Lord Liverpool, who replied that he had communicated the letter to the Prince Regent; that it must depend on the Prince himself what letters he would receive; and that His Royal Highness had "commanded Lord Liverpool to state that he adhered to the resolution which he had already expressed in this respect, and had therefore directed Lord Liverpool to return Her Royal Highness's letter." — See *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 230, and compare *infra*, March 5th.

Lord Buckinghamshire; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. B. Bathurst; Master of the Ordnance, Lord Mulgrave.

The Ecclesiastical Privy Councillors, 4, viz.:

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Primate of Ireland, and the Bishop of London.

Judicial Privy Councillors, 6, viz.:

The three Chiefs of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Judge of the Admiralty, and the Dean of Arches;

And the Speaker of the House of Commons.

9th. — At two o'clock all but six of the Committee of Council being assembled (the six absent were, the two Archbishops, the Bishop of London, and the Dean of Arches, at an anniversary at Bow Church; Lord Ellenborough's absence was unexplained; Lord C. J. Mansfield's from illness), Lord Sidmouth read to us the cause of our summons, to the following effect:—

"That H.R.H. the Prince Regent, in consequence of a letter from the Princess of Wales, published, and referring to the inquiry into her conduct in 1806, and animadverting upon H.R.H.'s conduct respecting the *education* of the Princess Charlotte, had referred to us the papers respecting that inquiry (which papers had, by his Majesty's command at that time been deposited under seal, in the Secretary of State's office, for future use if necessary) and also certain other papers of which a list was delivered. And we are commanded to report upon them our opinion 'whether it was fit and proper that the intercourse between H.R.H. the Princess Charlotte and the Princess of Wales should continue under restriction and regulation.'"

I staid with the Chancellor and four or five others, reading the papers till three; and at eight in the evening I returned: only the Chief Baron was then reading.

It had been settled in the morning that the papers should be upon the table from eleven till five, and from seven till ten in the evening, till Tuesday next, when the whole Committee should meet at one o'clock, to agree upon their report.

The first part of the papers related to 1806, and were nearly the same as I had seen in the printed book, in 1807: upon the change of Ministry a reconsideration of the minute of the former Cabinet was had, and a new minute made in 1809.

(N.B. The Prince of Wales had referred to his own law officers, Adam, Garrow, and Jekyll, all the papers sent to him by the King; and these were now laid before us, with their opinion, that they contained evidence such as had in ordinary cases been left by Judges of high reputation to the consideration of juries; and acted upon as satisfactory proof of the criminality of the parties accused. This opinion was given by them in the spring of 1807.)

20*th*.—At eleven this morning I went to Lord Sidmouth's office, and read the remainder of the papers, concluding the transactions of 1807, with the Princess's remonstrances to the King, after the change of Ministry; and the advice of the Ministers, that the King "should, without delay, receive her into his court and family." The Prince peremptorily refused her coming to Carlton House or Warwick House. The King could not accommodate her at St. James's, and apartments at Kensington Palace were offered to her.

By a letter from the Queen, dated 16th February, 1813 (in answer to an inquiry from Lord Liverpool), it appeared that the King, at the conclusion of the inquiry of 1806, 1807, had declared that the Princess of Wales could never be received as an inmate in the family, and could only be treated with the common forms of civility. That, since that time she had only dined once at Windsor, with the Duchess of Brunswick, and twice or thrice at the Queen's House, with her mother. And that the King, who, in 1804-5, had intended to have assigned her a house at Windsor, had, after 1806, changed his mind, and given the house a new name, by calling it Augusta Lodge. The Queen also added, that the King had, three or four years ago, objected to the Bishop of Salisbury's proposition of *confirming* the

Princess Charlotte; and said, that it was bringing her too forward; and that it would be time enough when she was eighteen.

The second set of papers laid before us consisted of a series of notes between the Princess of Wales, through Lady Ann Hamilton, &c., to Lord Liverpool; and letters to the Queen, concluding with her letter of the 14th of January last, to the Prince Regent, and her endeavours to obtain an answer to it. It seems that in September, 1812, she suddenly went down to Windsor, and claimed the King's promise to her, made in 1805, of the house since called Augusta Lodge; and respecting which the Queen explained the King's alteration of mind in her letter to Lord Liverpool of the 16th inst.

21*st*.—I met Lord Castlereagh, who took me to his office, and showed me a written string of resolutions which Cochrane Johnston had this morning communicated to Arbuthnot, as what he intends to-morrow to bring before the House of Commons; and Lord Castlereagh gave them me with a request that I would in the evening write him word of whatever occurred to me; and I wrote him the following letter.

[Private and Confidential.]

Palace Yard, Sunday evening, Feb. 21st, 1813.

My dear Lord,—I return the papers which you were so good as to put into my hands this morning; respecting which it appears to me that the reference already made to the Committee of Council should be strictly confined to the question already propounded for their advice. That upon the larger question of crimination suggested in these papers the Ministers of the Crown will act most usefully for the public interest, by declaring at once the opinion which they have formed in concurrence with the opinion of the two former Cabinets upon the previous charges brought under their consideration. But whether they should or can ultimately resist all further inquiry must depend (as it appears to me) upon the public impression produced by the disclosure and discussion of these matters in Parliament. The opinions of the law officers of the Prince, 28th Feb. 1807, and

of the law officers of the Crown, 20th March 1807, will be found to have a material bearing upon any further consideration of this subject.

Yours most faithfully, CHAS. ABBOT.

23*rd*.—At one o'clock the Committee assembled. All present except Lord C. J. Mansfield, confined by illness. The reference was read to us; and a discussion arose, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Ellenborough, and the Master of the Rolls took the principal part. The Master of the Rolls was desirous to guard any opinion expressed by him from an implication of having pronounced upon the *criminality* of the charges imputed to the Princess of Wales in these papers; that being a thing, however probable, yet resting only upon an *ex parte* examination, without the Princess being present, &c. &c. My declaration was, that I saw enough materials in these papers (steering clear of all judgment upon the criminal charges) to warrant me in affirming "the propriety of regulation and restriction in the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte;" which was the point submitted to us. That I thought we were confined to the papers before us; and could not set about collecting other evidence. But that I could lay my hand on two facts contained in these papers, which alone would warrant me in forming my opinion, viz., the King's declaration, after the proceedings in 1806, "that the Princess of Wales could never again be received as an inmate in this family" (which appeared by the Queen's letter of the 16th inst.); and secondly, the publication of the letter from the Princess of Wales, which we were now assured by Lord Liverpool and the Lord Chancellor had never been out of their hands.

Our opinions were then taken seriatim upon the question submitted to us by the Regent, and the affirmative unanimously agreed to. And it was referred to four, viz., the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord President, myself, and the Master of the Rolls, to prepare the draft of the Report to be submitted after-

wards to the consideration of the Committee to-morrow evening at nine o'clock.

24*th.*—At ten o'clock the Sub-Committee met by appointment to settle the draft of their Report. We discussed two rough drafts, and blended them into one.

In the House of Commons Mr. Cochrane Johnston gave notice of his intended motion respecting the inquiry of 1806, and fixed Monday next.

In the evening the whole Committee of Council met at Lord Sidmouth's office.

Upon reading the draft of the Report, Lord Eldon declared peremptorily he would not sign it; for he would not leave it open to any implication that he had altered his opinion respecting the charges of pregnancy, delivery, and adultery, from what he had reported that opinion to be in 1807. To this it was replied that no such implication arose; for nothing was said about the truth or falsehood of these charges, nor was any question put to us concerning them. Lord Eldon still persisting, there seemed to be a general disposition to express a concurrence of our opinion with the opinions reported by the two last Cabinets, that the charges of pregnancy and delivery were disproved; but the two last Cabinets appearing to have expressed themselves differently as to the other charges of criminality, a difficulty arose in declaring any opinion of ours on that subject. Lord Eldon insisting that all the other charges were "either contradicted, or rested on evidence wholly undeserving of credit" (in the language of the latter Cabinet); and Lord Ellenborough insisting as peremptorily that he could not concur in any declaration importing her innocence, although the proof was not legally complete, his moral conviction being that the charges were true. In this difficulty, as it was thought fairer to the Princess of Wales to pass by the whole subject than to declare our opinion of her innocence upon the first charges, and to leave a load of undefined imputation upon her conduct by our silence upon the other criminal matters imputed to her, the matter ter-

minated, in forbearing the expression of any opinion of ours upon any part of the charges. Indeed I should have thought that we had exceeded our true province (however useful it might have been in other respects to do so) if we had pronounced any judgment of ours upon any of these points, respecting none of which our opinion was desired.

After some discussion it was agreed, however, upon a separate point affecting only the Prince's conduct, which was inculpated for postponing the confirmation of the Princess Charlotte, that a concluding paragraph should be added, to state, upon the Queen's authority, that in so postponing it the Prince had acted in conformity to the King's express and declared opinion; his Majesty (when spoken to by the Bishop of Salisbury proposing it three years ago) having replied that he did not wish the Princess Charlotte to be brought too forward, and that the confirmation would be time enough when she became eighteen.

At half-past one we separated. The draft to be verbally recorded by Lord Harrowby and Lord Sidmouth as to the latter paragraph, and then written out fair, and signed by us all in our proper order.

25*th*.—At one, by Lord Sidmouth's desire, I went to his office; and we settled the draft of the concluding paragraph of the Report respecting the confirmation.

It seems that Lord Eldon had yesterday at five o'clock seen the whole draft of the proposed Report, and expressed his approbation of it, saying it was *admirable;* but, to the great surprise of all his colleagues, the same evening *protested* against it, as I have related above.

In the House of Commons Lord Castlereagh brought to me in the chair, during the Roman Catholic debate, the draft of a further paragraph, repelling the insinuation in the Princess's letter that the witnesses against her upon the inquiry had been "suborned." This distinct refutation in express words had been much desired by the Prince if we thought it unfounded.

To prevent the necessity of another meeting, the

draft was circulated, and signed by those successively who concurred in it.

Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt told me in the morning that Cochrane Johnston certainly had in his possession letters from the King to the Princess of Wales, and one at least from the Prince of Wales to the Princess. These, I found in the course of the day, were known by the Ministers to be in his possession; but "the contents were not known and not feared."

26*th*.—I went to Lord Sidmouth's office and signed the Report, which is to be presented to the Regent to-morrow. A copy of it is then to be delivered to the Princess of Wales by the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and the Regent himself will communicate the Report to the Princess Charlotte.

Mr. Cochrane Johnston postponed his notice of motion from Monday to Thursday next, on account of the other pressing business of the House.

27*th*.—The Report was communicated by Lord Sidmouth, under the Regent's command, to the Princess of Wales.

Monday, March 1*st*. — At twenty minutes to five in the afternoon, in an interval of business, I received a letter by the hands of the Serjeant, delivered to him by the doorkeeper, who received it from a person unknown to him. The letter was addressed to me, and was worded all through in the third person, "Her Royal Highness," &c., without date of time or signature.

I showed it to Lord Castlereagh in my private room, and suggested my hesitation to communicate it to the House without some authentication of it; and we thought it best that I should write to Her Royal Highness, to be informed whether it was transmitted to me by Her Royal Highness's command.

Vansittart and Lord Castlereagh both agreed in my draft of proposed letter.

2*nd*. — At ten o'clock in the morning I sent my servant with it to Her Royal Highness at Blackheath,

and wrote to Lord Liverpool to request I might see him on the subject.

LORD LIVERPOOL'S REPLY.

Fife House, March 2nd, 1813.

My dear Sir,—I am to see Mr. Adam and Count Munster (the latter on particular business); as soon as they are gone I will come to you, which I hope may be before one o'clock.

The Chancellor has received a letter from the same quarter, and probably to the same effect. He has determined to return it, stating as the ground, that it would be inconsistent with his duty to take the step which the Princess of Wales urges of presenting it to the House of Lords.

Ever sincerely yours,

LIVERPOOL.

When Lord Liverpool came I told him that it appeared to me impossible for me not to communicate it if authenticated; that I considered it (whether present or not) as a petition complaining of an injury to her honour and interest (which in the case of an ordinary subject must be received), praying also for redress from the House of Commons, and therefore I should think it my *duty* to communicate it.

After some hesitation about precedents, Lord Liverpool seemed to assent to my principle; upon which I told him that "I alone must be the judge of what I should do."

At two o'clock I received the following answer from Blackheath:—

Montague House, Blackheath, March 2nd, 1813.

The Princess of Wales, by her own desire, as well as by the advice of her counsel, did yesterday transmit to Mr. Speaker a letter which she was anxious should have been read without delay to the House of Commons; and the Princess requests that the said letter may be read this very day to the House of Commons. The Princess of Wales encloses Mr. Speaker a duplicate of the letter alluded to.

In the House of Commons, at five o'clock, I communicated to the House the proceeding which had taken place respecting the Princess of Wales's letter.

Mr. Whitbread said a few words, and Lord Castlereagh also; but it was understood that the whole remained open for consideration, on Mr. Cochrane Johnston's motion, on Thursday next.

I then read the letter.

THE LETTER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Montague House, Blackheath, March 1st, 1813.

The Princess of Wales informs the Speaker that she has received from the Lord Viscount Sidmouth a copy of a report made to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, by a certain number of the members of His Majesty's Privy Council, to whom it appears that His Royal Highness has been advised to refer the consideration of documents and other evidence respecting her character and conduct.

The report is of such a nature that Her Royal Highness feels persuaded that no person can read it without considering it as conveying aspersions upon her; and although their vagueness renders it impossible to discover precisely what is meant, or even what she has been charged with, yet as the Princess feels conscious of no offence whatever, she thinks it due to herself, to the Illustrious Houses with which she is connected by blood and by marriage, and to the people among whom she holds so distinguished a rank, not to acquiesce for a moment under any imputations affecting her honour.

The Princess of Wales has not been permitted to know upon what evidence the Members of the Privy Council proceeded, still less to be heard in her defence. She knew only by common rumour of the inquiries which they have been carrying on until the result of those inquiries was communicated to her; and she has no means now of knowing whether these members acted as a body to whom she can appeal for redress, at least for a hearing, or only in their individual capacity, as persons selected to make a report upon her conduct. The Princess is therefore compelled to throw herself upon the wisdom and justice of Parliament, and to desire that the fullest investigation may be instituted of her whole conduct during the period of her residence in this country. The Princess fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided she may be tried by impartial judges known to the constitution, and in the fair and open manner which the law of the land prescribes.

Her only desire is that she may be either treated as innocent or proved to be guilty.

The Princess of Wales desires Mr. Speaker to communicate this letter to the House of Commons.

4th.—Mr. Cochrane Johnston rose to make his motion; but Mr. Lygon having cleared the House of strangers (Peers included), Mr. C. Johnston declined proceeding, and renewed his notice for to-morrow.

Mr. Whitbread then read from the "Pilot" newspaper some passages out of the report of the Privy Council upon Her Royal Highness's conduct; and called upon Lord Castlereagh to undertake for some proceeding upon it, which he peremptorily declined.

5th.—Mr. Lygon again cleared the gallery; and Mr. Bennett moved the question of adjournment; but did not divide upon it.

Mr. Cochrane Johnston moved a long resolution of fact, about the charges in 1806, to which Lord Castlereagh replied. Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, to get rid of all the proposed resolutions, and to obtain a copy of the report from the Privy Council. This was also resisted by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. And at eleven o'clock the whole business was brought to an end without any division.

8th.—Lord Castlereagh told me that the Prince of Wales was greatly dissatisfied with the manner in which the business of the Princess of Wales had passed in the House, and was quite intractable. That he had even talked of writing a letter to me, that I might read to the House this evening, and give my opinion upon it to the House.

I told Lord Castlereagh that this would be, as he himself thought too, quite unfit to be done; but that I thought the matter itself rested as well as such a matter could do, with the amplest vindication of the Prince's conduct, and the most salutary influence upon the mind of the Princess Charlotte; and that the best end of it in Parliament was for us never more to hear of the subject.

Lord Castlereagh said he had told the Prince my opinion could not be given more solemnly nor effectually than by my signature to the report. But Lord Castlereagh added that he wished the Prince could know those to be my sentiments as distinctly as I had now stated them.

To this I gave my full consent; that he should make any use of my testimony upon this subject by representing it to the Prince if he thought it could be of any use, as the impression made upon the mind of an impartial bystander. And Lord Castlereagh accepted my leave to do so.

11*th*.—Lord Castlereagh again renewed this subject; and stated the Prince's continued state of irritation. Lord Castlereagh had now advised the Prince to see the Solicitor-General (Sir W. Garrow), who had been his own law-officer, and advised him formerly upon the evidence; and Lord Castlereagh wished I would allow Sir W. Garrow to hear from me my opinion, that he might be enabled to say he had it directly from me.

Accordingly the Solicitor-General came to me, and I repeated the same opinion, giving him authority to state it in my name if he thought proper.

15*th*.—Mr. Whitbread in his place in the House of Commons complained of the publication of all the documents concerning Her Royal Highness in the newspapers, and questioned Lord Castlereagh: 1. Whether any orders were given to prosecute Lady Douglas? 2. Whether Lady Douglas had not been examined again by authority of Government, between the * of February and the 9th inst.

A long altercation ensued. Lord Castlereagh declining to answer any questions, as Mr. Whitbread was now giving notice of his own intention to institute some proceedings. But Lord Castlereagh asserted that he had never given any opinion upon Her Royal Highness's guilt or innocence, but only upon the contents of the papers referred to the Cabinet of which he was a member in 1807.

* Blank in MS.

Mr. Whitbread gave notice of moving on Wednesday next an address to the Regent to order the prosecution of Lady Douglas.

17*th.*—By Sir John Douglas's desire, Whitbread, previous to the debate, presented a petition from Sir John Douglas, stating that he understood the original depositions of himself and Lady Douglas were taken under such circumstances as might prevent any prosecution for perjury; but re-asserting the truth of their contents, and desiring to be put in any course of re-swearing the same facts in such a way as might remove all obstacles to a trial.

Mr. Whitbread then, in a speech of two hours and a half, commented upon all the proceedings in the case of the Princess of Wales; read what he stated to be the original questions and answers which took place upon Mrs. Lisle's examination in July, 1806; and charged the depositions as drawn up and signed by her as *differing* essentially from the examination itself. He also read the draft of a letter which he advised the Princess of Wales to write to the Regent since the last debate, and which she had copied with her own hand for that purpose, but was prevented from sending it by the rumours of fresh examinations now carrying on by the Treasury Solicitor and Mr. Conant, the Police Magistrate. And he challenged Lord Castlereagh to disavow this proceeding, if not true. He professed his original intention to have been the moving for the prosecution of Lady Douglas; but that he was told there were technical difficulties in the way; and he concluded by moving to prosecute all the "printers" of the papers containing the documents respecting the original investigation.

This motion was afterwards abandoned, as was also another by Mr. Tierney, for calling to the Bar the printers of these newspapers, to know from whom they had received authority to publish these documents.

Lord Castlereagh resisted all the motions, but would not answer the question whether further inquiries were not now carrying on. He charged Whitbread "with

making an *illiberal and unmanly attack upon the Regent* under the *mask* of defending the Princess. These words were taken down; but, after explanations on both sides, not acted upon.

Sir Samuel Romilly said, he was not present on the day of Mrs. Lisle's examination, owing to his not receiving notice in time; but, that upon none of the other days were any questions and answers written down, but the *substance* only of the examination, which was read over to and by the witness, and corrected where necessary or desired, and then signed, as in all other cases of examination taken before magistrates.

Whitbread promised to ascertain the authenticity of the papers put into his hands, and publicly retract the charge if it should turn out that he had been imposed upon.

Canning resisted all proceedings now, and hoped all would end here; but, if further inquiries were prosecuted, and the charges kept alive by Government or the newspapers, it might ultimately become necessary for Parliament to interfere, which he deprecated.

18*th*.—The Prince is well pleased with the last night's debate. To-day Mr. Cochrane Johnston gave notice that he should, on Wednesday next, bring forward another motion on the subject of Sir John and Lady Douglas.

24*th*.—The Duchess of Brunswick died last night. Lord Castlereagh moved an address of condolence to the Regent. Some words were said by Sir Francis Burdett and Whitbread, about joining the Princess of Wales in the same address, or presenting a separate address to her upon the same subject; but, no precedent of the sort occurred to anybody, and Lord Castlereagh having represented the course to be of presenting such addresses only to the Sovereign or his representative, it was dropped.

Mr. Cochrane Johnston then read a short speech, apologising for reading it (instead of delivering it in the usual way, by alleging indisposition), and the

House allowed it. The speech concluded with moving a resolution, declaring that Sir John Douglas's last petition was an audacious attempt to give the colour of truth to a foul and wicked conspiracy against the life and honour of the Princess of Wales.

After a few words upon the mode of getting rid of the motion, which nobody but Sir Francis Burdett seconded, it was superseded by the question of adjournment, to the general satisfaction of a very full House.

31*st*. — Mr. Whitbread rose (without notice) to move, that a message might be sent to the Lords desiring leave for Lord Moira to attend this House, for the purpose of giving information respecting some matters within his Lordship's knowledge, concerning H. R. H. the Princess of Wales.

He founded his motion upon a letter signed by Lord Moira, addressed to some brother freemason, and published in the newspapers as a vindication of his own conduct in the original investigation of the Princess of Wales's demeanour, which letter contained a paragraph insisting upon the truth of some of the charges or at least of being open to such a construction. Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion.

When the question was put into my hand, I desired the attention of the House to this proceeding, as entirely novel and unparliamentary, and one which the House of Lords would properly reject as such; the rule being, according to all precedents, not to desire the attendance of witnesses of any sort, excepting upon a matter pending in the House, and which the House had previously resolved to examine.

A short debate ensued, between Lord Castlereagh, Ponsonby, Canning, M. A. Taylor, Western, and Sir F. Burdett; the two latter alone supporting Whitbread. All agreeing that the best end of the whole subject was, to banish it from Parliament; except in what might be considered to be cases of extreme necessity, which Whitbread contended this to be.

But he did not press his motion to a division, and so the business ended.

Friday, April 2nd. — The City of London in Common Hall, resolved to address the Princess of Wales, and congratulate her upon her triumph over her accusers.

Her R. H. (upon the notification, and request of a day for presenting this address) in the first instance, after thanking the *noble* City of London, assigned her affliction for the death of her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick, as a reason for her being at present unprepared to name a time; but assured them of her answer upon the Monday following.

12th. — The address was carried up to the Princess of Wales at Kensington Palace. An immense mob, but orderly. The procession went along Holborn, and Oxford Street, and through Cumberland Gate. The mob covered the whole high ground of the Park, and clambered over the walls into Kensington Gardens. No clamour, but a few cries of "Wood for ever" (the Alderman who moved the address in the City). The procession separated on its return. The Lord Mayor went down the Haymarket, Wood and his party went down St. James's Street, and hissed as they went by Carlton House. The Regent went out of town early in the morning. The Princess came from Blackheath over Battersea Bridge, to avoid the mob, who were prepared to have drawn her carriage, and were assembled at Westminster Bridge for that purpose.

Various other addresses were afterwards presented to H. R. H., all of which she received privately, and so this affair ended. In the autumn of this year the Princess Charlotte occasionally visited her mother, and the Princess of Wales hired a house in Connaught Place afterwards.

The Princess of Wales went abroad; first to Brunswick, and then through Switzerland to Italy, where

she resided for a considerable time in the Borromean Islands.*

She also visited Murat at Naples, the Pope at Rome, and the Dey of Algiers.

In 1818 she filed a bill in the Court of Chancery in England, upon the subject of an alleged debt due to her from the executors of her brother the late Duke of Brunswick, in which cause an affidavit was filed by Count Munster, one of the Duke's executors†, alleging that the documents which the Princess had produced to support her claim (one written in German, and one in French), were open to grave doubts as to their genuineness.

* Islands in the Lago Maggiore, of which Isola Bella is the principal.
† Mr. Canning was another executor, but he had not proved the will.

CHAP. XLII.

1813.

ADVANCE OF THE RUSSIANS. — THANKS TO SIR STAPLETON COTTON. — NEW BILL RESPECTING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. — VOTE TO MAYNOOTH. — BATTLE OF LUTZEN. — LORD CASTLEREAGH'S PROPOSED MEASURES RESPECTING THE CATHOLICS. — BILL FOR THEIR RELIEF CARRIED THROUGH SECOND READING: ABANDONED IN CONSEQUENCE OF AMENDMENT MOVED IN COMMITTEE BY THE SPEAKER, EXCLUDING ROMAN CATHOLICS FROM SEATS IN PARLIAMENT. — BATTLE OF BAUTZEN. — DEBATE ON SWEDISH TREATY. — THE SPEAKER IN HIS SPEECH AT THE CLOSE OF THE SESSION MENTIONS, WITH APPROVAL, THE LOSS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL. — CANNING'S POLITICAL VIEWS. — BATTLES OF VITTORIA, SORAUREN, ETC. — OPENING OF THE NEW SESSION. — DELIVERANCE OF HOLLAND FROM THE FRENCH, AND HANOVER. — SURRENDER OF DRESDEN. — VIOLENCE OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

*Thursday**, *February* 18*th*.— House of Commons. A debate on the American War till one in the morning, ending in an *unanimous* address to support the Regent, and not to give up the right of impressing British seamen out of neutral ships.

20*th*.—Canning called; talked over Grattan's intended motion for a Committee on the Catholic question, wherein to propose some conciliatory resolutions; and a Bill of relief and admission to offices, with certain exceptions, upon which other exceptions might be grafted. He understood from Grattan that he did not mean to proceed upon the basis of the Roman Catholic petition. I told him I thought none of the plans would do. Grattan would be accused of directing the Irish Catholic Board; and Canning would, by trying to gratify the Roman Catholics, offend the Protestants, and satisfy nobody, &c.

23*rd*.—House of Commons. Debate on the question

* Here the regular Diary is resumed.

of admitting the Lord Mayor of Dublin to present the petition of the Corporation of Dublin at the Bar of the House. It was resolved to admit him according to the usage in like cases regarding the Sheriffs of the City of London.

Debate also upon Sir Francis Burdett's motion for a Bill to settle the legal form and constitution of a Regency, in the event of the Regent's death during the King's malady. For it, 73; against it, 238.

24th.—Yorke and Bankes called, previous to their attending a meeting of M.P's. (at the King's Arms, Palace Yard), adverse to the Roman Catholic claims. About thirty met, and requested Bankes to take the lead on their side by speaking next after Grattan.

News this day of the Russians having advanced to Dantzic; and of the Austrians, by convention, evacuating Poland.

25th.—House of Commons. Roman Catholic debate. Grattan moved for the House to go into a Committee upon the purposes specified in the resolution carried by Canning in June last. He proposed in that Committee to move resolutions recognising the Protestant succession and establishment as unalterable, and then to bring in a Bill with that preamble, and repealing all disabilities, subject to such exceptions as anybody else might propose in the Committee. The persons who spoke were

For the Motion.	Against it.
Mr. Grattan.	Mr. Tomline.
Sir R. Heron.	Mr. Bankes.
Mr. Plunkett.	and
Mr. Smythe.	Mr. Yorke.
Mr. Courteney.	

Debate adjourned till one next day.

20th.—Debate resumed. Speakers:

For the Motion.	Against it.
Sir J. Hippesley.	Mr. Hart Davis.
Sir F. Wood.	Mr. Prothero.
Mr. W. Fitzgerald, &c.	Mr. Round, &c.

Adjourned at one till Monday next.

Monday, March 1st.—Debate resumed. Speakers:

For the Motion.	Against it.
Sir John Newport.	Mr. Peel.
Mr. Wellesley Pole.	Mr. Ryder.
Mr. Ward.	Sir Thomas Sutton.
Mr. Whitbread.	Mr. Lascelles, &c.
Sir Thomas Acland.	
Lord Palmerston, &c.	

Adjourned at half-past one.

2nd.—Debate resumed. Speakers:

For the Motion.	Against it.
Lord Castlereagh.	Mr. Wilbraham Bootle.
Mr. Ponsonby.	Sir William Scott.
Mr. Canning.	Mr. Rose.
	Mr. Manners Sutton.
	Mr. Bathurst.

Divided at four o'clock. For the Committee, 264; against it, 224.

3rd.—House of Commons. Vansittart opened his Finance Plan respecting the Sinking Fund.

LETTER FROM MR. CANNING TO MR. ABBOT.

Gloucester Lodge, March 6th, 1813.

My dear Sir,—I was disappointed in my expectation of meeting Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons yesterday; and I have not heard anything from him.

He promised voluntarily to let me know his intentions as soon as they were decided, and to do nothing without my concurrence.

But feeling, for obvious reasons, a disinclination to remind him of this promise, or to appear to press into his councils, I have not yet taken any step to quicken his communication. I think the day can hardly pass without my hearing something from him.

Indeed I think the business of yesterday is gone over more happily than could have been expected; and I trust there will be an end of it, at least so far as the House of Commons is concerned. Any attempt to renew it might (as it strikes me) be safely met by a silent "previous question."

Ever, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

GEO. CANNING.

I made acquaintance with Mr. Plunkett the other

night, in our division on the adjournment; and had a good deal of Catholic talk with him. He is far the most moderate and the most practical of all his tribe.

7th.—Lord Liverpool came by appointment to talk over the proceedings upon the Roman Catholic question.

He professed his entire willingness to let all Roman Catholics (and Dissenters) into the highest ranks of the Army, except the offices of Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain, and Commander of the Forces in Ireland, and Master-General of the Ordnance, excepting those only because of the *political* power and patronage belonging to those offices. He could *not* consent to the admission of Roman Catholics into Parliament, because that must either very soon carry with it an admission to all the civil offices in the state, or render a Roman Catholic leader in Parliament a most dangerous enemy to the Constitution, and the everlasting head of a violent faction.

9th.—Sir Stapleton Cotton*, having on the 5th announced to me his arrival in London, I delivered to him the thanks of the House, in the following speech:—

Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, in this interval between the active seasons of war, your proper sphere of duty is within these walls; and we hail with pride and pleasure your return among us, bringing with you fresh marks of royal † favour, the just reward of fresh services and triumphs.

Descended from a long line of ancestors, whose names are recorded in the earliest ages of our history, and characterised with those qualities of prudence, generosity, and valour, which have laid the foundations of English greatness, your race has exhibited many a model of that splendid worth which dignifies the gentlemen of England; always prompt to discharge the laborious duties of civil life, and never slow to take up arms at the call of their country. Such, in an eminent degree, was that venerated person from whom you have immediately derived

* Now Lord Combermere. He had commanded the British cavalry in Spain during the years 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812.

† Sir Stapleton had been made K.B.

your own hereditary honours, endeared by his active virtues to the public men of his own time, not unknown to some who still sit among us, and ever remembered by myself with the sincerest sentiments of respect and affection.

But, Sir, when the path of early life lay open to your choice, the then warlike state of the world called forth a congenial spirit, and your military ardour led you to encounter the toils and dangers of war in distant climates. Trained in the same camps, and animated by the same love of glory as the great captain who now commands our armies, and fills the world with his renown, you have bravely followed his brilliant career, and shared in his unexampled triumphs. Renouncing the charms of ease, and the seat of your ancestors, you have gallantly gone forth to the tented fields of Portugal and Spain, and, having reaped the harvest of our thanks for your achievements in the battle of Talavera, you now stand before us crowned with the never-fading laurels of Salamanca; your squadrons upon that memorable day, overthrowing the enemy's embattled ranks, laid open the road to victory; and the work which your gallantry had commenced, your triumphant perseverance completed.

These heroic exploits have again entitled you to the public gratitude; and I do now, in the name and by the command of the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, deliver to you their unanimous thanks for your distinguished exertions in the battle of Salamanca, on the 22nd of July last, which terminated in a glorious and decisive victory over the enemy's army.*

House went into Committee on the Catholic question. I spoke next after Grattan. Division at one in the morning. For his resolution, 186; against it, 119. Bill ordered to be brought in.

News that the Russians entered Berlin, Feb. 19th. Also they have taken Warsaw and the Praga by storm.

16*th*. — House of Commons. Vansittart being ill, the Finance Committee was put off.

19*th*. — News of the capture of the Java frigate (Capt. Lambert) by the American frigate Constitution.

22*nd*. — Went to see Bramah's experiment of taking up trees by the roots in Hyde Park, with an hydraulic

* From MS. speeches. (Collected.)

engine. The Duke of York and many other persons were present. The machine consisted of an iron cylinder about four feet long, with a movable piston, which was applied to the side of a tree, and by a small fire-engine containing not more than two gallons of water, a sufficient quantity was forced into the cylinder below the bottom of the piston, to raise it upwards against the trunk of the tree till it forced it out of the ground by the roots. The tackle was not well managed, but when applied the force quickly acted, and the tree was prostrated.

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh opened his propositions respecting the East India Company's affairs in a speech of three hours, in a Committee of the whole House.

25th. — House of Commons. Committee on Vansittart's Finance plan till past twelve o'clock.

30th. — East India Committee of the whole House. Witnesses examined by counsel till twelve at night. Mr. Hastings*, the first witness; aged eighty-three, and feeble with gout, went through an examination of three hours with perfect clearness. Afterwards Lord Teignmouth was examined. The Lords have not this time questioned the *order* of the House of Commons for his attendance. Mr. Hastings, on account of his *age*, &c., had a chair *behind* the bar. Lord Teignmouth (of course) had a chair within the bar.

Thursday, April 1st. — House of Commons. Debate on the Duke of Cumberland's interference in the Weymouth election. Division against the motion for minutes of the Election Committee, not already before the House.

2nd. — House of Commons. Mr. M. A. Taylor gave notice of a future motion to complain of a breach of privilege, by Creevy's conviction for a libel at Lancaster Assizes. He had published his own speech formerly made in the House of Commons, abusing a Mr. Kirkpatrick of Liverpool. Nonsense!

* Warren Hastings, the Great Governor of Bengal.

Tierney's motion for a Committee upon the construction of the Sinking Fund Acts, negatived by 154 to 59. Canning and Bankes divided with Tierney.

5*th*.—House of Commons. Division against Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill, for taking away corruption of blood in cases of high treason and felony, 59 to 43.

9*th*.—House of Commons. Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill for altering the punishment for high treason, thrown out by 75 to 60.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Maynooth vote received a small increase to complete the present arrangements, not this year to increase the number of students. Ryder gave notice of a motion for a copy of the course of instruction and lectures at Maynooth in 1812 (at my instance, grounded on Leslie Foster's speech in 1812). He also gave notice of moving for a call of the House upon 11th May. Grattan, &c., were much displeased with this notice.

13*th*.—House of Commons. East India evidence,—resolved to have it taken by a Select Committee, with power to sit notwithstanding adjournment, according to precedent of the Slave Trade proceedings in 1790 and 1791. Also Ryder moved for a call of the House on the 11th of May, and for a copy of the Maynooth course of instruction and lectures in divinity, dogmatical and moral, delivered in 1812.

Upon the report of Supply for Irish Miscellaneous Services, some words arose between Mr. William Fitzgerald and General Matthew, which, after much reluctance, ended in an assurance "that the matter should proceed no further," which I required them both to give.

14*th*.—House of Commons. Sir John Hippesley moved for *attested* copies of the printed treatises of divinity which are in use at Maynooth.

After examination of evidence on East India matters, the House appointed a Select Committee to carry on the examination during the recess.

LETTER FROM MR. RYDER TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private.] Lower Grosvenor Street, April 13th, 1813.

My dear Sir,—I thank you for the papers which you have been so good as to send to me. Nothing surely can be more unsatisfactory than the returns hitherto made from Maynooth of their course of instruction. But it is evident that the objection to the motion of which I gave notice last night, will be that as the lectures are not printed, but delivered (as it will be said) extempore, or only from notes, no further information can be given.

I shall endeavour to speak a word more to you on the subject before it comes on.

It is at all events desirable that the public attention should be turned to this subject, and that in the present state of the Roman Catholic question. I am, my dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully, R. RYDER.

House of Commons adjourned to the 27th.

27th.—Sir John Hippesley gave notice of his motion for a Committee upon the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics at home and in the British colonies; and also the intercourse and jurisdiction of foreign authority over Roman Catholics in other States.

30th.—Mr. Owen* came to propose that I should attend a meeting at the King's Arms Tavern, in Palace Yard, where several Members of both Houses were to meet and consider his plan of "Universal Education," which I declined as inconsistent with my situation.

House of Commons. Roman Catholic Bill brought in by Grattan, and read a first time; and the second reading appointed for Tuesday, the 11th, being the day of the call. Sir John Hippesley claimed the priority for his motion upon that day, and undertook to lay such facts before the House as should make it impossible to pass the Bill at present.

Canning desired to have certain clauses printed and circulated with the Bill, as being amendments which he should propose in Committee.

* Afterwards known as Owen of Lanark.

Tuesday, May 4th. — Sir John Hippesley came with a trunk full of papers in support of his motion for a Committee of Inquiry. He left me Lord Petre's letter of 1794, about the vicars apostolic in England and their jurisdiction, for me to copy. He mentioned also the fact of 30,000*l.* being now lodged by the Jesuits at Stonyhurst in England, in readiness to be laid out in Ireland.

Mr. Owen's project for universal education, parochially, was considered and given up at a meeting at the King's Arms, in Palace Yard, attended by Ryder, Lascelles, Whitbread, and a few more whom Mr. Owen had persuaded to come together.

5th. — House of Commons. William Smith moved for a Bill to repeal the penalties against the Unitarians by statute of King William, Lord Castlereagh consenting to the principle of the measure.

8th. — Dined with the Regent and Directors of the British Institution at Willis's Rooms, *to commemorate Sir Joshua Reynolds*, and saw the collection of his pictures in the British Gallery. About 160 dined together; most of the Ministers, and Lord Grey, Lord Cowper, Lord Hardwicke, &c. In the evening the rooms were lighted up, and a brilliant assembly of ladies, &c., came to see the pictures. The Regent went away about eleven.

11th. — The House of Commons called over. Sir John Hippesley's motion for a Committee of Inquiry into the State of the Laws affecting Roman Catholics, &c., negatived by 235 to 187.

13th. — News of Buonaparte's first battle* in this campaign.

14th. — The Roman Catholic Bill committed *pro formâ*, but the debate postponed to Monday.

* The battle of Lutzen, fought May 2nd. Napoleon drove back the allies (the Russians and Prussians), but lost 13,000 men, which was a loss but little inferior to that of the defeated allies.

LETTER FROM LORD RADSTOCK TO MR. ABBOT.

May 16th, 1813.

My dear Sir,—I must begin my letter with two apologies: first, for writing to you on this particular subject; next, for the mode of conveyance of my letter, but it is a sort of imperious necessity that compels me to do both.

In the multiplicity of things that you have to think of, it is possible that the following simple circumstance may have escaped your recollection. It is this: At present there is not a single commissioned officer in the navy but must necessarily have taken the Oath of Supremacy. Now, take away this, at present insurmountable barrier; let the navy have Roman Catholic Admirals, Captains, and Lieutenants, and then you cannot in reason deny them a priest in each ship. This once established, and I would not give you a twelvemonth's purchase for the wooden walls of Old England.

Be assured, my dear Sir, that I am by no means singular in this opinion, as I have not conversed with a single sea officer but thinks as I do upon the subject.

I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

RADSTOCK.

17*th*. — House of Commons. The Roman Catholic Bill was again committed *pro formâ*. Some amendments made by Grattan, and more promised on Wednesday by Canning in his clauses, so that the whole should be reprinted as one Bill, and recommitted on Monday next; the House then to be called over.

18*th*. — Lord Castlereagh came at ten by his own appointment. He brought the draft of his own clauses to vest the nomination of Roman Catholic prelates virtually in the Crown, and to restrain intercourse with the see of Rome.

House of Commons. Leather Tax. Mr. Benson moved the repeal. Division, 104 to 104. In giving my casting vote I said, that as I thought the question deserving of further consideration, I should give my vote with the Ayes. The Bill was accordingly brought in.

and read a first time. Ten Members spoke for the repeal. Wharton and Vansittart only against it.

19*th.*—House of Commons. Canning brought up his clauses *of security* to be inserted in the Roman Catholic Bill.

Plunkett, on these clauses, declared his entire approbation of the proposed regulations; as such "that the Protestants ought to be contented with them, and the most conscientious and scrupulous Roman Catholics could not object to them. He was now returning immediately to Ireland, but he regretted the necessity the less as he left nothing for Mr. Grattan now to do but march forward to his certain triumph. His own presence in Ireland might also be not wholly useless in satisfying all parties there of the expediency of the measure now settled in Parliament."

The Danes are defending Hamburg.

24*th.*—House of Commons. Committee on amended Roman Catholic Bill. I moved an amendment* in the first clause, viz. to leave out the words giving the Roman Catholics a right to sit and vote for the two Houses of Parliament. For the amendment, 251; against it, 247.

Sir John Nicholl, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Yorke, Bathurst, &c., voted for it; Grattan, Ponsonby, Lord Castlereagh, Canning, &c., against it.

As soon as the amendment was carried Ponsonby

* The speech made by the Speaker on this occasion is printed in the collection of Lord Colchester's speeches upon the Roman Catholic claims, published by Hatchard in 1828. In it he contended that "we ought to withhold from the Roman Catholics all capacity of political power and jurisdiction;" "but at the same time widely and liberally to lay open before them the field of profitable and honourable reward for distinguished exertions and services; and in matters of religion to render their legal toleration complete." On these grounds he discussed the principle and provisions of the Bill, showing that while political power was demanded for the Roman Catholics, various provisions for better securing the exercise of their religion and the protection of their places of worship were omitted, such omissions tending to demonstrate that political ascendency, and not religious liberty, were the real objects of the promoters of this Bill; and he concluded with the motion that "the words 'to sit and vote in either House of Parliament,' in the first clause, be left out of this Bill."

declared he would go no further with the Bill, considering the rest as not worth having unless the seats in Parliament were obtained. He moved that the Chairman do now leave the Chair; and so the Bill is apparently dropped for the present session.

Extract from some Resolutions passed by the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford, May 24th, and forwarded to Mr. Abbot by the Vice-Chancellor.

With regard to the Roman Catholic Bill, we are desirous of making the following observations:—

If, by any possible construction of the Bill, Colleges and Halls can be compelled to admit Roman Catholics as independent members, the University may perhaps deem it necessary to employ some means of publicly protesting at least against that compulsion; but even the *voluntary* admission of such members into any of our Societies under the authority of the Bill, when it shall have passed into a law, will tend gradually to change the character of the University; to break down its discipline, and to dissolve the connection with the established Church.

It will be illegal to require from Roman Catholics a subscription to the thirty-nine Articles, either at matriculation, or when they take degrees. It will be impossible to enforce their attendance at their College Chapel, at the University Church, or at any lecture public or private, which relates to religious subjects. It will be impossible to enforce that most fundamental and important Statute which makes a satisfactory examination in the doctrines of the Church an indispensable requisite for the first degree.

It is further to be apprehended, that, having obtained a right of voting in Convocation, they may exercise that right in various ways unfavourably to the Church of England, and to the present Constitution of the University.

It is also obvious that Priests, perhaps even Jesuits, might establish themselves within the walls of our Colleges for the purpose of inculcating the doctrines of the Church of Rome; but, at all events, lay Roman Catholics would frequently be attended by Priests as their spiritual directors; and hence the faith and principles of our Protestant youth must be greatly endangered.

Nor should it be forgotten that, if the gates of our colleges be opened to Roman Catholics, they cannot long be shut against Protestant Dissenters of any denomination; the result of which would be a perpetual collision of opposite opinions, and the almost total omission of religious instruction, unless our professors and tutors accommodate their lectures to the various and conflicting creeds of their hearers.

It appears therefore to be a question worthy of the most grave consideration, whether it be proper to grant even a discretionary power of admission, any exercise of which must tend to produce such effects.

Resolved that the Vice-Chancellor be also requested to send a copy of this resolution to the Speaker.

J. GUTCH, Registrar.

27*th*. — House of Commons. Civil List Committee appointed upon debate, with reference to increased allowance to the Princess of Wales, and an account of the application of 53,000*l*. a year in trust for discharging the Regent's honorary engagements.

29*th*.—News from Dublin that the Roman Catholic Bishops on the 26th, unanimously rejected the Bill and clauses: which they view with dismay and consternation (they say) as schismatical.

News of Buonaparte having proposed an armistice, of his having gained a victory at Bautzen, and of the Swedes having reached Hamburg.

30*th*.—Saw a letter from Dublin with an account of Plunkett's ineffectual endeavour to reconcile O'Connell to the Roman Catholic Bill. Scully refused to have an interview with Plunkett on the subject.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, for himself and the rest of the Bishops, "*thanked* me for the service I had rendered to the Church on the Roman Catholic Bill."

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. CORNEILLE TO MR. ABBOT.

May 28th, 1813.

. . . . . Your successful exertions have not only, I trust, preserved the present constitution of England and Ireland, and all the blessings civil and religious which we enjoy under

it; but allow me to offer my humble opinion to you, Sir, that by defeating the projected Bill, you have in all probability saved Ireland from rebellion; for had it, with its clauses respecting the Roman Catholic Church, passed, it would, as I apprehend, after the resolution of the Titular Bishops, have produced an instant commotion. The cry would have been, England wishes to subvert the Catholic religion in Ireland. And a new motive and a powerful pretext would have been afforded for insurrection.

Yours, &c. &c. JOHN CORNEILLE.

Wednesday, June 2nd.—Moniteurs arrived, with the details of the battle of Bautzen, fought on the 20th and 21st of May. The French state their own loss at 13,000, and Duroc killed; but they had advanced to Weissenburg, in the direction of Silesia.

Attended a general annual meeting of the National Society at Sion College, when the Archbishop of Canterbury stated the general progress of this system of education; which, from 5000 children in May 1812, now comprehends 40,000 under the immediate knowledge of the Society, besides an equal or greater number educated on the same plan, but not in communication with the Society.

14*th.*— Vansittart promised to speak to Lord Liverpool to-morrow, that the Ægina marbles might be bought for the same price (10,000 sequins) as the artists had agreed to take from the agent of the Prince Royal of Bavaria. And also for the Treasury to give Mr. Combe a gratuity of 200*l.* or more for his trouble on the mission to Malta.

15*th.*—Sir Samuel Bentham* brought his copy of the Gazette, &c., to show his Herald's Office authority for wearing his Russian order; and instances of Sir Samuel Elphinstone and others who had taken the style of "Sir," as Knights, in consequence of such orders. He had been himself at the King's Court, and at the Regent's under that name. And the Admiralty

* Previously mentioned in this Diary as General Bentham.

had, in their last official letter, mentioned him by that name.

News arrived of an armistice having been agreed on between Buonaparte and the allies on the 4th of June.*

House of Commons. A Committee on the Corn Laws was carried by Sir Henry Parnell, by 136 to 32.

18*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on the Swedish Treaty.† Division: for Ministers, 225; for Opposition, 121.

25*th*.—House of Commons. Creevy's motion about the right of Members of Parliament to print their speeches without liability to prosecution at law for any libellous matter which they may contain: not supported by any of his political friends; superseded by motion for the other orders of the day.

Friday, July 2nd. — News of Lord Wellington's defeat of the French, taking 150 pieces of cannon, all their ammunition, baggage, and treasure, cutting off Joseph and Jourdain from Bayonne, and driving them towards Pampeluna.‡

5*th*. — Lord Cochrane's§ naval motion negatived without a division.

* The armistice of Pleanitz, to last six weeks.

† By this treaty a subsidy of 2,000,000*l*. was granted to Sweden, and that power agreed to send an army to co-operate with the allies in Germany.

‡ The great battle of Vittoria, fought June 21st.

§ Lord Cochrane found fault with the management of the navy as regarded the interests of the seamen, alleging that the way in which they were treated disinclined men to enter the navy, particularising especially the fact that, instead of being discharged at the end of a cruise, or of a certain fixed period, they were only transferred to some other ship, so that they were "worse off than convicts, inasmuch as their labours had no known termination." He complained also that their wages were withheld while abroad, so that they were compelled "to buy slops of Jews" at exorbitant prices; that they suffered further loss by being paid in bank-notes, which, if abroad, they could not get changed on fair terms; that the recovery of their pay and prize-money by their widows or heirs was made very difficult; that the examinations to which they were subjected in order to obtain the advantages of Greenwich were unfair and vexatious; and finally, that neither officers, petty officers, nor warrant officers could obtain promotion, or even employment, except through Parliamentary influence. And he proposed a series of resolutions calculated, as he affirmed, to relieve these notorious grievances. He was seconded by Sir F. Burdett.

7th.—News of the capture of the "Chesapeake" by the "Shannon."

13th.—The House of Commons passed the East India Bill without a division.*

19th.—Further despatches from Lord Wellington to the 9th inst. He was then besieging Pampeluna and St. Sebastian. Lord William Bentinck had arrived and taken the command of the army in Catalonia.

20th.—At half-past four I went to a national festival held at Vauxhall in honour of Lord Wellington and the army in Spain. The dinner was for about 1200 persons; and in the evening 9000 persons were expected and supposed to be present.

22nd.—Met Colonel McMahon, who told me there is to be a batch of peers made before the next session; Lord Melbourne to be the first of them. That the Regent, in mentioning him, had at the same time mentioned me as fully entitled to the peerage, and indeed had often expressed himself to that effect; although he did not know what they should do for a Speaker. To all which I answered with thankfulness for the Regent's gracious kindness, and for Colonel McMahon's kindness, but that I had no such thoughts, and looked forward to a continuance of my present labours. And so we parted, somebody else coming up.

The Regent came at twenty minutes past two; and I made my speech in the usual form.

After my return to the House of Commons, and reading a copy of the Regent's speech, Lord Morpeth came up, whilst Lord Castlereagh, Bathurst, and Vansittart were standing by, and asked me "whether my speech would be entered on the journals?" To which I answered, "Certainly not;" and he then replied that "he should have objected to part of it if there had been any such proceeding," and so departed.

I remarked to Lord Castlereagh, Vansittart, and Bathurst that the House had repeatedly refused to

* The Bill for the renewal of the Company's charter.

instruct the Speaker what he should say; that they left it to him to collect the sense of the House from its proceedings; and that as to pleasing everybody I had long ago given up that attempt.

We then all parted with no expectation of meeting before Christmas.

Lord Sidmouth came to me from the House of Lords to say how well he was satisfied with my speech. That it was useful to have a concise and forcible statement of the business of the session; and it would sink deep into the minds of the country. That the Duke of York had said it would do a great deal of good.

I observed the Regent repeatedly nod assent to parts of my speech, and especially to the passage about the Roman Catholics.

The passage which provoked the hostility of the Opposition was this. After mention of the supplies granted, of the financial measures adopted, and of anticipations of future prosperity, &c., the Speaker had proceeded to say: "But, Sir, these are not the only subjects to which our attention has been called. Other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the Throne, the Parliament, and the Government of this country are made fundamentally Protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorised to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm; willing as we are, nevertheless, and willing as I trust we ever shall be, to allow the largest scope to religious toleration." *

23rd.—Went down to Kidbrooke.

Monday, August 9th.—Mr. Canning came. He† mentioned to me his separation from Lord Wellesley

* For further mention of the proceedings relating to this speech see this Journal, *infra*, Nov. 4th, and more especially April 22nd, 1814.

† Compare a letter on this subject from Mr. Horner to Lord Grenville (Memoirs of the Court of England during the Regency, vol. ii. p. 36), where it is said "Canning has formally, and with some solemnity, disbanded his party."

and Mr. Pole, and his dissolution of all party connected with the rest of his Parliamentary friends, who might follow him as a friend, but not as a leader. He also mentioned Lord Melville's visit to him in London, announcing a disposition to have invited him to become First Lord of the Admiralty, but that there were impediments to the junction. (These were, that Lord Buckinghamshire would not give up the Board of Control to let Lord Melville back again into that office.) Canning also mentioned the Regent's alleged anxiety that he should become part of the Government.

16*th*. — News arrived of Lord Wellington having repulsed and defeated Soult* in his attempt to force the passes of the Pyrenees and relieve Pampeluna.

Wednesday, Sept. 1*st*.—News came of the Austrians having joined the Russians and Prussians, and of the termination of the armistice.

Later, news came of Moreau's death before Dresden †, of the battle of Culm, &c.

Monday, Nov. 1*st*.—Returned to London.

2*nd*.—By appointment, Lord Castlereagh, Bathurst, Vansittart, and Ryder came to talk over the attack which had been made, and which might be renewed, upon my prorogation speech. It was agreed to put by (if possible) any formal discussion upon it from the first day to some subsequent day; assenting to any motion for a copy of the speech if desired.

3*rd*.—Guns fired. News of Buonaparte's defeat at Leipsic‡; 60,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 100 pieces of cannon taken; the King of Saxony and all his Court, and many French generals.

4*th*.—The Regent at two o'clock delivered his speech in the House of Lords.

At half-past four Lord Compton moved the Address, and was seconded by Charles Grant. Whitbread and

* At the battle of Sorauren, fought on the anniversary of Talavera.

† Napoleon had defeated the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians at Dresden, Aug. 27th; and two days later the French General Vandamme was defeated by Ostermann and taken prisoner, with 7000 men, at Culm.

‡ On the 16th and 18th October.

Williams Wynn spoke afterwards, and the Address passed unanimously.

Whitbread, in the course of his speech, regretted the omission of the Roman Catholic claims; and the more so, for what (if said by me as reported, in my speech at the Prorogation) was the statement of "an unauthorised and unauthenticated expositor of the opinions of the House of Commons."

When the question was put upon agreeing to the Address, I said that, "Before I put this question, such strong reflections had been made on what I was supposed to have said in my speech at the last prorogation, that I must be allowed to say that whenever that speech was brought under consideration, I should be perfectly prepared to justify what I had said and done upon that occasion."

After the Address was carried, and Lord Castlereagh had given his notices for the current business, Lord Morpeth rose, at the instigation of Whitbread, to give notice that he should, after the Christmas recess, bring under the consideration of the House so much of a speech purporting to have been made by me at the bar of the House of Lords, as related to the Roman Catholic claims.

Lord Castlereagh and Bathurst endeavoured to make him fix an earlier time, but he would not. Whitbread said that they must wait for the presence of the Irish members; and Tierney insisted that, upon a notice, Bathurst had no right to be heard, though he contended it was a matter of privilege.

Lord Morpeth and Whitbread both said to me privately that they meant no personal disrespect to me. Lord Morpeth said he should have done nothing, but Whitbread *made* him.

5*th*.—Ryder, Bankes, and Holme Sumner came to me upon the business of last night, also Bathurst; and it was agreed that Lord Castlereagh should be requested, as he had appeared to be sufficiently willing yesterday, to give notice of a motion for Monday next;

"that the speech be printed," in order, upon that motion, to bring Lord Morpeth to a distinct explanation, whether his notice meant *a criminatory proceeding* against the Speaker, for *misstating* the proceedings of the House of Commons, or a discussion of the *principle* alleged in that speech, as the ground of refusing the Roman Catholic claims; that the House might know at once whether the Speaker was to be considered as an accused person for three months to come."

When the House met, Bathurst told me that Lord Castlereagh was not disposed to take that course, and that Lord Harrowby and Lord Bathurst had both dissuaded him. Lord Castlereagh also came up to the Chair, and said that he thought, as Lord Morpeth could not be compelled to bring on his motion sooner than he chose, it could only be prematurely exposing the case in answer to the charge. I told him that I had no such idea of precipitating the decision, but that I thought the House ought to know what was the *species* of attack intended; and that, upon such a motion for printing the speech, Lord Morpeth must be brought to explain himself. He said, to be sure my feelings ought to be consulted, but he did not think it advantageous; and so nothing was done.

Whitbread, Lord Morpeth, Tierney, &c., were all present (it being the day for reporting the Address), and seemed all to expect some further call for explanation.

Holme Sumner was earnest to have the notice given, but, thinking the concurrence of the Ministers of the greatest importance, he told them that, if they did not by Monday agree to do it, he would do it at all events.

6*th*.—Holme Sumner gave notice that he would, on Monday next, make a motion upon the subject of Lord Morpeth's notice.

7*th*.—Lord Castlereagh came to talk over the probable course of to-morrow's business: 1st. He agreed to the motion of Sumner for printing the speech. 2ndly. That Lord Morpeth should be pressed to explain

whether his notice was with a view to a *personal* censure, or to a *general* question. If the latter only, there was no more to be said; but he was at liberty to bring it on any day he pleased, without objection. If he meant *censure*, still he could not be driven to a discussion sooner than he pleased, but must be left under the additional discredit of so unfair a proceeding. 3rdly. That he should deliver his opinion against all notion of censure, objecting only to any inference from the speech as representing the determination of the House to stand upon a fixed principle of refusing power, and granting only toleration, he not believing the majority to have voted on that ground. But, nevertheless, if the Speaker thought otherwise, whether rightly or wrongly, his speech was not to be made the subject of censure, much less of removal.

He thought, from what I had detailed to him at the meeting last week, that the Speaker was *fully warranted by usage* in adverting to all the principal business of the session, but deprecated going into the general question of the usage, or the speech, upon such a motion as that for printing the paper; it being impossible to settle the question upon an *obiter* debate, and also as it would only be opening the case disadvantageously to let in the opponents to a better mode of answering it hereafter.

After talking over the course of business, treaties, military measures, &c. to be proposed, he took his leave.

8*th.*—House of Commons. Sumner's motion for "desiring Mr. Speaker to print his speech, &c.," carried without a dissenting voice upon the question put. Bankes seconded Sumner's motion. Lord Morpeth disclaimed all intentions of personal disrespect, but said that he meant to bring the speech under consideration, as he had solid objections to it upon constitutional grounds, though he was not prepared to state the plan of his motions or proceeding. Lord Castlereagh resisted all idea of censure; vindicated the Speaker's right to dwell upon all the transactions of the session, and said

that the expressions respecting the Roman Catholic question, if understood in one way might be free from any objection, although, if open to another construction, he should object to them. Bathurst explained the general course of Speaker's speeches. Tierney and Whitbread both disclaimed all personal disrespect; and Whitbread proceeded to an eulogium on the Speaker's general conduct. Ryder reprobated Lord Morpeth's delays and ambiguous explanations.

It was settled by me with the Clerk of the Journals to print my speech like Sir Fletcher Norton's of 7th May, 1777, as a separate sheet of the votes.

11*th*.—House of Commons. Delivered to General Anson and Sir Thomas Picton the thanks of the House. Lord Castlereagh moved his Bill for Volunteering from the Militia.

12*th*.—Lord Sidmouth called. I told him of my utter aversion to having my speech discussed in a Committee, exposing me to personal altercations with some whom he well knew; a degradation to which no person should be subjected if it was intended that he should remain Speaker: that it had never yet been done; not in Mr. Seymour's* case, nor Sir Fletcher Norton's, nor in any other. To all which he entirely acceded, and undertook to counteract any such proceeding amongst his friends.

Peel came about the effect of his reappointment by Lord Whitworth (as Chief Secretary for Ireland) upon his seat in Parliament.

14*th*.—Saw Ryder, who conceives Lord Morpeth repents of having put himself forward upon the subject of my speech.

15*th*. — House of Commons. Loan, 22,000,000*l*. Bathurst gave notice of a motion for a Bill to stay proceedings against the Clergy for defect of licenses under the new Residence Act.

17*th*.—Called on Lord Sidmouth. He showed me

* Better known as Sir Edward Seymour, Speaker in the reign of William III.

Hatsell's note about public bodies expressing their opinions upon the subject of my speech, which I desired might not take place as between me and Lord Morpeth upon a question respecting my duty in the House of Commons, whatever they might think fit to do upon the general question of the Roman Catholic claims, and I told Lord Sidmouth that I had given that answer to a letter from Oxford yesterday.

Attended National Society meeting. I expressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the managers of the New Lambeth Bible Publication my earnest wish that their *maps* might be correct according to the best modern geographical outline, and recommended Arrowsmith's outline, with a series of three or more chronological maps, exhibiting the successive changes of Palestine, &c., in the successive periods of Scripture History.

House of Commons. Voted the Subsidies. Canning and Whitbread concurring to support them.

21*st*.—News of the deliverance of Holland. Deputies arrived with news of the retreat of the French out of the United Provinces; of the establishment of a Provisional Government, and of their invitation to the Prince of Orange to return.

Remark Buonaparte's pacific and humbled tone of communication with his senate, &c.

Met Whitbread riding, who congratulated me upon the light labours of the House of Commons, and the re-establishment of my health, hoping that I might stay with them for twenty years to come. I said, "Yes, if you do not dethrone me." He replied, laughing, "Oh, no. Only checks and guards: and I assure you there is no one who would be more sorry than I should be to see you out of that seat."*

22*nd*.—All the Guards in London marched to the coast to embark for Holland. The Staffordshire militia mounted guard at the Horse Guards.

24*th*.—News of the liberation of Hanover, and the

* Vide April 22nd, 1814.

advance of the Allies to the Rhine. The guards embarked for Holland to-day.

25*th.*—News of Lord Wellington having forced the French lines between the Pyrenees and Bayonne. The guns fired.

Later in the day, news of the surrender of Dresden and 16,000 men. The guns fired again.

Saw a letter from William Bankes, dated 14th inst., from Lord Wellington's headquarters, giving an account of the battle of the 10th, upon passing the Nivelle; above fifty pieces of cannon and several hundred prisoners taken.

27*th.*—The Ægina marbles are allowed to go to the King of Bavaria, now our friend.

Monday, Dec. 6*th.*—House of Commons. Voted miscellanous services in supply. Not a word said upon any article.

7*th.*—Wrote to Angerstein to know the state of the subscription fund for Mr. Pitt's statue, with a view to its sufficiency to erect a building also to contain it; and the building to stand on the north side of Little Bridge Street, between Parliament Street and King Street, when widened; but I did not communicate this notion to him.

11*th.*—The hereditary Prince of Orange is arrived from Spain, unapprised of the revolution in Holland.

12*th.*—Met Lord Castlereagh, and talked over the expected operations of the allies. He understood their plans to have been recently changed, and that, instead of the Crown Prince entering Holland, and Blucher crossing the Rhine at Cologne, and the two Emperors and the King of Prussia above Mayence, it was now decided, that, whilst the Crown Prince was gone to the Elbe, Blucher should master Mayence, and the allied main army should cross the Rhine near Basle, entering France through Lorraine, a change which he regretted.

LETTER FROM MR. CORNEILLE.

Dawson Street, Dec. 12, 1813.

Sir,—As you did me the honour in the letter which you were so kind as to write to me some months ago to express a wish that I should communicate to you any event of importance respecting the Roman Catholic question that occurred here, I avail myself of your indulgence to send you three Irish newspapers, containing between them a full report of the last debate at the "Catholic Board," the most important one certainly which has as yet taken place in that *unlawful assembly*, both on account of the resolution passed without a division, and the sentiments avowed by the proposer of it, Dr. Donougall. As I think it of great public importance that so able and steady a supporter of the Constitution as you, Sir, have proved yourself to be, should have full information of all that passed at that meeting, I have taken the liberty of sending these papers. . . . . .

I shall not, Sir, trespass further on your time by presuming to offer any remarks on the proceedings of this meeting; but I must express my hopes that they will open the eyes of the blindest adherent of the Roman Catholics of Ireland in Parliament, and secure the stability of our present Constitution which was so happily preserved by your wisdom and firmness last session. I have the honour, &c. to be your very obedient servant,

JOHN CORNEILLE.

LETTER FROM MR. WORRALL.

[Private.] Clonmel, Dec. 18th.

Sir,—As a stranger to you it is necessary, in the first instance, for me to say that, if you will take the trouble of mentioning my name to Lord Rosse, who is now attending Parliament, he will inform you who I am.

The very distinguished part you took on the Catholic question last session, and the successful, and I think I may say, for the empire, fortunate resistance you opposed to the concessions then about to be made to the Catholics, naturally point you out as a proper person to address on this subject.

The enclosed proclamation, as it is called, was posted on the doors of the chapel and of the church of the parish named in it. The atrocity and wickedness of it speak for themselves; and I

can assure you that it is but one of many that are almost *nightly* posted throughout the country, as a reference to the Irish newspapers will show.

The petition alluded to in it is the petition from the Protestants of this country, which was presented to the House of Commons last session, and was one which, for moderation and favour towards the Catholics was not surpassed, and I believe not equalled, by any petition that was sent forward by any Protestants of this kingdom. I except those which were for unqualified concession. The names of the persons who signed that petition, *however procured*, were first published in that most *wicked* and *infamous* newspaper, "The Dublin Evening Post," and from it were posted upon the chapel doors in this town, and all the neighbouring towns and parishes. In some places opprobrious epithets were added; in others Catholics were warned to have no dealings with the petitioners; and in others, as in the proclamation enclosed, the sanguinary and ferocious rabble of this country are excited to assassinate them. It is unnecessary for me to point out to you, Sir, the enormity of these proceedings, or to dwell on the alarming situation to which the Protestants are reduced by them. Government will, I trust, not be inattentive to us; nor shall we fail to find in you a friend and protector.

Permit me to add that we did conceive here that petitions, &c., presented to the House of Commons could not be taken off the table, or copies of them obtained, without the permission of the House, or at least of the Speaker; if this be the fact, it will be your duty to inquire how the names have been procured: it is obvious that they have been procured for the worst purposes, and it is to be feared that the publishing them will be followed, as I have no doubt it was designed to be, by fatal consequences.

You will excuse, I hope, Sir, the liberty I have taken in addressing you; should communications on this subject be acceptable to you, I shall have pleasure in forwarding to you any information I can procure. I am, Sir, with great respect,

Yours, &c. &c. JAMES WORRALL.

Proclamation enclosed in the foregoing Letter.

Dated Head-Quarters, Thursday,
Dec. 9th, 1813.

Whereas Isaac Fawcett, Thomas Fawcett, Charles Fawcett, John Scott, William Scott, James Scott, John Gain, and George Gain, *Orangemen* of the parish of Clonnoulty, barony of

Kilnamara, in the county of Tipperary, have used the most violent acts of injustice against *our universal and unalterable religion*. Now we, the *people associated*, do call on our *Catholic countrymen at large*, to use every exertion in their power to *annihilate* the aforesaid Isaac Fawcett, Thomas Fawcett, Charles Fawcett, John Scott, William Scott, James Scott, John Gain, and George Gain, and the remainder of the mandament Orangemen, as they are evidently known to be our prisoned enemies, and the only gunbeggars in this neighbourhood that have signed the *Orange petition* against *emancipation*.

Therefore it is positively ordered and directed that *no Catholic shall have any dealing* whatsoever with the aforesaid gunbeggars; and also it must be strictly observed that no Catholic shall send or cause to be sent any linen to Scott's the gunbeggar's blackguard: if they do they shall receive the severest corporal punishment, and their linen cut to atoms.

N.B. Any person or persons who shall, within twelve months from the date hereof, *shoot, kill, murder, or assassinate* any or either of the above gunbeggars, shall be *liberally rewarded* by applying to the Commander-in-Chief at head-quarters.

By Order of Lieut.-Gen. Finisher,
Commander-in-Chief.

Capt. James Carder,
Secretary and Adjutant.

Let no person have the audacity of taking down this proclamation until three o'clock, P.M.

19*th*.—I called and saw Lord Liverpool upon the subject of adjournment by *message* or ordinary *motion*. I stated my preference for a message; as, although there really was not any urgent, or indeed any specific business for the interval between this time and March, yet the House of Commons ought not of its own accord either to judge the King's business or shut its own doors against its constituents; but he thought a message would imply a *political reason* for the adjournment, whereas, he thought the parliamentary ground sufficient.

Rode with Lord Castlereagh and Lord Harrowby. The former had left the mode of adjournment wholly to Lord Liverpool's decision. The latter thought with me that a *message* would have been *more proper*. The instances of a message, even for very short adjourn-

ments in the midst of a session, were frequent; and no instance was found of any adjournment of equal extent at such a season.

20*th*.—Sir James Mackintosh, in a long dissertation upon continental politics, opposed Lord Castlereagh's motion for an adjournment to the 1st of March next. He was supported by Abercromby and Sir Samuel Romilly: opposed by Whitbread, &c. Nobody thought it worth while to speak on the Ministerial side.

News of Buonaparte's having offered to negotiate in a Congress to be held at Basle.

21*st*.—Went to Kidbrooke.

Resolution forwarded to Mr. Abbot, by Mr. John Gifford, as Secretary of the Pitt Club.

THE PITT CLUB.

At a general and numerous meeting of the members of this club, held at the London Tavern, this thirtieth day of December, 1813;

NATHANIEL ATCHESON, ESQUIRE, IN THE CHAIR.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Club be given to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, for his dignified, patriotic, and manly support of the great cause of Constitutional Freedom, during the last session of Parliament, and for the expression of his determination to maintain inviolably the Constitution of the country in Church and State, as now by law established. And that Mr. Abbot be requested to accept the Gold Medal of this Club, as a mark of the respect of the members for his public and private character.

Resolved unanimously, That the preceding resolution and the gold medal be transmitted to Mr. Abbot by the Honorary Secretary.

Extracted from the minutes.

JOHN GIFFORD, Honorary Secretary.

CHAP. XLIII.

1814.

FRANCE IS INVADED ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER BY 274,000 MEN.—BATTLE OF BRIENNE.—LETTER FROM MR. PEEL ON IRISH AFFAIRS.—FROM LORD AUCKLAND ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE CONTINENT.—BATTLE OF ORTHES.—CAPTURE OF BORDEAUX.—NEGOTIATIONS AT CHATILLON.—LONG CONVERSATION WITH CANNING.—CAPTURE OF PARIS.—BUONAPARTE SENT TO ELBA.

THURSDAY, January 6th.—Within the last three days there has fallen more snow than has been remembered here for thirty years.

7th.—News arrived officially, and acknowledged by the French papers, &c., that the allies had crossed the Rhine near Basle, and marched upon Colmar, Beffort, and Porentruy; that the Swiss allowed the passage of the allies in the direction of France; and also through Berne to Geneva; that two regiments of Brabanters had joined the Dutch on the Waal; and that Soult was now upon the Gave d'Oleron. Buonaparte, in his address to the Legislative Assembly, announcing that Alsace, Franche Comté, and Bearn were invaded, and complaining that the allies, by their manifestoes, appealed to the people against the sovereign, &c. &c.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

Eden Farm, Jan. 7th, 1814.

My dear Sir,—The last Paris papers tempt me to break into your retirement with a line of congratulation. The French drama advances rapidly in its dénouement. Napoleon is brought to his last speech and confession, and seems to be nearly done up; and no longer to know *à quel saint se vouer*. He is most evidently hard pressed everywhere, without possessing any adequate means of resistance anywhere. It is worthy of remark, that the

Prince of Moscow [Ney] is sent to Besançon, to fight the Cossacks in the South of France.

A friend of ours in the Government writes to me this morning that, "the official returns of the allied armies entering France on the side of the Rhine amount to 274,000 men." He adds, that he has just made up the public accounts to the 5th inst., and the total net revenue of 1812 was 59,028,000*l.* For 1813, it was 62,957,000*l.* There are tides in the affairs of men.

. . . . . .

Yours ever most sincerely, AUCKLAND.

P.S.—Property Tax, 1812, 12,789,000*l.*; 1813, 13,965,000*l.*

13*th.*—Thanksgiving Day. News of the capture of Gluckstadt by the Crown Prince and English ships; also of the allies having entered Geneva, December 30th.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. NEWENHAM.

[Private.] Cortmore, Cork, Jan. 17th.

. . . . . .

The requisite recurrence to the task of preparing petitions to the Legislature in behalf of the political claims of the Roman Catholics, has gradually given consistency, strength, and extension, an alarming degree of popularity, and an incredible degree of control, to a most dangerous faction, apparently comprising a considerable number of active, ardent, daring, well-informed, ambitious men; actuated by strong, and perhaps immutable, principles of alienation from the Protestant Government of Great Britain. And I lament to add, that in conformity with, or, I should rather say, in subservience to, the evidently hostile views of this faction, the Romish clergy of all ranks seem prepared and resolved to act. The present state of the general mind of the Roman Catholic population appears to me extremely unfavourable to a continuance of internal tranquillity. The inflammatory and seductive language which has of late been used by the public speakers and leaders of that vast portion of the community; the language of the same nature which for several years has distinguished the newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, and other publications, patronised and promoted in their circulation by these active and enterprising men, and the uncharitable language, or rather the language of horror and hatred, of the British religion which is discoverable in several of the late widely distributed writings of Romish controversialists, must

necessarily have already made such a deep impression on the minds of the Roman Catholics as can scarcely fail to render the future government of Ireland peculiarly difficult, if not impracticable, unless the Ministers of the Crown adopt, without delay, a system of efficacious measures strictly suitable to the actual circumstances of this country. Nay, Sir, I shall venture so far as to express a persuasion, that the immediate exercise of the utmost vigilance, energy, firmness, activity, sagacity, and address on the part of the Government are indispensably requisite to prevent the future consequence of an extensive, sanguinary, and desolating rebellion.

. . . . . That Ministers have been misinformed and deceived on the subject of Irish affairs, I confess I am somewhat prone to believe. . . . . The prospect of external peace, combined with a persuasion that the disaffected in Ireland will quickly abandon their pursuits as soon as the empire shall be relieved from the arduous contest in which it is engaged, may, perhaps, in some degree influence the conduct of the Administration; for my part I am disposed to think that external peace, necessarily accompanied by a great diminution of the military force of the empire, and the consequent return of multitudes of Irish soldiers and seamen to their native country, will have an effect very different from that which many are in the habit of expecting: I dread it as much as I dread a continuation of the war; because I am not unacquainted with the magnitude of the Roman Catholic population, and with the peculiar circumstances, and prevailing character of the Irish. . . . . .

I would urge the immediate adoption of a system of precautionary, coercive, tutelary, and conciliatory measures; under a persuasion of the uniform expediency of endeavouring to preclude and provide against the probable effects of the habitual alienation of the Roman Catholics from our Protestant Government; and under an additional persuasion of the inutility and impolicy of *conciliation without coercion*, and the danger of the latter without the former. . . . . .

(After recommending a Parliamentary inquiry into the discipline, &c. of the Church of Rome; the introduction of a Bill to prevent the existing abuse of the right of petition; an augmentation of the military force in Ireland, with a reduction of the Volunteer force, and a reformation of the rural magistracy and police, he proceeds:)

The last permanent measure I would propose as requisite to be immediately adopted is, with due deference to your better opinion, the admission of the Roman Catholics into Parliament,

accompanied by a liberal extension of the patronage of Government to the most liberal and authoritative among them; the corporations being actually filled by Protestants, and four-fifths of the fee-simple of the land belonging to them, it is probable that not more than twenty Roman Catholics, if so many, would be returned; and I am persuaded that these conciliatory measures would have the immediate effect of dividing their formidable body into two parties, as adverse to each other as the predominant Roman Catholic party actually is to the Protestant Government of Great Britain.

To what I have said, I shall only add, that if a spirit of agricultural industry be diligently and effectually encouraged and fostered in Ireland, and if means be devised of inducing the Protestant Bishops to have a regard, in the exercise of their patronage, rather to the character and propagation of their religion than to private or political considerations, ... it is extremely probable that this country will at length cease to be a source of perplexity and apprehension to those who may be entrusted with the powers of Government, and that its vast natural advantages will render it eminently conducive to the future strength, opulence and grandeur of the British empire.

. . . . .

Your most faithful servant, &c. &c. Thos. Newenham.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. BUTTERWORTH.

[Private.] Bedford Square, Jan. 14th, 1814.

In the summer of 1812, several priests, from one vessel only, landed at Waterford from the Continent; and although some hesitation was felt by the Protestant magistrates, yet these priests soon found their way into the interior; and for many years past great facilities for settling in Ireland were offered to any priests from the Continent. A friend of mine lives in a parish of which the late priest had been an officer in the republican armies of France. . . . . .

Your obedient servant, Joseph Butterworth.

26*th*.—News of a treaty being signed between Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark.

Sunday, *Feb.* 13*th*.—News from Sir Charles Stewart and Lord Burghersh, through France, of the victory of Blucher over Buonaparte at Brienne in Champagne, on the 1st and 2nd inst.; after which Buonaparte re-

treated upon Troyes. The Custom House in London was burnt down on Friday night.

LETTER FROM MR. PEEL* TO MR. ABBOT.

Phœnix Park, Feb. 6th, 1814.

My dear Sir,—Though scarcely a day passes without some occurrence bearing directly or indirectly upon that great question which has occupied, and, I trust, still occupies, so much of your attention, and though all such occurrences to those who are locally concerned have their full share of interest and importance, there have still been few events with the communication of which I should have been justified in troubling you, or they have been of that notoriety, and have received that publicity, that comment or explanation from me would have been superfluous.

Among those of the latter description, the correspondence between the Catholic Board and Lord Donoughmore, and Mr. Grattan, and the speech of Dr. Dromgoole, are the most conspicuous. From what I can learn, that correspondence has very materially affected the relation between the Catholics and the leading supporters of their cause in Parliament.

I have heard it confidently asserted that Mr. Grattan would decline to make any motion on the Catholic question in the next session; and that Mr. Plunkett would not attend Parliament at all; Lord Donoughmore was, I know, deeply hurt at the return which his exertions in the cause have met with, and it was with difficulty that his friends persuaded him to abandon his intention of calling some of his detractors at the Board to a personal account. Of this I am sure, that, between the active part of the Catholic body and their Parliamentary supporters, and among the Catholics themselves, there is at the present moment nothing but distraction and disunion. I attribute that disunion, and the immense accession which has been made to the numbers of those who are adverse to concession to the Catholics, to the existence, and to the consequent violence and absurdity, of the Catholic Board.

I feel the full force of all the objections which are made to a connivance at the proceedings of that faction, though I see, it is true, little danger in them. Yet I admit that in all ordinary cases their continuance could not be too strongly deprecated.

* The late Sir Robert Peel.

But when I consider their collateral effects, when I *see* their production of nothing but division among the disaffected, and disgust and union among the loyal, I can reconcile myself to their existence, and, conscious of the error of those who suppose that Government is afraid to interfere, can submit without impatience to an imputation which I know to be unfounded.

The Catholic Board, of which such pompous descriptions are given in the public papers, which is termed "the representation of the Catholic body," "the depository of Catholic feeling," and has other titles equally imposing, consists at this moment, or, I should rather say, the effective and attending part of it consists, of about twenty persons. With two or perhaps three exceptions, this body is contemptible, so far as the talent of its members; with one exception (Lord Trench) so far as the rank; without exception, I believe, so far as their character is concerned. All the influence they have is through the press; and all the injury they do or can do is by the infamous and inflammatory libels which are put forth in their speeches.

In the papers, it is true, they make a considerable figure. The meeting of last Saturday, which waited three hours until twenty persons had assembled, appears in print of course a most numerous and respectable body; and the speeches which were delivered are moulded by the reporter into sense and English; and are *supposed* to have been *actually spoken by all but those* who heard the originals.

It is well, therefore, to consider the effect of our interference. We might produce—nay, I believe we could produce—proofs (though it would be most difficult and precarious to establish them) that these twenty persons assumed to represent the Catholics of Ireland. We might disperse them, by force if necessary, and successfully defend ourselves against the action for damages. The object to be gained is the complete termination of the representative capacity of the Board; a capacity which they disclaim, but which we infer from their proceedings. The risk to be incurred is in the failure of proof; and (be the proof what it may) we must take the chance of the passions, prejudices, and fears of the *jury*.

I do not use too strong an expression when I say that the consequences of an *unfavourable verdict* might be *terrible*; but, supposing us to be entirely successful, and that, under the Convention Act, we disperse, and are justified in dispersing, Mr. Scully, Mr. O'Connell, O'Gorman, &c., sitting as members of the Board, how are we to prevent them and their associates (under

the present law at least) of meeting next week under *another denomination*, or merely as individuals?

We must wait at least until there is some assumption of representation, and in the meantime their speeches will be as inflammatory as before. They will receive the same publicity; and the press, on which alone, in my opinion, their influence, or in fact existence as a body depends, and through which alone the injury is done, will confer a new and perhaps a better name, and equal importance, on the faction which is now called the Catholic Board.

While, therefore, the Board has been spared from direct attack, it has been attacked, and, in my opinion, most successfully, through the press. They have been hitherto inseparably united; but I trust the seeds of dissension have been plentifully sown; and, if I mistake not, the fruits are appearing. (10th February.*) The paper of which I enclose these very interesting numbers has been the firmest, indeed the only firm, supporter of the Board. Its circulation is very extensive, and the mischief precisely proportionate to it. The proprietor, Mr. Magee, is, and has been for some time, in *gaol*. He was sentenced a few months since to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 500*l*. for a libel on the Duke of Richmond; and yesterday to a further imprisonment of six months and a fine of 1000*l*. for the publication of certain resolutions entered into at a meeting at the Black Abbey in Kilkenny, which I hope you have seen. I enclose a copy of them. Of this meeting Major Bryan was the chairman; and of the resolutions we know that Mr. Scully (or Abbé Siéyes, as he is called here) was the author. These persons were notorious leaders of the faction; and we foresaw that by the prosecution of Magee we should either compel them to avow themselves the authors of the publication, or we should commit them with the press, if they transferred to the press the punishment of their delinquency. They chose the latter alternative. As the Solicitor-General observed, they entered into partnership with Magee, but left the gaol part of the concern exclusively to him.

I beg that you will read the publication of the "Evening Post" of the 10th February: that part of it I mean under the head of "Kilkenny Resolutions." I think I may appeal to it as a proof that our predictions will not be wholly falsified. Perhaps I am too sanguine, but I attach great importance to those two columns. I hope that Mr. Magee will prove a prophet; and that after having done incalculable mischief to the cause of

* It appears that this letter was written at intervals.

which it is a professed friend, though I believe unintentionally an enemy, it will "go out of itself like the light of a lamp; will be deserted even by the Catholics, to whom the speechifyings and the resolutions will become a nuisance, and, instead of *being honourably crushed by a Crown prosecution*, it will die in a ditch without public sympathy or public regret." This, its natural death, would be infinitely preferable to a more violent and less dishonourable one.

I ought to apologise to you for having troubled you when matters which, though perhaps more materially than any other, affecting the state of *public feeling in this country*, and perhaps the discussion in Parliament upon the Catholic question, are not precisely within the limit of your inquiries. Instead of answering them I have been vindicating the Government. I can only justify myself by the proof which I have given of a wish at least to stand well in your opinion.

I shall conclude this long letter by mentioning to you a circumstance which, however trifling in itself, is not an unimportant one when considered as an indication of the feeling out of which it originated.

I have before me at this moment a letter which was addressed a short time since by Dr. O'Donnell, the *titular* Bishop of Derry, to *the* Bishop of Derry. If I were not writing to so good a Protestant I should almost feel it necessary to say the Protestant Bishop of Derry.

Dr. O'Donnell is a very loyal man, and is much abused by his Catholic brethren. He has lived on very good terms with, and has a great respect for, the Bishop of Derry; but in writing to him on some subject connected with a school which has been established at Derry, he addresses his letter to "The Right Rev. and Hon. Dr. Knox;" and the *seal* has the following inscription: "Carolus O'Donnell, Episcopus Derriensis." Until very recently he had addressed the Bishop by his usual title. I think we may infer that Dr. O'Donnell would not be satisfied with a concurrent jurisdiction with Dr. Knox; and I believe Dr. O'Donnell is the least ambitious of the titular bench. It is perhaps too much to found such an inference on the superscription of a letter. I believe, however, that it is observed by Bacon that "you shall sooner discover how the wind blows by casting up a straw than a stone."

Believe me ever, my dear Sir, with great esteem,
Yours most faithfully, ROBERT PEEL.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

P.S. I have been obliged to write this letter, which I began on this day week, at different periods, on account of interruptions by business. The Kilkenny resolutions are noticed and given at full length in the Attorney-General's speech published in the "Evening Post" of the 8th inst.

A SECOND LETTER FROM THE SAME, SENT AT THE SAME TIME.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 13th, 1814.

My dear Sir,—Before the receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst., I had begun a letter to you on some matters connected with the state of the Catholic question, which, hasty and imperfect as it is, I have determined to forward to you.

I have been long attempting, but without much success, to obtain some accurate information in regard to the *state of the regulars* of the Roman Catholic religion, but I have great hopes that I shall be enabled to procure some on which I can rely very shortly.

I have reason to believe that the treaty for the purchase of Castle Browne, which was suspended, is now renewed, but that no settlement has been made. You shall hear from me upon these subjects in a few days. There are *no* documents relative to the state of the popular clergy of the Catholic Church in the Secretary of State's office, of a *later date than the Union*.

I doubt much whether the Catholic question will be brought forward at all in the ensuing session. I know that two of its warmest advocates here declared that it would be treason to the cause to urge a discussion of it in the present state of public feeling.

I think we must not expect a large attendance of Irish Members at the beginning of the session, as the assizes commence just at that period.

Yours most truly, &c. &c.,

ROBERT PEEL.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. ABBOT.

Eden Farm, Feb. 7th.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . In watching the dénouement and catastrophe of the great continental tragedy, my eyes are rivetted on the *Tamerlane* of the drama, and I cannot spare a look for your Grahams, Bluchers, and Bernadottes. . . . . .

I happen to have some good maps of French roads and French departments, and they interest me exceedingly. Unless the next papers shall announce a total overwhelming and overthrow of the tottering dynasty,—and such would not surprise me,—I will study the third volume of Dumouriez, and am glad to be reminded of it.

The French Romance has not impeded our evening readings of Miss Edgeworth's "Patronage." We have just finished it, and, on the whole, with impressions of dissatisfaction. She has crowded the work with characters, so as to make it almost as annoying as a great London assembly, and she has lost herself in Cabinet councils, ministerial politics, and court intrigues, legal proceedings, and details, "Characteristic Amenities" of chief justices, &c. &c. Still it is a work of good intention and considerable ability.

Lord Byron's new poem, "The Corsair," is, I think, the best work that he has produced, and certainly displays great poetical powers and genius. There are many lines which to me are obscure and unintelligible, but they are fully compensated by fine passages, and the story is interesting, though of that dark and ferocious cast and colour which leave a painful impression upon the mind. . . . . .

One o'clock. I do not like the Vassy report, but the writer of the "Morning Post" paragraph says that after that supposed victory Buonaparte *advanced* to Brienne. Now Brienne happens to be *twenty miles nearer to Paris* than Vassy.

Yours ever most sincerely,

AUCKLAND.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. BURTON.

Upper Brook Street, Feb. 14th.

My dear Speaker,—. . . . . The Wickhams, who were snowbound except by one footpath, made you acquainted with the prudence of their friends at Geneva; but perhaps they did not tell you an ingenious device by which Madame de Constance informed her mother, Madame Achard, of their expected deliverance without exciting any suspicion in the French postmaster under whose eyes her letter was to pass. "You will be surprised," she said, "to hear of the vast rise in the price of turkeys. Not a person in the town is content without one; and Messrs. So and So, who have all been fattening ten or twelve, have not one left, except each one for his own table." You, who are too much of a

Genevese not to have kept the Fête de l'Escalade* on the 12th December, will want no key to this mystery, which Mrs. Achard understood at once, and it proved well enough that the happy revival of this anniversary, which has been suspended ever since the loss of their liberties, was an event for which they were no way unprepared. I say nothing about foreign news. . . . . I am lost in wonder and gratitude, with now and then a momentary dread of some sudden reverse which deters me from joining hastily in what Sir John Nicholl told me was the Temple toast, "No peace with Buonaparte," a sentiment which indeed seems now to prevail generally. . . . . .

Yours sincerely, F. Burton.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Feb. 10th, 1814.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . You have probably been led to search for your papers by something relative to the Catholic question. Have you seen or heard of the plenary indulgence granted by the Pope on the 14th May, 1809, and recently published in Cork by Dr. Maylan, the Bishop, by which it is supposed about 500*l.* will be raised in Cork? The scandalous sale of such indulgences produced the Reformation. It is now resorted to in Ireland to raise money for Catholic purposes. What would be the power of a Catholic Assembly with such ways and means of supply? . . . . .

Very faithfully yours, Redesdale.

16*th*.—Lord Sidmouth called. We talked of the marriage of Princess Charlotte, &c.†

* This fête is celebrated to commemorate the failure of an attempt made by Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, in 1602, to make himself master of the city by surprise. A body of 200 men crossed the fosse of the Corratine and scaled the ramparts, but were overpowered by the citizens before they could receive the support of their comrades outside the wall; and the Genevese, having slain a great number in the conflict, hung all the rest as housebreakers.

† According to M. Thiers (*Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, vol. xvii. book 52), this marriage was an important part of Lord Castlereagh's policy, as connected with the projected establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands. It is said by the Duke of Buckingham (*England during the Regency*, vol. ii. p. 85), that it was broken off by Russian intrigue. The Grand Duchess of Oldenburg, the Emperor's sister, having, on a visit to England at the time, obtained such influence over the Princess Charlotte as to persuade her to refuse to marry the Prince of Orange, who the next year married the Russian Archduchess Anne.

28*th.* — At Lord Sidmouth's office met Lord Liverpool; talked over the proceedings upon the intended marriage of the Princess Charlotte to the Hereditary Prince of Orange, which is to be communicated to Parliament before Easter.

Tuesday, March 1st. — House of Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his place delivered verbally the Regent's message desiring the House to adjourn to the 21st. He had first moved to postpone the Committee of Supply from to-morrow to the 23rd, and was proceeding to postpone the Committee of Ways and Means, but was called upon to say whether he had any message to deliver as the justification for such a postponement. He then stated that the course he was pursuing was the same as on former occasions (particularly in 1745), by arranging all the pending business before he delivered the message; but admitted (as indeed I had urged him) that the message ought to come first; and then, according to the determination of the House, the postponement of other business would follow as a necessary consequence.

He then moved "That the House do at its rising this day adjourn to the 21st inst.," which, after some conversation and a formal amendment (assigning reasons for the acquiescence) was agreed to.

3*rd.* — (At Kidbrooke): Frost every night, and sleety snow in the daytime. The whole brook *still* frozen over as it was in *December* last.

20*th.* — Guns fired, and a Gazette published of Lord Wellington's defeating Soult at Orthes *, and his advance on Bordeaux. On the 4th Vansittart called, talked over the negotiations at Chatillon, &c. &c. I mentioned to him and to Lord Sidmouth the expediency of a Regency Bill to settle the Regency on the Princess Charlotte, in the event of the Regent's demise while the King was living; both thought it important and expedient, though not without personal difficulties.

* February 27th.

21*st*. — House of Commons. On the Chancellor of the Exchequer moving for commissariat accounts, a conversation took place in which it was agreed to prepare no votes except "upon account," and none that should close any branch of supply before Easter.

Lord Ossulston moved an address for instructions to the plenipotentiaries to include an amnesty for all royalists in any preliminaries. Previous question put and carried.

Ponsonby gave notice for Lord Morpeth for bringing forward the motion upon my speech soon after Easter. I desired to know if he was prepared to name a day, which he was *not* prepared to do, until he should know the length of the approaching recess.

22*nd*. — News of the capture of Bordeaux. General apprehension of preliminaries of peace having been already signed at Chatillon: an almost universal dread of any pretended peace with Buonaparte.

23*rd*. — Telegraph news of a Bourbon insurrection in the south of France.

24*th*. — Arbuthnot showed me a long letter from Dr. Cyril Jackson, about the "accursed congress," and referred to the Iliad, i. 381 — 407, and Diomed's answer, rejecting the terms proposed by the Trojans, and substituting for Helen the "crown of France."

The language of the Austrian minister, Count Meervelt, now here, is strong in expressing the reluctance of the Emperor of Austria (to join) in every hostile step which has been taken since the entrance of the allied armies into France.

The Government here have hopes that nothing has been concluded at Chatillon before they learnt the recent events in the south of France. By the latest accounts, not since the 13th, the expectation at Chatillon was, that the Congress would not break up.*

* The Congress, in fact, had been broken up on the 18th of March, on the delivery of a paper by Caulaincourt, demanding, as Napoleon's ultimatum, the boundary of the Rhine for France, a large kingdom in Italy for Eugene Beauharnais, &c.; which terms were at once refused by the allies. The Congress had sat exactly six weeks, having been opened Feb. 4th.

Two deputies (emigrés) arrived from the Duc d'Angoulême at Bordeaux, for arms and money.

In the House of Commons. Vansittart moved the thanks of the House to Lord Wellington for the victory at Orthes.

26th. — News from Blucher to the 20th; he had intercepted a courier to Buonaparte with the Bordeaux news. Blucher was moving his corps upon Soissons and Rheims, retaining Laon.

No news from Chatillon later than the 15th.

27th. — Canning came by appointment. He said he came about *himself*, and about *me*.

First,—About *me*. That he was desirous of taking any part for *me* upon Lord Morpeth's motion, not implicating his own opinion on the Catholic question; and I explained to him how my view of it, as well as Lord Castlereagh's and Bathurst's, stood clear of the merits of the Catholic question, upon which I might be well justified upon the facts of the case, even by those who nevertheless might maintain their wish that the case had been different, and declare their intention to labour hereafter to produce a different result. Lord Morpeth's motion, he said, he had heard (through Lord Boringdon) was to be of the *mildest* sort; but I told him that, however worded, it must imply *censure*, or it was nothing, and that I expected and desired, not thanks (for upon discharging a duty I did not look for thanks), but a *justification* to oppose the *accusation*.

As to *himself*. His question was about my departure to the House of Lords, which would vacate Oxford for him. He had heard so much more last summer, and now again, than he believed to be certain,—(as nevertheless to make him desirous of information) from Carlton House, *not* from the Government, in expressing a wish for his acceding to the Administration. My promotion to a peerage (and *my willingness* to *accept* it), had always been held out to him as promoting facilities for his friends, by opening a situation to Bathurst, by which the Duchy of Lancaster would be disposable in favour

of Lord Granville Leveson Gower; but nevertheless he had observed the Government gave out Manners Sutton as my probable successor, which he supposed was to put his expectations the other way.

I told him that never from Government, nor *directly* from Carlton House, had I received any proposition, nor had any communication whatever been made to me upon the subject; but to *remarks* which had been made to me last summer, and since, upon the facility of my obtaining a peerage, I had remarked in answer that I did not presume to think of any such removal; and that, without professing to suppose myself of much use where I was, or anywhere else, I had no present disposition to do otherwise than continue to labour on. Neither he nor I named Mac Mahon as the channel of our respective communications, although I suppose we both meant the same person.

He then talked of taking Bishopstone, in Sussex, for his residence, on account of his son; and, after repeating my former assurance that I would give him the earliest intimation about myself, if any unexpected occurrence should render my vacating Oxford probable, he departed in the same desultory discourse about peace and war; in which he expressed a disposition favourable to peace upon solid terms (*e. g.* with Antwerp excluded from French power). And feared embarking on the fresh principle of renewing the war upon the interminable prospect of its ceasing only with the destruction of Buonaparte's power.

28*th*.— House of Commons. On the part of Lord Morpeth, Mr. Ponsonby gave notice for Tuesday, April 19th, being the second day after the proposed Easter recess. This was objected to by Mr. Cartwright, as falling in the week of Quarter Sessions, when English Members would be necessarily absent. Mr. Ponsonby then said he would communicate with Lord Morpeth for a later day. Mr. Cartwright gave notice, that whenever the day should be fixed he should move, that upon that day the House should be called over.

29*th*.—Called on Vansittart to say, 1st. That if he thought (as I did), that there should be a call of the House on Lord Morpeth's motion, it might be proper for him, as having the lead in the House, to support Cartwright's motion, and express his approbation of it. 2nd. That it might be proper also to take the same occasion of asking the nature of the proposed motion; as, if not yet settled, it would be a singular hesitation at the end of nine months: and, if settled, it ought not to be made a secret. 3rd. To represent that, if any attempt was made to have the motion discussed in a Committee, that should be resisted, as a departure from all Parliamentary usage by those who complained of the speech itself, as objectionable, because (as they alleged), it departed from the course of Parliament.

We agreed to the first, *subject to his consulting with his colleagues*. The second he thought very reasonable. And the third point he thought also should be attended to. A Committee to search for precedents (as asked for), he thought ought not to be admitted at this time; as last November was the first meeting since the recess, it ought to have been asked for then, if at all. And at the end of nine months everybody had had time enough to look into the Journals.

Bankes rather collected that the Opposition found they could make nothing of their case as a charge of unparliamentary conduct, or violation of duty, though they were very sore and angry that such a speech had been made.

30*th*.—Saw Hiley Addington, who had received a letter from his son at Liege, dated the 24th, which stated that the negotiations at Chatillon are broken off by Buonaparte in terms of insolence; mentioning also, Blucher's failing health, and the Crown Prince's dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Allied Sovereigns, with whom he was about to have a conference.

House of Commons. Ponsonby fixed Friday, April 22nd, for my question; and Cartwright moved the call of the House for that day. Ponsonby refusing, on the

part of Lord Morpeth, to put off his motion to the following week (understood to be only on account of Plunkett's desire to get back to Dublin for the term), and refusing also to give any particular explanation of his motion.

Friday, April 1st.—Gazettes from Paris of the 28th, with Buonaparte's declaration to his Senate, that the negotiations were broken off, the allies having demanded terms incompatible with his honour, &c., and throwing himself upon the French nation for support.

4th.— House of Commons. Vansittart announced the rupture of the negotiations, with an expected joint declaration of the allies upon their principles and views; to which would be added a selection of papers for Parliament, showing the particulars upon which the negotiation had turned and ultimately failed.

5th. — News of battles from March 21st* to 25th, in which the allies beat Buonaparte, joined Blucher's and Schwartzenberg's armies, and advanced upon Paris.

News again of a great battle on the 30th, between the allies and King Joseph, with Marmont and Mortier, at Montmartre and Belleville, near Paris. A flag of truce at the barrier on the evening of the 30th, and the entry of the Emperor Alexander and King of Prussia into Paris on the 31st, by a capitulation with Marmont, &c., who was to evacuate Paris by the Britanny Gate, before nine o'clock in the morning of the 31st. Captain Harris, Aide-de-camp to Sir Charles Stewart, brought this intelligence between three and four.

I dined at Lord Liverpool's to meet her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Catharine of Russia.† The Duchess brought Prince Gazerin and another Russian Prince, with two old ugly women of her household.

* On March 20th there was a fierce but nearly drawn battle at Arcis sur Aube; on the 25th Marmont and Mortier were defeated at Fére Charassenoise; on the 27th Napoleon beat Winzingerode at St. Dizier; on the 28th the allied armies reached the neighbourhood of Paris; and on the 30th, as mentioned in the text, the great battle in front of the city took place, which resulted in its surrender.

† Better known as the Duchess of Oldenburg.

Count and Countess Lieven also dined there. The Duchess is above the middle stature, slender and fair, with a broad Calmuck face, speaks English fluently and readily to everybody. She professed her intention to come and hear the "discussions on the peace."

Captain Harris rode all the way from Paris by Brussels to Sir Thomas Graham* near Antwerp; was sent from thence by Tolen to Admiral Young in the "Roompot," and landed at Deal this morning, having left Paris on the evening of the 30th after the flag of truce was sent to negotiate the surrender. He was driven back with his party of Cossacks near to Paris, but proceeded afterwards by Nanteuil, &c., where the people kissed his knees, and his horse, and openly avowed their detestation of Buonaparte.

Buonaparte was left at Montmirail with about 45,000 men, between thirty and forty miles from Paris. The allies entered the city with about 180,000 men.

7th.—Received from Lord Morpeth the following copy of his intended motion:—

That a special entry be made in the journals, that it be not drawn into precedent for any Speaker, except by the special direction of this House, to inform His Majesty either at the Bar of the House of Lords or elsewhere, of any proposal made to the House by any of the Members, either in the way of Bill or motion, or to acquaint His Majesty with any proceedings thereupon until the same shall have been consented to by the House.

Left London for Kidbrooke. During the Easter recess there arrived news of the dethronement of Buonaparte, and recall of the Bourbons.

Three days' illuminations in London.

Buonaparte sent off to Elba under an escort of 2000 Cossacks.

* Sir Thomas Graham was besieging Bergen op Zoom.

CHAP. XLIV.

1814.

LORD MORPETH'S MOTION TO CENSURE THE SPEAKER FOR HIS SPEECH IN THE PRECEDING YEAR.—LETTERS FROM MR. RANKES, MR. WILBERFORCE, ETC. — THE SPEAKER'S SPEECH IN HIS OWN DEFENCE. — LORD MORPETH'S MOTION LOST BY A LARGE MAJORITY. — LORD WELLINGTON MADE A DUKE. — CONVERSATION WITH MR. PEEL.

Extracts from Letters on the subject of Lord Morpeth's Motion.

FROM MR. YORKE.

Benington's, Monday, April 11th.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—Your note, with its enclosure of the 8th, followed me to this place. The intended motion, though neither *fair* nor conformable to the opinions which have been heretofore pronounced on the subject, is sufficiently *adroit*, and is indeed put in the only form in which a Parliamentary question could be raised, as it seems to me, on this occasion. It proceeds on something like the old-established idea that the King is not to be informed of what is passing in the House, without its permission. On the other hand, it is clear from the precedents of Speaker Onslow and Spencer Compton (both in the best times), that the above proposition has never been hitherto understood, contended for, or acted upon to anything like the extent, or in the view and bearing asserted by the terms of Lord Morpeth's motion. Nor can I, as at present enlightened, perceive the expediency or propriety of laying down any such rule *now*, growing out of the transaction which has been called in question. At the same time it strikes me it may be difficult to meet a motion so worded by a distinct negative, and it may, accordingly, be worth the consideration of yourself and friends, whether it should not be disposed of by the previous question, or by amending it in some way or other.

. . . . . In the meantime let us congratulate ourselves and return thanks to the Almighty for the brilliant, decisive, and *astonishing* conclusion of this most tedious and terrible drama. But the catastrophe of the principal performer is, to

me, quite unlooked for, and the most wonderful thing of all. "Can this be the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms, that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, that opened not the house of his prisoners?" Why Nero and Otho themselves made a more dignified exit from the stage. And besides, he has disappointed my quotation from Lucan. No: he can never more pretend to be on a footing with Alexander or Cæsar; and Nature had no occasion to call for the *Suprema Dies* as the only way of putting an end to this most *vesane emperor*.

Always yours most truly,

C. Yorke.

FROM MR. HENRY BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, April 11th, 1814.

My dear Speaker,—. . . . . The form of Lord Morpeth's motion does not surprise me; indeed, if I recollect right, I said when we were last together that this threatened censure could assume no other form than that of some feeble abstract proposition, pretending to regulate something for the future, but not venturing to say, except by implication, that what has been done has been either ill done, or contrary to the cause of precedent.

My own opinion upon the first reading was, and still is, that a direct negative is preferable to any amendment; for, if no inconvenience has arisen, in times either past or present, from Speakers being left to their own discretion, how can the House be persuaded to do so unusual an act as the making of a special entry to circumscribe discretion?

The distinction you take between matters pending, and matters concluded, *pro hac vice*, is most correct as well as important, and justifies me in my original view of the question.

I am not very fond of amendments which depart entirely from the terms of the subject proposed, and substitute something widely different. They have the appearance of evading the question rather than fairly meeting and discussing it, and the minority seems, in cases of that sort, to be less beaten by sound argument, than by dexterity in shifting the question, and by members voting, not against what was proposed, but for something which was so composed as to be more palatable.

The notion of going into a Committee must, of course, be given up, and there is censure enough implied for you, after the motion is made, to make your statement from the Chair, after

which no doubt can be entertained as to the judgment of the House, in whatever way it may be, upon consideration, deemed expedient to treat the subject. . . . . .

Ever most sincerely yours,

H. Bankes.

FROM MR. WILBERFORCE.

Kensington Gore, April 22nd, 3 o'clock.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—It would be unpardonable in me just now to trespass on your time, but allow me to trouble you with three lines to express the sincere regret I feel at being prevented (by a relapse of a complaint on the lungs, which has been hanging on me a fortnight) from executing my intention of attending the House to-night, for the purpose of manifesting my conviction that you had not, in the instance which will be the subject of discussion, acted differently from that which all men agree in acknowledging to have been the uniform tenor of your public conduct. I can truly declare that it was not only a *real* but a *great* relief to my mind when I found from the information which Bankes kindly pointed and gave to me, that, though differing from you (I can truly say with diffidence I must differ from you on any such subject) on the subject of your speech, that, as I must confess I always expected and publicly declared, you were *perfectly warranted* by the *best authority and practice*, and that *you might perhaps have gone further.*

I am, with great respect and regard, my dear Mr. Speaker,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

W. Wilberforce.

Monday, April 18*th.*—Returned to London.

19*th.*—Vansittart called. He saw no necessity for any vote of approbation, as there was no vote of censure.

20*th.*—Public entry of the King of France into London!

21*st.*—Sir John C. Hippesley called to say that if I wished to-morrow to allude to Lord Petre's letter, he was ready to admit it if appealed to. I told him that I had no thoughts of entering into the Roman Catholic question upon Lord Morpeth's motion, and should disclaim it altogether; as it was *my* official conduct, and not *their* claims that were to be under discussion.

Bankes related to me the result of the meeting in Downing Street, and brought me a copy of the resolution which it was proposed to vote; affirming the old practice, and declaring that nothing had occurred which required the interference of the House.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. The Grand Duchess of Russia, attended by General Turner and a Russian lady and officer, came at five o'clock to my house, and went through my library to my private room behind the House of Commons, and took their seats in the middle of the gallery on my right hand. She remained there till eight.

Soon after five Lord Morpeth rose to make his motion upon my speech; Tierney sitting beside him.

After Lord Morpeth's speech and motion I made from the chair the following vindication of my own conduct.

After the motion of the noble Lord, prefaced with whatever forms of personal civility, but implying, necessarily implying, a grave and serious charge of misconduct in the speech delivered by me at the bar of the House of Lords at the close of the last session, the House will naturally expect that I should be desirous of now offering myself to their attention.

I should be very sorry indeed to be thought insensible to the peculiar course of proceeding adopted by the noble Lord, injurious also, as I think, to the character and dignity of the House; but nevertheless I shall abstain from all further comment on that head. I shall abstain also from discussing in any degree whatever the merits of the great political question to which the charge relates,—a question which I am not this day called upon to argue.

Denounced, however, not long since, to this House as "the unauthorised and unauthentic expositor of its opinions," whose conduct was "objectionable on solid and constitutional grounds," and whose speech in the name of this House deserved "reprehension," I confess I did expect from the justice and plain dealing of the noble Lord that he would this day have brought forward some charge in express and direct terms, and have demanded a distinct vote of censure. But although his motion seems only to establish some prospective regulation, which in this place it is not for me to debate; and although it proceeds upon principles

and facts which (however they may appear to me to be quite irrelevant to the existing case) I am not at liberty to discuss; nevertheless, as it is founded wholly upon an assumption of misconduct on my part, which it desires may not be drawn into precedent hereafter, I presume the House will allow me to lay fully before them those considerations upon which I trust it will appear that such an accusation is entirely groundless.

Upon this subject I conceive that there are substantially two distinct questions to which I am called upon to answer in my own vindication; first, whether according to the usage of Parliament the proceedings in this House upon the Roman Catholic claims were fit matter to be mentioned or adverted to in such a speech at such a time? Secondly, if fit to be mentioned at all, were they mentioned in a proper manner?

Upon the first question, whether the proceedings of this House upon the Roman Catholic claims were fit to be mentioned in such a speech at such a time, I very humbly submit to the House that, according to the usage and practice of Parliament, all or any of the principal objects which have employed the attention of the Commons during the session, may be fit matters to be mentioned in such a speech.

The rule and practice are so laid down in the text-book which we justly allow to be the best authority upon our forms of proceeding. The journal entries of the House of Lords, where these speeches are necessarily noticed, are consistent with the rule so laid down; and so are some of the principal instances and authorities of which we have any memorial during the course of the last century.

In Mr. Hatsell's book, which we acknowledge as our best text book, the rule is laid down thus:—"It has been customary for the Speaker, in presenting any Bill of Supply at the close of a session, to recapitulate the principal objects which have employed the attention of the Commons during their sitting."

The journal entries of the Lords are the regular and authentic evidence of the usage upon this head; but, in looking through these entries, we must always bear in mind that the speeches made upon presenting Bills of Supply at the usual period of closing a session, are the only cases strictly applicable to the present question.

The earliest of these speeches mentioned in the Lords' Journals is in 1509, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and at first the entries state only the general substance of those speeches. In the reign of Elizabeth some are given by D'Ewes, in *hæc verba*. There is a speech by Lenthal in 1641, given at length in the

journal; and several others of the same sort in the reign of Charles II. In the year 1689 two such speeches are entered; but none during the rest of King William's reign, nor any during the reign of Queen Anne. There are only four by Mr. Compton during the reign of George I., in the Lords' Journal, and one in the Commons' Journal. But from the year 1721 to this time there is no prorogation speech entered at length in either journal, except one by Mr. Onslow, in 1745, which was entered in the Journal of this House at the commencement of the following session.

The ordinary form of entry in the Lords' Journal, from the Revolution to the present time, has been that "the Speaker after a speech" sometimes stated to be "a long speech," sometimes "a short speech," or "after a speech in relation to the money bills and other matters," presented the Bills of Supply. There are not fewer than fourteen speeches of Mr. Onslow noticed in this last manner in the Lords' Journal as embracing "other matters" besides the Bills of Supply; and the same form of entry is also to be found in the early years of the present reign.

Amongst the instances and authorities contained in these entries abundant proof will be found of the extent to which this usage has prevailed in all times. Upon a general view of the subjects to which these speeches have extended, it appears that some of the earliest relate not only to Bills of Supply, but take notice also of the principal other bills which had been previously passed in the same session. In the reign of James I. they dwell at considerable length on "other matters" transacted or debated in Parliament, which were not of a nature to be formed into bills, or tendered for the royal assent. Lenthal's speech in 1641, and the many speeches in the reign of Charles II., are extremely comprehensive in their topics, even stating the points upon which differences of opinion had arisen, and their result upon debate.

The speech of Mr. Compton in 1715, printed by order of the House of Commons in their own journals, embraces a large compass of various matters; and Mr. Onslow's speech in 1745, printed with the like approbation, reviews the whole state of public affairs in and out of Parliament. The speech of Mr. Compton states the impeachment which the Commons had commenced against the Ministers of the Crown for the peace of Utrecht; and that of Mr. Onslow states the result of their inquiries into the recent misconduct of the naval commanders in the Mediterranean. None other of Mr. Onslow's speeches

during the thirty-five years that he presided in this place, are printed at length in the Journal of either House; but the few which have been published in the historical memorials of the last century sufficiently prove that the same practice continued to prevail.

Upon a more particular examination of the speeches made during the last century, it will be seen that they have extended not only to Bills offered for the royal assent, and matters upon which the House had expressed its opinion by address, but that they have also entered at large into various other public occurrences at home and abroad, upon which Parliament had employed its time and deliberation; and although it does not appear that this House had directed them to be presented to the Sovereign in any manner whatever, by Bills or otherwise.

Thus, the voluntary associations and subscriptions entered into by the people at the time of the rebellion, and their legality under the circumstances of such a crisis, are enlarged upon by Mr. Onslow at one period, and, at another, he enters at length into the general impolicy and ill consequences of all continental wars and alliances.

But beyond these matters of general concern and notoriety, it has also been deemed within the province of these speeches to advert to proceedings within the walls of Parliament, some of which, although of a legislative character, were not in progress or preparation for the royal assent; and others exclusively concerned the privileges of this House.

Thus, after the miscarriage of Admirals Matthews and Lestock, in the Mediterranean in 1744, Mr. Onslow, in presenting the Bill for regulating courts martial, states not only the effect of that Bill, but enlarges also upon the general necessity of a more extensive reformation of those courts; and that speech was sanctioned afterwards by the approbation of this House. And thus again, after the rebellion of 1745, Mr. Onslow, in presenting the Bill for more effectually disarming the Highlands of Scotland, proceeds to detail other measures for completing the Union by reforming the jurisprudence of the Highlands of Scotland, and (without any fear of reprehension) states various opinions upon the unsettled condition of that part of the kingdom, and the expediency of abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, as laying the foundation of future Bills in some future session.

Even the peculiar privilege and concern of the House of Commons, its employment in determining contested elections, was included by Mr. Onslow in rendering an account to the

Sovereign of the objects which had occupied the time of the Commons in the session of 1755.

And Sir Fletcher Norton, pursuing the same course, informs the King in 1775 of the satisfactory mode in which the members of the House of Commons had executed the Act of a former Parliament for determining contested elections, upon the merits of which Act he also very justly enlarges.

If besides these instances, it is required to produce some specific precedent of a speech, noticing any question or Bill negatived in either House of Parliament, it is to be observed, in the first place, that of the prorogation speeches actually made during the last century, very few (not more than eleven in fourscore years) having been published, nothing can be affirmed with absolute certainty of the frequency or infrequency of such specific cases; but the general principles and practice already stated will be found to comprehend every such case, nor has any such doubt been entertained hitherto. Two very striking proofs may be adduced, that such a doubt can have no parliamentary foundation.

From the access allowed me by the present Lord Onslow to his father's parliamentary papers (a kind and liberal indulgence, by which I have long and often profited), it appears to have been the distinct and deliberate opinion of Mr. Onslow, that it belonged to the province of the Speaker, in presenting Money Bills, to advert not only to Bills which had received the royal assent, or were in readiness to receive it, but to those also, which after having occupied the attention of the House, nevertheless had failed in their progress; and upon that opinion Mr. Onslow was prepared to have acted.

This case occurred in the year 1758, when several Bills (one of them for a more speedy remedy for the subject upon the writ of Habeas Corpus), which had passed the House of Commons after long debates, were thrown out by the House of Lords; and yet, upon the failure of these Bills and their value and importance to the Constitution, Mr. Onslow thought it his right and duty to have animadverted, as appears by a copy of his speech indorsed in his own hand, as designed to have been spoken, and which he was prevented from delivering only by the accident of His Majesty's sudden indisposition, which disabled him from coming in person to prorogue the Parliament. I cite this, therefore, only as an evidence of Mr. Onslow's opinion, but more conclusive evidence of it can scarcely be imagined.

The other case to which I would request the particular attention of the House occurred in later times, upon the very

subject to which the present discussion relates: and is entitled to the highest respect from the eminent character of the person whose authority it bears.

In the year 1792, in the Parliament of Ireland, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons for the relief of the Roman Catholics, by admitting them to the profession of the law, allowing their intermarriage with Protestants, and improving their condition in other respects, as to education and apprenticeships. After the second reading of this Bill and its first commitment, a question arose upon the petition from the then Roman Catholic Committee, signed by Byrne and others, praying the elective franchise, and this petition, upon full debate and a division, was rejected. At the close of the session, the Speaker, Mr. Foster (whom, though present, I may name historically), a name never to be mentioned but with honour, on presenting the Money Bills, although there was not on that day any Bill whatever concerning the Roman Catholics presented to the throne, thought it his duty to advert to a subject of such high importance; and emphatically to state the sentiments of the House of Commons upon the indispensable necessity of a Protestant Parliament, and Protestant ascendency. For that speech, not questioned as unconstitutional, he upon the same day received the thanks of the House of Commons.

Upon reviewing the whole of the first question, the main criterion by which the topics of these speeches have been selected, appears to have been the political importance of the measures which have employed the attention of the House of Commons during the preceding session, unlimited by any consideration of their progress or their failure.

And, without entering into the merits of the particular subject introduced into the speech now in discussion, its paramount importance at least must be acknowledged on all sides; whether it be, as alleged on the one hand, a measure indispensable to the strength of the empire, or whether it be, as alleged on the other hand, a bill subversive of the present fundamental laws of the Constitution.

All, therefore, that I need assert upon this day is, the importance of the subject, and that its importance alone not only justified the noticing it, but required that it should not be passed over in silence; even if no Bill had been finally presented for granting to the Roman Catholics any species of relief whatever; an occurrence which, nevertheless, actually made part of this transaction, and necessarily brought the subject under the legislative consideration of the Sovereign.

The second question is whether the proceedings in this House respecting the Roman Catholic claims, if fit to be mentioned at all in such a speech, were mentioned in a proper manner? And upon this point I submit to the judgment of the House, that the proceedings were stated with truth and correctness.

At the end of the session of 1812, this House laid before His Royal Highness the Prince Regent their resolution to take into their most serious consideration the laws affecting His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland; and at the close of the last session, the Roman Catholic question, having been before Parliament from the earliest to the latest period of its sittings, the larger relief which was prayed for had not been granted, but a Bill of subordinate relief brought down from the Lords (the Duke of Norfolk's Bill) had been passed. Upon this double result the entire passage in the speech complained of ran thus. After noticing the Sinking Fund Bill and the East India Bill, it proceeded as follows: —

"But these are not the only subjects to which our attention has been called. Other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the Throne, the Parliament, and the Government of this country are made fundamentally Protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorised to administer the powers and jurisdiction of this realm, willing as we are, and willing as I trust we ever shall be, to allow the largest scope to religious toleration."

In the first division of this paragraph, the fact is stated, namely, that the House did *not consent* that the Roman Catholics should be authorised to administer the powers and jurisdiction of the realm. Could less be stated? Did not the petitioners pray for this right? Was not the question put and decided against it. For by all sides it was agreed that the seat in Parliament constituted the chief object of this claim, and virtually included all the rest.

That a repeal of the disqualifications was asked and not granted is indisputable. The going into a committee of the whole House was to consider, and not necessarily to grant. The Bill and its second reading implied an agreement to the principle of granting some relief, but did not and could not decide what specific relief. And the main enactment proposed in the Committee for granting political power was there negatived.

In this narrative of the fact there is nothing asserted of the

Bill having been rejected, nor of any determination prospectively not to grant the same or other privileges, if upon reconsideration, or at any other time, and under any change of circumstances, it should be thought expedient.

It states what the House at that time did; it adhered to the laws as they now are, describing their nature. It states what the House did not; it did not consent to the change; and it describes the Roman Catholics by their own characteristic distinction, namely, of "persons acknowledging a foreign jurisdiction."

So far as the statement of the fact alleges also the grounds and principles upon which the determination of the House rested, namely, by describing the laws, as they now are, to be "those by which the Throne, the Parliament, and the Government are made fundamentally Protestant," and also by describing the Roman Catholics as "persons acknowledging a foreign jurisdiction," I conceive that it is strictly within the right and duty of the Speaker to allege the grounds and principles upon which any measure appears to have been decided, subject of course to the judgment of the House; it is expressly so laid down by that authority which we habitually consider as the best upon such subjects; and the question, so far as regards the Speaker's conduct in that respect will not be upon the abstract validity or invalidity of the principles themselves, but whether he has fairly collected and truly stated those principles which were actually adduced in debate and apparently relied upon by the majority in support of their determination.

As to the technical objection thrown out in the preliminary debates upon this proceeding, and again revived by the noble Lord, that the Speaker can know nothing of what passes in a Committee, either as to the proceeding, or as to the reasons upon which the proceeding is founded: in the first place, it is strictly his duty to be there as "Speaker," and to be cognisant of all that passes, although, by indulgence, his absence may be excused. And it is so much his duty to be present, that if necessary, he may (as has happened in my own time), upon his own observation of what is passing, and upon his own responsibility, take the chair "as Speaker," without the leave of the House, to put an end to any disorder that may arise in the Committee.

But, beyond this, it is in every Parliamentary sense known to the "Speaker," as such, that any Bill has been committed; that the Bill has not come out of committee. And in the Committee Book he will find recorded the exact proceeding upon

which the Bill came to its end. For the Committee Books, made up and preserved in due series, are of the same authority, in their degree of importance, as the Journal Book itself; and the modern usage of printing only the latter, does not annihilate the authority of the former.

Upon such a technical objection, contradicted by theory and fact, I should not have expected that any person versed in the forms of Parliament would have attempted to raise up the pretence of an argument.

As to the concluding part of the paragraph now under consideration, stating the general disposition of Parliament to "grant religious toleration," this disposition had been recently exemplified by that other Bill upon the same subject passed at the close of the same session, by which Roman Catholics, to whom the larger relief had not been granted, had nevertheless been placed upon a more perfect footing of toleration than they had before enjoyed.

And the subject of concession to the Roman Catholics having thus been necessarily presented to the consideration of the Sovereign by this latter Bill, the line by which Parliament had limited the provisions of this particular measure was made the more clear and distinct by previously pointing out the larger extent to which it had not thought fit to proceed.

Such a statement of the whole of these proceedings, and their result appeared also to be more suitably addressed to the Sovereign, this House having previously informed him of its resolution to enter upon this subject; and his prerogatives and duties being highly concerned in all measures which regulate the qualifications required by law for executing the political powers and jurisdictions of the realm.

Upon the whole matter now before the House, I humbly submit to its consideration,

That the Speaker of the House of Commons is authorised by usage of Parliament, on presenting Money Bills at the close of a session, to address the Sovereign upon the result of any of those proceedings which have principally employed the attention of the Commons during the course of the session. That the political importance of those proceedings, and the length of time and attention which they may have occupied, are to be the just criterion of his selection, and that, where any Bill is passed, upon any part of a subject important in itself, it becomes more especially his duty to explain the whole proceedings belonging to it in their true extent and effect.

Great names and long experience have sanctioned these

opinions; with these guides and lights it might have been presumed that the path of duty was plain and safe; and by showing that I have conformed to these authorities, I trust that enough has been done to establish my justification.

Upon the noble Lord's proposition, however, as a prospective rule, it is not for me to sway the deliberation of the House, or to dwell at large upon the broad and manifest distinction between the rules which are necessary for protecting the freedom of our debates during the continuance of a session, and those which are to govern the historical narrative of its proceedings when the session is come to its end.

But nevertheless upon this, as upon all other duties of the Speaker's office, if the House, which has hitherto forborne to give him any special directions, should undertake to lay down new regulations, or give a new interpretation to existing rules, prescribing narrower limits to his delegated authority, and abridging the discretionary power with which he has been hitherto entrusted, it will be for the House to weigh well the necessity or expediency of any such regulations; and if such regulations be established, it will be for him to conform to any such commands with the most implicit obedience.

For myself I have only to add, with my humble thanks to the House for their indulgent hearing, that in considering the duty which I had to discharge at the close of the last session of Parliament, I saw the proceedings upon the Roman Catholic claims amongst the most important in character, and the longest under discussion; I conceived it therefore incumbent on me to state the result, and that statement I made.

If in this transaction my conduct shall incur the displeasure of the House, even by any indirect or implied vote of censure, I shall indeed deeply lament it as a heavy misfortune, but I shall stand for ever wholly acquitted to my own conscience from any intention to do otherwise than execute with firmness and fidelity what appeared to my understanding to be a duty which I owed to the House, whose servant I am, and to the nation whose representatives we all are.

I now deliver up without fear, though not without concern, the consideration of my conduct, which the noble Lord has thought fit to arraign, and upon which this House is substantially called upon to declare its judgment.*

Whitbread followed, and moved an amendment, seconded by General Matthew, declaring that "The Speaker in his speech, so addressed to His Royal

* Collated with MS. speech.

Highness the Prince Regent at the Bar of the House of Lords, was guilty of a violation of the trust reposed in him, and of a breach of the privileges of this House, of which he is the chosen guardian and protector."

Bankes spoke next, and concluded with reading his proposed motion, stating the existence of the custom for the Speaker to make a speech at the Bar of the House of Lords, "recapitulating the principal objects which had employed the attention of the Commons during their sitting;" and asserting "that nothing has occurred which calls for any interference on the part of this House for the regulation of the conduct of the Speaker, either at the Bar of the House of Lords or elsewhere."

Sir John Newport, Mr. Peter Grant, Mr. Plunkett, and Mr. Tierney, spoke for Lord Morpeth's motion.

Canning, Frederick Douglas, Rose, Vansittart, and Bathurst, for Bankes's motion.

Division at 12.* For Lord Morpeth's motion, 106; against it, 274. After which Bankes's motion was carried without a division.

27*th*.—Dr. Jackson called and related all the particulars of the Regent's journey to Dover and back; and also the details of Colonel Campbell's private account of his conversation with Buonaparte, previous to his setting out with him from Fontainebleau to Elba.

Gazette of the Bayonne business.†

Also gazette of the suspension of hostilities with France by sea and land.

28*th*.—A proposal made to light Westminster Hall with gas. I protested against introducing any pipes among the wood work.

* Before this motion was put, Mr. Whitbread's amendment had been negatived without a division. A fuller account of the whole transaction will be found in *Hatsell's Precedents, &c.*, vol. iii. p. 531, &c.

† Sir John Hope was besieging Bayonne; and on the 24th April, after the restoration of the Bourbons, the news of which had not yet reached the south of France, the garrison made a furious sally, in which, though it was repulsed with heavy loss, they wounded Sir John Hope, and took him prisoner.

29*th.*—Canning called about Vansittart's offering himself for Oxford. House of Commons. Debate upon Romilly's Bill for subjecting real estates to simple contract debts.

Lord Wellington made a duke. Marshal Beresford, Sir Thomas Graham, Sir Stapleton Cotton, and Sir R. Hill made Peers.*

Monday, May 2nd.—Received a printed copy of a letter from the Cardinals de Propagandâ at Rome to the English and Irish prelates, instructing them to accept with gratitude the Bill of Relief as proposed last year.

3*rd.*—House of Commons. Address for the Regent's interposition in the approaching Congress for a general abolition of the Slave Trade. N.B. The Address in the Commons was drawn by Sir J. Mackintosh; that in the Lords by Lord Grenville.

4*th.*—House of Commons. In a debate on the Sinking Fund the House allowed Mr. Grenfell to read passages out of the Parliamentary Register, giving an account of a debate in 1786, to contradict what Mr. Thornton, who was present at that debate, stated to have passed upon that occasion.

9*th.*—By Colonel Campbell's letters, dated Fréjus, it appears that Buonaparte, to escape insult and assassination, was obliged to change his dress frequently on the road, and to wear the white cockade. Effigies smeared with blood were exhibited upon the road with inscriptions "*Tôt ou tard le crime sera puni.*"

At his earnest request, Colonel Campbell obtained from Admiral King a passage for Buonaparte from St. Tropez to Elba, on H.M.S. "Undaunted," of thirty-eight guns.

12*th.*—House of Commons. Votes of annuities, &c., to the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lynedoch, Lord Hill, and Lord Beresford. That to the Duke of Wellington was increased from 300,000*l.*, as at first proposed, to

* As Lord Beresford, Lord Lynedoch, Lord Combermere, and Lord Hill.

400,000*l.* Questions suggested of raising the other grants from 2000*l.* to 3000*l.* per annum, and continuing them with the limitations of their respective peerages.

Mr. Williams Wynn moved an Address in favour of Norway.* Lost by 79 against 234.

14*th.*—Lord Sidmouth and Hiley Addington came about House of Commons' orders. Agreed that the Secretary of State for the Home Department would give the same aid and facility to the House of Commons' orders as other departments of State do, whenever the distance or multiplicity of objects render it material to have that aid; all orders for Ireland being now taken charge of by the Secretary for Ireland, and those for Scotland going through an agent in the Treasury.

20*th.*—House of Commons. Long debate on Bankes's motion for a Committee on the Corn Laws. Motion lost by 99 to 42. The minority, including the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bathurst, Canning, Rose, Sir J. Mackintosh, &c.

23*rd.*—Peel called by appointment. He told me of the considerations which had occupied the Government, whether to proceed by new Bill, or, under the old Convention Act, to disperse "the Catholic Board;" and that orders were now gone over to disperse it at its next meeting, and by force if necessary.

Also talked over the Church fermentation about Quarantotti's letter †, and Dr. Kenny's foundation of the School at Clongrove Wood, late Castle Browne. Kenny's conversation with him, asserting the 16,000*l.* to be his own funds, though how obtained he refused to disclose; and that when his vow of poverty was objected to him in bar of his being the proprietor of such funds, he said that vow was only *simple* not *solemn*. To all questions he generally answered by putting some other question, instead of giving an

* To prevent its being annexed to Sweden.

† The letter of the Cardinal, mentioned above, May 2nd.

affirmative or negative. He admitted that he was in early expectation of two Jesuits from Sicily, Wolfe and Esmonde, whose fathers and brothers respectively had been hanged in Ireland as traitors; and that he proposed to employ these two men as professors in his College.

24th.—House of Commons. Grattan presented the General Roman Catholic petition. He said he should only desire to have it lie upon the table; he should not propose any further discussion *now*, nor any ulterior measure *now*. That under present circumstances he did not think it desirable. There were many Roman Catholics who, as he believed, did desire it, but he did not, nor did the members in this House with whom he was in the habit of acting upon this subject. That on Friday next he should give his reasons, when he should have another petition to present.

27th.—House of Commons. Grattan presented another Roman Catholic petition from Cork, with expressions exactly to the same effect as on Tuesday last. He entered into no reasons whatever.

Wednesday, June 1st.—House of Commons. Mr. Methuen gave notice of moving an Address on Friday, to know by whose advice the Princess of Wales was prohibited from attending Her Majesty's drawing-room.

Whitbread and Ponsonby disclaimed the newspaper paragraphs imputing to them any meetings on the subject, but insisting upon their right to know whether the Ministers had advised or disclaimed the advice as a proceeding they were ashamed of, that the world might know at whose feet the scandal should fall, &c.

3rd.—House of Commons. Mr. Methuen's motion about the Princess of Wales. Before it came on, Mr. Bennett (Lord Tankerville's son) delivered to me in the House a letter from the Princess of Wales, enclosing a copy of the correspondence between the Queen and herself, &c., respecting her exclusion from the drawing-room, which letter I read from the chair,

and the correspondence was read by the clerk at the table.

Mr. Methuen's motion was for an Address to the Regent, to know who had advised his forming the determination (mentioned by the Queen in her letter) never to meet the Princess in public or in private. After a debate, in which Whitbread supported it, and Ponsonby, Tierney, Elliot, and Williams Wynn declined to support it, it was withdrawn.

But direct pledges were given to support some other more Parliamentary motion upon the subject of the dissensions between the Regent and the Princess of Wales, if they were not arranged before the next drawing-room or the end of the session.

6*th*.—Lord Castlereagh came to the House, and was received with a general cheer. He laid the definitive treaty on the table, and appointed Friday se'nnight for the discussion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved to refer all the corn petitions to a select committee. Division: For, 172; against it, 67. Division for putting off the present Corn Import Bill for six months, 116 to 106.

CHAP. XLV.

1814.

VISIT OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA, ETC. TO ENGLAND. — ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.—HIS LETTER TO THE SPEAKER, AND SPEECH OF THANKS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — THANKSGIVING FOR THE PEACE. —THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE LEAVES WARWICK HOUSE, BUT CONSENTS TO RETURN.—THE CASE OF LORD COCHRANE. — CANNING'S EMBASSY TO LISBON. —PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON. —WAVERLEY.—LETTER FROM MR. PEEL.—FROM LORD HARDWICKE ON THE STATE OF FEELING IN PARIS.—FROM LORD REDESDALE ON IRELAND, AND GENERAL POLITICS. — OPENING OF THE NEW SESSION. — DEBATE ON CONDUCT OF THE WAR IN AMERICA.—PEACE WITH AMERICA.

Tuesday, *June 7th.*—The Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, Marshal Blucher, and Prince Platoff arrived in the course of the afternoon, separately in private carriages, without escort, and were scarcely recognised as they passed through the multitudes looking out for a splendid procession and a public entry.

9th. — House of Commons. Mr. Methuen gave notice of a motion respecting the Princess of Wales's letter for next Tuesday, if no proceeding was had to accommodate matters in the meantime.

10th. — Allied Sovereigns went to Ascot Races.

11th. — The Emperor of Russia had an audience by his own desire of Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, who took with them Lord Holland and Lord Erskine to the Pulteney Hotel.

12th. — Riding in the Park, I met Lord Castlereagh. He told me of Methuen's conversation with him about the Princess of Wales. The Opposition desire to have a dowager allowance for her, as a separate maintenance, at 50,000*l.* a year, which would place her upon a footing she was entitled to if she was to live separate from the Prince's Court.

We afterwards went in search of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who were riding with a great *cortége* of foreign officers in Hyde Park, attended by Lord Sidney as Ranger, leading the way. The Duke of Kent also preceding them, and the Duke of Montrose, as Master of the Horse, in full uniform, with his blue ribbon over his coat, by their side, or rather in the first rank behind them on their right hand. Upon joining them Lord Castlereagh presented me, and I made my bow. The whole then galloped over the green in Kensington Gardens to the head of the Serpentine, and the Emperor and King entered into conversation with me, partly in English and partly in French, upon the garden-like appearance of all England. The King of Prussia expressed the high sense he had always entertained of the English nation, the grand struggle they had made in the cause, &c. His expression was, "Vous avez fait une belle lutte."

18*th*. — City dinner to the Emperor, &c.

At half-past five the Regent arrived at Guildhall, received an Address from the City, read to him by the Recorder, and signified to the Lord Mayor that he conferred upon him the dignity of a Baronet.

The King of Prussia arrived about the same time.

The Emperor of Russia and Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Catherine of Russia, Princess of Oldenburgh (so Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador, said was her proper style) came in the same carriage, but not till half-past six. He declined going with the Regent in his coach unless the Grand Duchess could also go in the same, which the Regent said was impossible, as no woman ever went in the same carriage with the Sovereign when he appeared in public as such. This point was in negotiation till between two and three o'clock, as the Duke of Montrose told me.

About 700 sat down to dinner in the hall, and the numbers in the gallery (ladies only) were about 1000.

After dinner the usual songs of "God save the King," "Rule Britannia," &c., were sung by the Regent and

the whole company in chorus, but *without* instrumental music, the Grand Duchess disliking it upon all occasions.

N.B. Buonaparte's account of the allied Sovereigns is:—The Emperor of Austria, an old woman; the Emperor of Russia, a *petit maître;* the King of Prussia, *c'est un homme.*

19*th.*—By Lord Liverpool's direction Lord Yarmouth sent me word at night that the Emperor would come to the House of Commons to-morrow and sit in the gallery on the right of the Chair, where the Duchess of York usually sits.

20*th.*—The King of Prussia, in a plain morning dress, came to the House of Lords, and afterwards to the House of Commons, where Sir Matthew Ridley and Mr. Whitbread made a violent and angry debate on the alleged rupture of the treaty of marriage between the Princess Charlotte of Wales and the Hereditary Prince of Orange.* Motion for an Address withdrawn.

Afterwards the Emperor of Russia and the Duchess of Oldenburgh came, but Lord Castlereagh being ill, the expected debate on the Slave Trade did not take place, and they only heard a debate in Committee upon the Spirit Intercourse Bill.

Upon my return I found the Emperor and Grand Duchess in the gallery of my House. The Emperor took me by the hand and made fine speeches.

At twelve at night I went to White's ball to the Regent, Emperor, &c., given at Buckingham House. The illuminations of the house and court-yard were magnificent. The entrance-room and ball-room, and three supper-rooms in the garden were temporary structures of wood and canvass.

The Regent, Grand Duchess, and Duchess of York held a sort of circle on one side of the ball-room.

* He came over to England with his father on the expulsion of the Prince of Orange from Holland, was educated at Oxford, and served afterwards on the staff of the Duke of Wellington in Spain.

The Emperor of Russia waltzed and danced country dances the whole night.

23*rd*. — Mr. Methuen's motion led to an assurance from Lord Castlereagh that there would be no unwillingness on the part of the Crown to consent to an increase of the Princess of Wales's establishment, and the motion was withdrawn.

The Duke of Wellington arrived this evening.

24*th*. — The Duke of Wellington went down with Lord Bathurst to Portsmouth.*

In the House of Commons I thanked the officers for Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and others. Lord Cochrane's record produced. His attendance ordered. Motion for the Judge's notes refused.

26*th*. — Went by appointment to Lord Liverpool. Met Lord Castlereagh, Lord Bathurst, Lord Sidmouth, and Vansittart. Discussed the modes of bringing forward the increase of allowance to the Princess of Wales. Settled that it should be by presenting the document of separation signed in 1809 by the King, Prince, Princess, Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; and referring this to a Committee, in which a resolution should be proposed to grant her 50,000*l*. a year, being her future allowance, and making a legislative recognition of this separation, the intended grant to be notified to her *after* presenting the document.

27*th*. — Mr. Wellesley Pole came by appointment, and I desired him to state to the Duke of Wellington the course taken by the Duke of Schomberg in coming to thank the House of Commons for their grant to him †;

* On the Tuesday the Regent and his Royal guests had gone to Oxford, where they had been received with great state by the University, and on Thursday they had gone to Portsmouth, where a grand naval review took place.

† The House of Commons had granted Schomberg 100,000*l*. for his losses and his services; he had obtained permission to express his thanks to the House, and the ceremonies then observed were exactly followed on the present occasion. — See *Macaulay's History of England*, c. xiv.

and that of the Duke of Marlborough, who had not returned his thanks.

House of Commons. Debate on Wilberforce's motion for an Address to recommend the most strenuous exertion at the approaching Congress for shortening or terminating the four years' stipulated period of the Slave Trade by France. An unanimous vote.

The Regent, by message, announced his intention to go to St. Paul's on the Thanksgiving-day. A Committee was appointed to settle the mode of the House going.

The Duke of Wellington is to be thanked and congratulated by a Committee of fifteen, like the Duke of Marlborough. The Committee appointed consists of the Ministers and some of the Opposition leaders, including Whitbread, Williams Wynn, and Fremantle.

28*th*.—The Duke of Wellington took his seat in the House of Lords, and was thanked by the Chancellor, seated.

Wellesley Pole told me that the Duke of Wellington had decided to come as the Duke of Schomberg had done. We fixed Friday next after the House should be returned from the Address at St. James's.

Sir John Newport's motion for an Address to the Regent to issue a Commission of Inquiry into the duties, salaries, and emoluments of all the courts of justice in the United Kingdom. Carried by 49 to 48.

Horner's motion for papers respecting the negotiations upon the Slave Trade article debated till one o'clock, and negatived without a division.

29*th*.—House of Commons. The Treaty debated till one, and the Address, with an amendment from Wilberforce reciting the vote of Monday last respecting the Slave Trade article, passed without a division, and in all other points with universal approbation.

30*th*.—Lord Castlereagh reported the Duke of Wellington's thanks to the Committee, and that he would thank the House in person.

Friday, July 1*st*.—At three the House of Commons

went up with the Address upon the Treaty, and returned by half-past four. Upon my return Lord Castlereagh acquainted the House that the Duke of Wellington was attending, according to his request of being permitted to thank the House in person. The House was crowded in all parts. The Duke was admitted, took his seat within the bar, in a chair placed for him, as usual, on the left hand of the entrance. After sitting down covered, he rose and thanked the House. When he had finished his speech, I rose, and taking off my hat, addressed him in reply. He then withdrew; the acclamation in the House and in the lobby and passages was loud, long, and reiterated till his departure. He was dressed in his Field Marshal's uniform, with the blue ribbon of the Garter, and another over his shoulder, and the Golden Fleece in magnificent diamonds hanging from his neck upon the blue ribbon. I kept on my full dress, and the Serjeant also his collar, after we returned from Carlton House and until the ceremony was over.

Speech of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,—I was anxious to be permitted to attend this House in order to return my thanks in person for the honour they have done me in deputing a Committee of Members of this House to congratulate me on my return to this country, and this after the House had animated my exertions by their applause upon every occasion which appeared to merit their approbation, and after they had filled up the measure of their favours, by conferring upon me, at the recommendation of the Prince Regent, the noblest gift that any subject had ever received.

I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in me to take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great efforts made by this House and the Country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support the great scale of operations by which the contest was brought to so fortunate a termination.

By the wise policy of Parliament the Government were enabled to give the necessary support to the operations which were carried on under my direction. And I was encouraged by the

confidence reposed in me by His Majesty's Ministers, and by the Commander-in-Chief, by the gracious favour of H. R. H. the Prince Regent, and by the reliance which I had on the support of my gallant friends, the General Officers of the army, and on the bravery of the officers and troops, to carry on the operations in such a manner as to acquire for me those marks of the approbation of this House for which I have now the honour to make my humble acknowledgments.

Sir,—It is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel. I can only assure the House that I shall always be ready to serve His Majesty in any capacity in which my services can be deemed useful, with the same zeal for my Country which has already acquired for me the approbation of this House.

The Speaker's Reply.

My Lord,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed, but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount; their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause. It has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude which in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken, and that ascendency of character, which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments. But this Nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction that amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a Leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the preeminence, and

when the will of Heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, You will have left your great name and example as an unperishable monument exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth.

It now remains only that we congratulate your Grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed; and We doubt not that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain with equal authority, firmness, and temper our national honour and interests in peace.

4th.—At the Royal Military Canal Board, Lord Liverpool, in a previous conversation while the Board was assembling, in reply to my suggestions about improving parts of our military equipments and arrangements by our experience in the late war, such as, 1. Better shoes for marching and working; *high* shoes, as they are called, laced in front up the instep. 2. Clothing; not to depend upon the colonel or agent, but to be supplied in kind, not in money. 3. The placing the Ordnance under the same system and control as the regular army. This I have always urged, and he seemed to think it might be done upon a change of office. 4. He added that the Duke of Wellington had put an end to all wheel carriage in the train of his army, allowing nothing of baggage that could not travel on horses or mules, and that a separate canteen for each soldier was indispensable to his comfort, instead of waiting for the campkettles for an entire mess, which were often necessarily too slow in coming up.

House of Commons. Vote for 50,000*l.* to the Princess of Wales passed.

Robert Ward, Clerk of the Ordnance, told me, that Buonaparte had erased from Cassino's maps the vicinity of Brest, and the passes of Switzerland.

5th.—House of Commons. Debate on Lord Cochrane's expulsion till one; expelled by 140 to 44. Cochrane Johnston expelled *nem. con.**

* Mr. William Cochrane Johnston, the uncle of Lord Cochrane, had been guilty of some extensive frauds on the Stock Exchange, effected by forged

Whitbread delivered to me a letter from H. R. H. the Princess of Wales, which I read to the House, desiring her provision to be limited to 35,000*l.* a year, and thanking the House of Commons for their munificence and unequivocal testimony to her conduct, &c.

6*th.* — House of Commons. Voted thanks to the army, navy, and militia, and local militia and volunteers; and also to the Duke of York "for his long, unremitting, and effectual exertions for the improvement of the British army."

7*th.* — Thanksgiving Day. At five minutes after nine the House was called over, not by name but by counties; there were about 150 present; and all in full dress except about ten. We reached St. Paul's in about three-quarters of an hour.

The Peers came at eleven, all robed; about eighty.

The Regent entered before half-past eleven. The service lasted three hours, including the sermon, preached by Dr. Law, Bishop of Chester, for thirty-five minutes.

The Duke of Wellington carried the sword of state. The Dukes of York, Sussex, Kent, Cambridge, and Gloucester were on the Regent's right; and in an opposite box on his left were the Foreign Ministers, with Blucher, Orloff, and other foreigners.

9*th.* — Guildhall dinner to the Duke of Wellington; with some decorations from the dinner to the Sovereigns; the whole was far less striking, less dignified, and very noisy.

The Chancellor, by letter to me in the morning, proposed to go, not in state coach and robes, but dressed with sword, &c.; the robes being only for the presence of the Sovereign, or the annual Lord Mayor's day; and so we went, and it was the most suitable way for such an occasion.

despatches from the seat of war, and Lord Cochrane had also been convicted of being an accomplice in his uncle's guilt. He was dismissed the navy, and deprived of his Order of the Bath; but in 1831 he was restored to the navy, and in 1847 was also replaced in his order of knighthood.

13th.—This day the whole story about the Princess Charlotte of Wales and her elopement came out. The chief account I had from Lord Castlereagh.

Yesterday evening, about eight o'clock the Princess (who had been ordered to remove from Warwick House to Carlton House) went out alone in a bonnet and shawl, and took a hackney-coach, in which she proceeded to her mother's in Connaught Place. The Queen had immediate notice, and instead of appearing at a party which was assembled at the Queen's House, went to Carlton House, where she remained till four o'clock in the morning. The Princess of Wales drove down to my house about nine, and from thence to the door of the House of Commons; and thence to the House of Lords, to inquire for Mr. Whitbread, and then for Mr. Tierney, then for Mr. Ponsonby, and then for Lord Grey; but none of them were at either House of Parliament. She then drove to M. A. Taylor's at Whitehall, where Mr. Brougham was dining; it was understood that she also found Mr. Tierney in the course of the evening. The Duke of York had the Duke of Wellington and the Ministers at dinner when he was called out; and followed by Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh. The Duke went after dinner to Connaught House; the Ministers did not return, but summoned the Chancellor, the Chief Justice of King's Bench, Lord Ellenborough, and Sir Vicary Gibbs, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to represent to the Princess Charlotte the duty of implicit obedience to the Regent's commands; but their advice was not found necessary.

When the Duke of York went to Connaught House, the Princess of Wales told her daughter that she had nothing to do but to obey. She endeavoured to make terms for those of her household, and particularly for Miss Knight, her sub-governess; but she was told that in her state of disobedience her compliance must be unconditional: she stated her apprehensions of the Regent's treatment; but she was told that she had no

reason to expect any harsh treatment; and at length she was removed to Carlton House.

Lady Ilchester, and Rosslyn have been placed about her, and a Mrs. Campbell, formerly placed near her by the King; Miss Knight is removed as having forfeited the Regent's confidence, the Princess's friend Miss Mercer* was in the house at the time, but disclaimed all notice or approbation of the Princess's proceeding. The Duchess of Leeds had resigned about ten days ago.†

15*th.*—House of Commons. Civil List and Supply closed. Serjeant Onslow in the Vote for repair of the Houses of Parliament and Speaker's house, threw out his suggestions for an increase of the Speaker's salary; it seems he had been speaking of it four or five weeks ago, but had (very properly) been advised not to name it to me.

17*th.*—The Attorney-General came to me upon the subject of Lord Cochrane's conviction, and its effects upon his Parliamentary disqualification, as suggested by Williams Wynn and others; but we thought that it was not so.

18*th.*—Military fête at Burlington House; a finer spectacle than White's, by the addition of a review upon the garden terrace illuminated.

The Duke of Sussex's‡ intended motion upon the Princess Charlotte's situation generally talked of. The Regent walked arm-in-arm with Lord Castlereagh the greater part of the evening.

19*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on Lord Cochrane's case, in which Lord Castlereagh stated the intention of Government to advise the remission of the pillory to all the three upon whom that sentence had been pronounced. In the course of the debate Lord

* The daughter of Admiral Lord Keith, married in 1817 the Comte de [illegible]ult, and succeeded to the Barony of Keith in 1823, and to that of [illegible] in 1837.

† Compare the account given of this transaction in *Lord Eldon's Life*, vol. ii. p. 253.

‡ See *Life of Lord Eldon*, vol. ii. pp. 253, 254.

Cochrane's guilt was made out more clearly than ever. Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Mr. Barham, and Mr. Holmes maintained his innocence.

21*st.*—Lord Castlereagh showed me the result of a search into the coronations of the present family; whereby it appears that the Kings are crowned after proclamation directing their own coronation, only; that George I.'s wife never came to England, nor was crowned; and that the present King, after giving orders for his own coronation by a separate proclamation, directed that of the Queen to be performed at the same time and place.*

In the evening I received a letter from Lord Castlereagh, with the draft of a proposed proclamation to be passed in Council on Saturday next, at which my attendance was requested; for the purpose of declaring the inalienability of allegiance by natural-born subjects, and our invitation to all such to withdraw from the service of America, on pain of prosecution for high treason. This is understood to be a preliminary measure for the negotiations about to be commenced at Ghent between this country and America.

The Prince's fête in honour of the Duke of Wellington. A rotunda was built in the garden, resembling Ranelagh, with four recesses on the four opposite sides: 1. the entrance; 2. opposite to it, refreshments; 3. on the right, a room with transparencies, sofas, and refreshments; 4. a large room of the same sort, communicating with three streets of tent rooms laid out for supper rooms.

The principal supper rooms were in the lower floor of Carlton House, lengthened by additional rooms at each end. There was dancing in the rotunda, but no concert or other variety of amusement. The supper was at half-past two. The Queen went away at five. Her Majesty was pressed upon and insulted in her chair as she came to Carlton House in the beginning of evening.

* See the result of the deliberation of the Privy Council in 1821, on this subject, in *Lord Eldon's Life*, vol. ii. p. 420.

23rd.—Wellesley Pole told me it was settled that he is now to have a seat *in the Cabinet*, with the office of Master of the Mint. I learnt also, that Huskisson, Sturges Bourne, and John Ward, are to join the Administration: the first to have Lord Glenbervie's office.

26th.— The Speaker delivered the thanks of the House to Lord Edward Somerset for his distinguished conduct at the battle of Orthes, as follows:—

Major-General Lord Edward Somerset,—Your name also* stands recorded amongst those distinguished officers whose gallantry was conspicuous in the last great action which called forth the strength and valour of the British cavalry.

In defiance of the early scoffs of an insulting enemy this nation has, during the late continental war, re-established its military character, and vindicated its ancient renown. The nobility of England sent forth its sons to the tented field, and there, trained up under the great commanders who have obtained and dignified the honours of the Peerage, they have acted throughout upon the just persuasion that, in this Free Country, the willing tribute of respect can only be secured by a continued display of the same great qualities which ennobled the founders of their race.

The profession of arms which you had gallantly chosen, you have successfully pursued, and, in those provinces of France, where your ancestors, of noblest descent and royal alliance, have in former ages fought, conquered, and governed, you have renewed by your own sword the claims of your illustrious house to the respect and gratitude of your country.

I do, therefore, now, in the name and by the command of the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, deliver to you their unanimous thanks for your able and distinguished conduct throughout the operations which concluded with the entire defeat of the enemy at Orthes, and the occupation of Bordeaux by the allied forces.

28th.— Lord Castlereagh goes first to Ghent to settle America. Then to Brussels to settle Holland; thence to Switzerland, and thence to Vienna, where he is to be on the 10th September.

* Major-General Fane had been previously thanked the same day.

Vansittart thinks it doubtful whether Parliament may not meet in November.

30th. — Canning moved Huskisson's writ, and told me all his arrangements. He goes to Lisbon in October.* The Regent came to the House of Lords precisely at two; and, after my speech and his speech, the Parliament was prorogued. It is now apprehended that it must meet in November.

Monday, August 1st.—Went, at half-past three, to the Queen's House: assembled in the saloon upstairs. At four the Queen and the Regent, with the Princesses, and the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge, entered from the Queen's apartments, and held their Court. Between six and seven a balloon ascended from the front of the palace, with young Sadler. We sat down to dinner at seven, in several rooms on the ground-floor. At ten the fireworks began. In the Green Park the first representation was of a fortress surrounded by fireworks, and this, after tremendous explosions, about twelve o'clock, was changed into an illuminated temple; but the most beautiful sight was the bridge and pagoda across the canal, so lighted up as to cast a golden light upon the canal, which was covered with boats and surrounded by tents and trees; behind which the rocket batteries were continually firing; but about twelve the pagoda took fire and was burnt down; the bridge was saved.

2nd.— Left London for Kidbrooke.

During the recess news came on the 25th of August, of the city of Washington being taken by General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, and the Capitol burnt.†

Alexandria was captured by Captain Gordon, of the "Seahorse."

* Mr. Canning being desirous of going to winter at Lisbon on account of the delicate health of his eldest son, Lord Liverpool induced him to accept the embassy to Portugal. Stapleton looks upon the recent appointments of Huskisson, &c., as measures adopted to gratify him. — *George Canning and his Times*, p. 210.

† The Capitol was burnt by our troops in retaliation for the burning of York (now Toronto) by the Americans in the previous winter, by which the whole population was exposed without shelter to the rigour of a Canadian winter.

Penobscot and Machias taken by Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Griffiths, and a frigate burnt.

Later there came news of the failure of the expedition against Baltimore, and of General Ross being killed; of the failure of General Drummond in storming Fort Erie; and of Sir George Prevost on Lake Champlain.

Read a novel called Waverley, ascribed to Walter Scott; a good picture of Highland and Lowland manners, in 1745.

LETTER FROM MR. PEEL TO MR. ABBOT.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 30th, 1814.

My dear Sir,—I most willingly proceed to comply with the promise I made to you on my departure from London, to give you such information respecting the domestic politics of this country as, without being very recherché, may be more accessible to those who are on the spot; and, without being valuable, may still be interesting to those who, amidst all the bustle of more important matters at home and abroad, do not forget the existence of Ireland.

I assure you, in the language of sincerity, that it is very consolatory to many of the best and best judging men, with whom I have communication, to be assured that you continue to take an interest in our affairs.

In the first place, as to the internal tranquillity of the country. In this respect it is very much improved. Since I have had any connection with this country I never recollect such a cessation of outrage and disturbance as there has been for the last three months: it might seem presumptuous if I said since the passing of the two Acts of last session.

It is impossible to advert to the internal state of this country without adverting also to a document which has created a considerable sensation here, and which you no doubt have seen,—the oration delivered by Judge Fletcher to the Grand Jury of the county of Wexford. I enclose it in the form in which it has been published, and circulated here with the greatest audacity. I will not say that it is disapproved of by the friends of good order and subordination to the laws, but I may venture to affirm that it has the unqualified *approbation* of every *advocate for separation*, and of every demagogue who flourished in the Catholic Board, or who has survived the periods of 1798 and 1803. The enclosed publication is universally, and I believe

very justly, supposed to have been issued under the immediate authority of the judge. The report of his charge was taken in shorthand by a very eminent reporter, Mr. Hatchell, who is also, I believe, a practising barrister. What is inserted in the printed report is copied literally from the manuscript of Mr. Hatchell, which I have in my possession; but the discretion of the judge has been greater than his candour, for he has omitted in the publication those parts of his speech which every loyal man who heard them heard with deep regret and indignation. You may be desirous to see them: and I have supplied the *omissions* in the enclosed printed report from the original manuscript procured from Mr. Hatchell. The admission of the judge that Mr. Hatchell's report was correct in all other instances is some proof of its fidelity in these.

The obvious absurdity of inferring the tranquillity of a country from the paucity of committals (which may probably be the strongest proof of intimidation and general participation in crime), the ignorant exposition of those laws relating to the peace of the country, which, whether wise enactments or not, were still *the law of the land*, and which, as such, should not have been condemned by one of its judges, are too obvious to require any comment. The sarcasms upon loyalty and loyal men are also too intelligible to be mistaken. The judge has indiscreetly, I think, published one sentence, which is little, if at all, less wicked and inflammatory than any other part of the *unpublished* harangue. I mean that in which he insinuates that "magistrates might transport under the Insurrection Act for the purpose of getting rid of lives in a lease," as the judge knew or ought to have known, that the consent of the presiding King's Counsel is necessary before any sentence of the magistrates can be carried into execution. I can hardly reconcile this insinuation with those good intentions for which the judge takes credit to himself.

Notwithstanding this charge, however, the country is much, very much less disturbed than it was a few months since. One barony, Muddlethird, in the county of Waterford, has been proclaimed under the Police Act, at the unanimous request of the magistracy. A superintending magistrate and twenty special constables, selected from discharged sergeants of cavalry with certificates of good conduct, have been sent to Cashel, and with the best effect in this and the adjoining baronies.

You are aware that the expense of this extraordinary establishment of police, the salary of the chief magistrate, the rent of his house, the cost of horses and accoutrements for the con-

stables, is to be borne by the disturbed district. It falls upon the occupying tenant. In Ireland, as you are well aware, the land is subdivided into very small portions; every peasant has his half acre, and thus every peasant has a direct pecuniary interest in keeping his district tranquil, and preventing it from being proclaimed. The law operates like the still fines in town lands; and the most effectual way, I am confident, of keeping the country tranquil, is by making the inhabitants pay for the luxury of disturbance. The lower farmers invariably say, when speaking of the Bill, "We had rather not prosecute, but we had rather prosecute than be fined." However, the practical proof of its efficacy is, that since the 4th of September, the day on which Muddlethird was proclaimed, I have not had the report of one outrage of any description, either in that or in any other part of Tipperary. An extraordinary state of things in that county. We shall have no occasion for the enforcement of the Insurrection Act; and for that very reason I wish it was, as it ought to be in my opinion, the perpetual law of this country. It is a dormant law, except when absolute necessity calls for its operation, and I cannot see the grievance or oppression of its enactments.

I forgot to say in another part of my letter, that I hope it is not a clear and decided point that the charge of Judge Fletcher would not authorise some interference on the part of Parliament.

As for the Catholic question, your letter reminded me of it; for, strange to say, though in Ireland, I had almost forgotten it. I believe its advocates in Parliament, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Plunkett, at least, would willingly forget it too. There is every now and then, I believe, a meeting in the country fomented by some itinerant going circuit; the meeting is of course, in the papers at least, "most numerously and respectably attended." Some resolutions are entered into in the usual strain, pledging the parties "to sacrifice their lives rather than yield any securities," denouncing Mr. Grattan and their friends in Parliament, and exposing their own weakness and disunion. There are too, occasionally, some violent harangues. But although they are very loud they are very harmless; the guns of a ship in distress. The event of the greatest interest that has recently occurred is the correspondence of Mr. Grattan and Lord Donoughmore. I have no doubt that you have already seen it, but I have enclosed an Irish paper which contains a copy of it. I have understood that Mr. Grattan intends to spend the two next years on the Continent. My authority is Mr. Curran, which I should not depend upon, if there was any motive for the

statement not being correct. The Board has sunk into oblivion. Now that there is no danger from its abuse and denunciations, the Catholics themselves avow their satisfaction at its extinction. Still I think it possible that those who were used to make a figure at it, and speak themselves into practice as lawyers and physicians (for the great body of the Catholics are too good Catholics to submit to be cured by a Protestant physician, if they can employ one of their own faith), I think it possible, when term commences, and collects all the combustible materials of the Irish bar together in Dublin, that they will renew their attempts to disturb the public peace in some shape or other under the pretence of a petition against Orangemen, or thanks to Judge Fletcher; following therein the laudable example of a meeting at Belfast, which has returned its public acknowledgments to the judge on the motion of Dr. Drennan, Hamilton Rowan in the chair.

I really can say nothing upon the Catholic question, I scarcely ever hear it mentioned. The Catholics have quarrelled with their Parliamentary friends, and amongst each other. There are at the present moment no recognised leaders; the Catholic prelates seem to have given some offence by addressing a quantity of bad Latin to the Pope, in which they pay some compliments to the British soldiers, and advert (and really apparently with some satisfaction) to the proud name and station of England.

But this, and Quarentotti, and the Board, and the veto, and securities seem for a while forgotten, and there seems no occupation for the factious press but to abuse me and my peace bills, as they call them, and they could hardly do less harm to either, if, like the Bishop of Derry, they wrote on Fiorein grass.

Unfortunately I was just on the point of setting out for the county of Roscommon (for I have ventured into Connaught), when Dr. Bell arrived in Dublin, and he left it a day or two after my return. I was much struck with the unaffected and convincing earnestness with which he enters into the great object of his thoughts and labours. I enclose the copy of a letter which I addressed to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital, for the purpose of proving to other institutions that the Government is interested in the success of his plan. There are some wherein the less perhaps that the name of Dr. Bell is mentioned (which is naturally associated with the Established Church), the better. In the House of Industry, which is an immense establishment, and which admits and supports between 2,000 and 3,000 objects of charity, it is astonishing with what sensibility the poorest and most

wretched watch any attempt to interfere with the religious education of their children. Indeed none is made. The children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and have been for some time past, in the mode which is common both to Bell and Lancaster. The boys teach each other, and the proper apparatus of slates, &c., is employed, and apparently with great success.

Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains are employed and paid by the governors, and to them is left the exclusive control over the religious instruction of the children. In the Foundling Hospital, wherein the adopted children of the state are naturally brought up in the established religion of it, not a doubt can be entertained of the success of Dr. Bell, if his system is, as I hope it will be, carried on with perseverance and unremitting attention on the part of those to whose charge it is committed. I shall make it my business to inspect its progress occasionally.

Education is making rapid advances here; it is a difficult and delicate subject to deal with, and I am sure nothing would be more likely to impede its advances than the ostentatious interference of Government. Much may be done to encourage it, but the more quietly it is done the better. There is a very extraordinary man here, whom I wish most heartily I could transport to you for two or three hours. He is employed, *but without any suspicion of it*, by a society in London, to promote the education of the poor, and particularly the reading of the Bible. He is a Catholic by birth; a Catholic priest by education; and a convert, and I believe a sincere one, from the Catholic faith (Roman I should add). His name is Thady Connellan. His appearance and conversation are equally singular. He is a perfect master of the Irish language; travels on foot from place to place; is received with the greatest hospitality and kindness by the common people, and takes no pains to correct them in their erroneous impression that he is a true professor of their faith. He visits the hedge-schools, as they are termed, and as it is impossible to take him for anything but a priest, he excites no suspicion, and establishes an interest in general superior to that of the hedge schoolmasters, and finds means effectually to distribute his Bibles, and by offering a premium to those who can repeat the greatest number of chapters, secures the reading of them.

I had all this from himself. He told me that he had 300 schools of this description, into which he had managed to introduce the common Bible. He rejected, and no doubt very wisely, all assistance from or connection with persons in

authority. He said that if he made his visitations on horseback, or lodged with any other than the inhabitant of a cabin on his tours, it would detract from his authority, and interfere with his success. He has, as might be naturally expected to result from such a life, a mass of curious information.

I think, after having read all this (if you have got on so far), you will hardly be inclined again to remind me of my promise to write to you on Irish subjects. I have written very fast, but perhaps have been less tedious than if I had been more elaborate.

I shall protest most strongly against a visit to London before Christmas; I have already had nine voyages and journeys since I came here first. Believe me, my dear sir, with great esteem,

Yours most faithfully, Robert Peel.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM SIR WILLOUGHBY GORDON.

[Private.] Horse Guards, Oct. 1st, 1814.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . I hope this brilliant affair * will produce the best results at Vienna; it must in America do one of two things, produce submission or more resolute conduct of the war. It may tend to disunite and to spread alarm and confusion, but I incline to think that it will give eventually more power to the Congress. A nation may be *overpowered* and compelled to peace, but it must be a most contemptible set to be *frightened* into one.

> "Never can true reconcilement grow
> Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

As matter of *taste*, I think that I should have shown my power of destruction to the utmost, but I would not actually have destroyed more than the arsenals and *warlike* buildings, and stores. This, however, is mere matter of *secret* thinking, as I see no occasion to speak out as much.

Yours very faithfully, J. W. Gordon.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE.

Paris, Oct. 16th, 1814.

My dear Mr. Speaker,— . . . . . We have found so many objects of interest in this place, that we have already prolonged our stay beyond the time I had originally allotted to it. The gallery at the Louvre is an unceasing object of atten-

* The capture of Washington apparently.

tion, and though it is at present shut to the public, yet the English who are desirous of seeing it, have no difficulty in procuring admission. I inquired at the King's Library for the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint, and was surprised to hear that the Pentateuch had been left at Rome, and that it was even doubtful whether it still existed. The librarian, Mr. Van Preet, informed me that the examination of the Pope's library had been entrusted to Monge, Berthollet, and another person equally well skilled in chemistry, but equally ignorant of Greek and other MSS., and that the consequence was the singular omission I have mentioned. . . . . .

We have all been presented at the Tuilleries, though on different days; the Court is not assembled in one apartment, as with us, but after having been introduced to the King, the Ambassadors and strangers are presented to the Duchesse d'Angoulême in her private apartments, and afterwards to the Duke. The day that I was at the Tuilleries, Berthier, Prince of Wagram, was in waiting. Most of the other Marshals are gone to the governments, except Marmont and Macdonald, with whom I dined a few days since at the Duke of Wellington's. The latter is about fifty years old, and is very civil and communicative; as far as I am able to judge from their language in conversation, that is, as far as we can venture to converse with them on the subject, they appear to me to reconcile themselves to the change which has taken place from the impossibility of Buonaparte succeeding in his last campaign against Russia, where none of the generals knew to what points their next march was to be directed.

The number of English at present in Paris is excessive, most of whom, with the exception of a few families and individuals, were never seen or heard of in any society in London; the money they draw from England, with the remittances for the payment of the British, Hanoverian, and Prussian troops in the Low Countries, keeps the exchange against us; I therefore rejoice, as a good Englishman, that we are all so abominably cheated; for the impositions practised upon our countrymen may possibly check the spirit of emigration and that foolish and idle curiosity which seem to prevail among a class of persons, who some years ago would never have thought it necessary to leave England for the sake of being able to say that they had seen the wonders of Paris.

I cannot but regret that it should be necessary to assemble Parliament before Christmas, for questions may be asked, and debates arise, which may occasion some inconvenience in re-

spect to the discussions at Vienna, as well as those relating to the Americans. . . . Yours most faithfully and sincerely,

HARDWICKE.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Oct. 20th, 1814.

Dear Sir, — The simple truth is that now, as at all times, Ireland has never been made obedient to law; or, in the language of Sir John Davies*, never completely subdued. It is because Ireland was never completely subdued before the Reformation that Ireland remains generally disobedient to law. The Reformation has added a new cause of disorder, by separating the people into Protestants and Catholics, as they were before separated into English and Irish. The latter distinction still remains in addition to the former. The Irish before the Reformation considered themselves as a conquered people resisting their oppressors. The Catholics (generally Irish) consider themselves now as a conquered people, struggling against their conquerors, and endeavouring to throw off the yoke imposed upon them. The English formerly, and the Protestants now, are too much disposed to treat the Irish and Catholics as the Lacedæmonians did the Messenians; or the Athenians their conquests, allies as they called them.

The first thing to be done for the peace of Ireland is, to make every man, high and low, rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant, English and Irish, *obedient to law*. . . . . .

I have no doubt that Ireland may gradually be brought to a state of peace, notwithstanding the unfortunate conflict of opinions, political and religious, now prevailing. A steady perseverance is necessary, and therefore, a strong and permanent Government. It will not do to have the Duke of Bedford acting on one system to-day, and the Duke of Richmond on a contrary system to-morrow. It will not do to have a Lord-Lieutenant refusing all intercourse with his secretary, or a secretary dictating to the Lord-Lieutenant, or acting in opposition to him. It will not do to have a Chancellor of the Exchequer controlling everything in the revenue and treasury departments, in spite of the Government of Ireland and the Ministers in England. In fine, it must be a very different government from what we have seen for some years; and till such a government shall be established, and shall have acted on the proper system for some years, Ireland will not be at peace.

* Sir John Davies was Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland from 1603—1616, and the author of a work entitled "Historical Tracts."

I take this country to be at this moment in a most critical situation. It is at war, and engaged in a distant and bloody war, when the rest of Europe is at peace. That rest of Europe evidently views this country with a very envious eye, and would rejoice in our humiliation. Generosity does nothing with states; generous as we have been to others, we shall meet with no generosity in return. The Papal power is endeavouring to re-establish itself in greater force than ever. I trust that its fate will eventually be, that the attempt will hasten its destruction. It seems as ill-advised as Ferdinand VII., but in the meantime, like Ferdinand, it may exterminate multitudes of the "liberales."* In this country, I hope, there will be firmness to meet our danger; but I think our danger is great, and that the people are not roused to a sense of their danger.

My dear Sir, very truly yours, REDESDALE.

Saturday, November 5th.—Returned to London.

7th.—Vansittart called with a copy of the Regent's proposed speech, and to explain the business of the session, viz., Land, and Malt, and an Exchequer-bills Bill, with a clause to apply the surplus of last year's Ways and Means to the next year's supply. Calculated not to sit for Government business beyond this day four weeks, and then meant to adjourn till February 15th.

No despatches yet from Sir George Prevost.

8th.—The Regent opened Parliament. Lord Bridport moved, and Mr. Graham seconded, the Address. Whitbread made a long speech, questioning the grounds and conduct of the war with America, and dilating upon the state of Europe.

Vansittart replied. Justified the burning of Washington by producing American documents, to show that the American Government had authorised the burning of the capital of Upper Canada, and deprecating at the same time the necessity for such retalia-

* For an account of the violent conduct of Ferdinand on his restoration, which proceeded to such lengths that he even threw General Alava into prison for his obedience to the Cortes, and that the Duke of Wellington was sent to Spain to try and bring him to a more reasonable line, see Yonge's *Life of Wellington*, vol. i. p. 558.

tion, and resorting to it only as the means of stopping the practice. Baring admitted the Americans to be the unjust aggressors in the war, and that the American Government at least had no cause to complain of the burning of their towns. No amendment or division.

A conversation and altercation upon the non-production of the convention for maintaining British troops in Flanders.

14*th*. — House of Commons. Monument voted to General Ross.

21*st*. — Army Estimates in supply, and conversation upon the American negotiations with this country being published in America.

28*th*. — House of Commons. Debate on the transfer of Saxony to Prussia *, and the not disembodying the militia.

29*th*. — Rode with Lord Liverpool, who talked over the amount and particulars of the probable peace establishment.

Total, 15,000,000*l*. charge.

The peace establishment of 1791 having been 6,000,000*l*., increased by one third in 1801, since which, besides the general increase of pay and half-pay, the army will require not less than 20,000 men more to defend and garrison the new possessions of Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape, Tobago, Sante Lucie, Malta, &c. To be provided for thus:—

Probable Surplus of Consolidated Fund . . .	£5,000,000
" Annual Taxes, Land, &c. .	3,000,000
Such of the War Taxes as can be continued . .	2,000,000
Property Tax at 5 per cent.	5,000,000
	£15,000,000

Huskisson reckons the peace establishment at seventeen millions. Rose thinks it may be reduced to twelve.

Thursday, Dec. 1*st*. — House of Commons. Debate on papers respecting the naval conduct of the war in America.

* Which, however, did not take place.

11*th*.—Dr. Cyril Jackson dined with us. In the evening we had a long conversation about the best English prose writers, and the best mode of acquiring a good style of writing in English.

I mentioned Mr. Fox's saying to me that he thought the best English prose was to be found in the writings of the English divines, and the present Bishop of London having named them to me the other day in the following order:—Hooker, Taylor, South, and Barrow, with Tillotson and Sherlock; but the two latter with much lower commendation.

Dr. Jackson was decidedly of opinion that Jeremy Taylor, especially in his work on "The Liberty of Prophesying," his "Treatise on Repentance," and his Prayers, was the first for strength and clearness of style, with an eloquence which took a legitimate hold of the affection and passions. The *headsprings* for the English language he conceived to be the old translation of the Bible, and Shakspeare. The best writers for furnishing dignity of thought and vigour of expression towards the formation of a good English style were Lord Clarendon and the poetry of Milton. Dryden's Prefaces, Addison's serious numbers in the "Spectator," and Swift's "Drapier's Letters," might then be said to comprise nearly all the rest that was excellent. There were pages in Warburton, and parts of Atterbury of high merit. But as *sources*, not as *models* for servile imitation, Lord Clarendon and Milton would be found the best studies for march of thought and weight of diction.

He agreed with me in the general principle, that with correct thinking and strong feeling the proper language for clothing such thoughts and sentiments was to be drawn from the poets, and that no other road was so sure to excellence in the formation of an original style.

He also talked over Dr. Marsh's * treatise, entitled "The Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome," with great commendation.

* Late Bishop of Peterborough.

The infallibility of the Pope, he admitted, was not asserted by the Roman Catholics in terms, but they insisted on its binding authority until a General Council should decide otherwise, which (as one was never likely to be held) was for the present tantamount to maintaining its conclusive authority, whilst the "*Appel comme d'Abus*" was in force, so as to *suspend* the Papal decision in matters of faith. In the interim, and until the holding of a general council, the Roman Catholics might well deny their maintaining the doctrine of infallibility; but that appeal being at an end, the real and substantial claim was to infallibility.

He inclined to think that, if our Roman Catholics claimed and maintained the same liberties as the Gallican Church, they might be admitted to political power. But this the Roman Catholics, and Dr. Milner at their head, positively disclaim.

13*th*. — Left London for Kidbrooke.

20*th*. — Report of peace with America having been signed at Ghent on Saturday, the 24th. Confirmed next day by the *Gazette*.

CHAP. XLVI.

1815.

ABANDONMENT OF THE PROPERTY TAX. — BUDGET. — AN ENGLISHMAN'S CONVERSATION WITH BUONAPARTE. — CORN BILL. — ESCAPE OF BUONAPARTE FROM ELBA. — RIOTS IN WESTMINSTER. — LORD COCHRANE ESCAPES FROM PRISON. — DEBATES ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS AT VIENNA. — HORNER'S MOTION ON THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY. — DEBATE ON THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR. — BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

THURSDAY, February 9th. — House of Commons met. On presenting the first petition against the Property Tax, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared it not to be his intention to propose its continuance, but that on Friday, the 17th, he would submit certain measures of finance in the Committee of Ways and Means.

17th. — F. Robinson* opened his proposition on the Corn Laws, for prohibiting importation till the average price in England should be 80*s.* per quarter for wheat, and proportionately for other grain.

Debate till eleven. The resolutions reported *pro formâ* ordered to be printed, and the Committee to sit again on Monday next, when Baring is to propose a set of counter-resolutions, and the whole to be debated together on Wednesday next.

News of the American frigate the "President" being taken off the Western Isles by the "Endymion," Captain Hope. The "Pomona" coming in sight.

20th. — House of Commons. Vansittart opened his finance measures. Estimate of peace establishment for the next four years nineteen millions, whereof two millions are to be provided by Ireland and seventeen by England.

* Afterwards Earl of Ripon.

Property Tax not to be continued. Sinking Fund not to be touched.

Estimated surplus of Consolidated Fund . . .	£6,000,000
War Taxes, part to be continued	6,000,000
Other Taxes	5,000,000
Total	£17,000,000
Assessed Taxes on Servants, Carriages & Horses, upon an average increase of 80 per cent. .	£2,500,000
Stamps above	1,000,000
Sugar, Drawbacks and Bounties	1,000,000
Wine, additional 20*l.* per tun	500,000
	£5,000,000

With minor regulations to fill up deficiencies, *e. g.* 1*d.* on every newspaper sent by post; 3*s.* 6*d.* on every forty-eight feet superficial of hothouse, greenhouse, &c.; ditto on windows of shops and warehouses.

21*st.* — House of Commons. Debate on giving powers to Commissioners for inquiring into Fees of Courts of Justice. To compel attendance of witnesses. Sir John Newport's motion opposed by Ministers, and lost upon division, by 78 to 88.

23*rd.* — House of Commons. On Corn Laws. Divided at four in the morning. For the prohibitory price against importation, at 80*s.* per quarter of wheat, 209; against it, 66.

27*th.* — House of Commons. On the Corn Report till two o'clock. Division 241 to 38.

28*th.* — House of Commons. Debate on Sir Samuel Romilly's motion respecting Militia till eleven, and then upon Corn Resolutions, which were passed at three, upon a division, 158 to 35.

Wednesday, March 1*st.* — House of Commons. Debate on the conduct of Sir James Duff at Cadiz*, and General

* Sir James Duff, our Consul at Cadiz, had informed General Smith, the Governor of Gibraltar, that some Spaniards, under suspicion of their own Government, had taken refuge in that fortress. Whitbread, supported by Sir James Mackintosh, Horner, &c., brought forward a motion to condemn the conduct of Sir James Duff and General Smith, alleging that they had surrendered the men to the Spanish authorities, who had subjected one, M.

Smith at Gibraltar, on delivering up Don Antonio Puigblanc and three other fugitives to the Government of Spain, till near one. Negatived by 69 to 51.

Words of heat having passed between Mr. Davis and Mr. Whitbread at the doors of the House, as the House was rising, they were called back by order of the House, and made to give their assurance that they would not prosecute the matter further. I sent two Members, Mr. Williams Wynn and Mr. Davies Giddy, instead of the Serjeant, which is the ordinary way, but this matter appeared to be serious and urgent.

2nd. — House of Commons. On motion for Committee on Bank Restrictions: negatived, 134 to 38.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. CHARLES STANDISH.

Rome, Jan. 12th and 17th, 1815.

. . . . Bishop Milner is here doing all he can to stir up seditions against us. Mr. Macpherson has on several instances so completely convicted him of falsehood that he is completely thrown over by the Pope and the whole College of Cardinals, amongst whom he has only retained one friend, Cardinal Litta, who is doing all he can to retard our cause; but Dr. Poynter arrived yesterday, and, upon the whole, every thing has a most prosperous appearance.

His Holiness told me himself, when I was presented, that he saw no difficulty in the Veto, and instanced the King of Prussia, who now possessed that power.

I am told he has written a more favourable answer to our petition* relative to taking off some of the fasting days, and that he is most liberally inclined to us in every point of view; but should he lose La Marqua, and find out that England had not advocated his cause at the Congress, how His Highness may

Puigblanc, to two trials, one by the civil power, and one by the Inquisition, though he had since fortunately effected his escape; while another, Senor Correa, had actually been sentenced to the galleys for ten years for presenting an address to King Ferdinand recommending moderation. The Government, speaking by the mouth of Mr. Goulburn (Under-Secretary of State) and Mr. Bathurst, scarcely defended the conduct of our officers, but urged that the motion was unnecessary, as such an act as the surrender of these fugitives would never be repeated.

* Mr. Standish was a Roman Catholic.

change his opinion with regard to his English flock *Iddio sa.* If he thunders out excommunications against Austria and Naples, he may also, by way of retaliation, make us continue to chew not only the cud of slavery, but the more briny cud of red-herrings and salt fish on Fridays and Saturdays. But no; I believe we have every reason to hope for a most amicable adjustment of our affairs.

Anecdotes of an Englishman's conversation with Buonaparte, extracted from another letter of the same.

Buonaparte said: "Monsieur * a des manières fort gracieuses, mais il ne sait pas travailler, et sans ça on ne peut rien faire. Les Ducs de Berri et d'Angoulême sont des riens. Mais que dit-on du Duc d'Orleans? C'est un homme très instruit, et un grand mathématicien."

And (added my cousin), "très digne de gouverner la France."

"Diable!" (exclaimed Napoleon, starting back, and seeming extremely surprised) "je n'ai pas su son caractère. Cela m'étonne. Oui, sûrement, s'il a ces qualités, il en est capable," referring to the Government of France.

He then walked about, stopped, and betrayed a sort of extraordinary surprise.

He then got on Talleyrand: "Cet evêque infâme, qui a epousé une putaine; vous savez ce que c'est un evêque defroqué." He was the cause of the death of the Duc d'Enghien, &c. &c.

Murat, he said: "C'est un beau lazzarone, et n'est pas capable des grandes combinaisons avant une bataille; mais à la tête de sa cavalerie, mon Dieu! comme il est imposant: un courage chevaleresque, avec des habits superbes, et par Dieu, c'est un beau spectacle."

5*th.*—Left a note at Lord Sidmouth's in the morning, and received his answer at night, respecting arrangements for the apprehended concourse of people with the petitions against the Corn Bill to-morrow.

6*th.*—Arranged with Deputy Serjeant, and Mr. Baker the Police Magistrate, for preserving order, and a free access to the Members for their passing to and from the House.

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh came down

* Afterwards Charles X.

to the House and was well received.* Debate on my leaving the Chair to go into Committee on the Corn Bill. Division, in the Committee for a prohibiting price upon importation of wheat till the price should be 80*s.* per quarter. For it, 207; against it, 77.

Tumultuous proceedings took place outside the House during the evening, and whilst the House was in Committee. Mr. Lambton having complained that the House was surrounded by a military force, I was sent for down from my room; and the House was resumed.

After the examination of the High Bailiff and Magistrates at the Bar, the House returned to the business of the Committee; and came to their vote upon the prohibiting price.

8*th.*—House of Commons. Report of Corn Bill agreed to. Several divisions upon the protecting price of 80*s.* per quarter for wheat. Division: for it, 184; against it, 78.

Ponsonby's house was attacked in the course of the evening. Warm words, before the House rose, about the state of the metropolis.

By my orders eight constables and a head officer passed the night in the Committee-room, No. XI., on the stone staircase of the House of Commons, to protect the building from insult or damage, as happened last night by a party arriving after the House was up, and breaking the windows of the Clerk's house in St. Margaret's Street, and the Committee-rooms.

News arrived this day of the failure of the attack on New Orleans; and the loss of General Pakenham, General Gibbs, and 2500 men killed and wounded.

9*th.*—Received the following letter from Lord Cochrane:—

London, March 9th, 1815.

Sir, – I respectfully request that you will state to the Honourable the House of Commons, that I should immediately

* He had just returned from Vienna, where he had been replaced by the Duke of Wellington.

and personally have communicated to them *my departure from the custody* of Lord Ellenborough, by whom I have been long most unjustly detained; but I judged it better to endeavour to conceal my absence, and to defer my appearance in the House, until the present agitation excited by the Corn Bill should subside.

And I have further to request that you will also communicate to the House that it is my intention on an early day to present myself for the purpose of taking my seat, and moving an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Ellenborough.

I have the honour, &c. &c., COCHRANE.

Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons.

I sent this to Vansittart, and received his answer.

REPLY FROM MR. VANSITTART.

[Private.] Downing Street, Thursday night.

My dear Sir,—I have seen Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Ellenborough, and we all entirely concur with you in thinking you can take no notice of Lord Cochrane's letter. What ought to be done by the House if he appears there by any stratagem, is a question of more difficulty, and I hope you will collect all the learning you can applicable to such a case.

Ought we to order him into custody for the purpose of delivering him up to his sentence?* At any rate I presume he cannot be suffered to take his seat.

Yours faithfully, N. VANSITTART.

The Speaker.

10*th*.—Wrote to Lord Castlereagh and afterwards saw him and Vansittart and Hatsell upon the subject of Lord Cochrane's appearance in the House, or obtaining his certificate of return from the Crown Office.

News arrived of Buonaparte having escaped from Elba, and landing at Antibes with 1000 men, from whence he was proceeding to Grenoble, apparently with the design of seizing the passes of the Alps: and, in concert with Murat, who had announced his in-

* Lord Cochrane had escaped from prison, and as many believed him innocent, he had been re-elected for Westminster since his expulsion.—See *Lord Campbell's Life of the Chief Justices*, vol. iii. p. 220.

tention at Vienna of advancing with 80,000 men to assert his right to the kingdom of Naples.

The King of France had called his Parliament together, and Marshal Macdonald, with Monsieur and the Duc d'Orleans, were gone to the South. No party yet joined Buonaparte.

House of Commons. Lord Cochrane did not appear. Sir Francis Burdett presented the Westminster Petition against the Corn Bill, saying he thought it of no value whatever, nor anything else but a reform in Parliament. In fact, *he saw no objection to the Corn Bill.*

Debate on third reading of the Corn Bill till two in the morning. For, 245; against, 77. For 80*s.* per quarter as the protection price, 213; against it, 72.

11*th.* — Rode to see the houses which had been damaged by the rioters: Mr. Robinson's, Sir Joseph Banks's*, Mr. Ponsonby's, Mr. Yorke's, &c. Mr. Yorke's windows and doors are boarded up with deal planks all over the front of the house. He has sued the Hundred for damages, and made the High Bailiff of Westminster and one of the Palace Yard orators, the defendants.

12*th.* — House of Commons. Went through the postponed resolutions of taxes; a very prevailing opinion was that these or any others would press more heavily upon the poorer, and manufacturing, and middle classes than the property tax.

Worse news from France. Buonaparte approaching Lyons; and commotions in Paris.

14*th.* — Ratification of peace with America. Guns fired.

16*th.* — News from France of Soult's impeachment, and Buonaparte's advance towards Paris.

17*th.* — Signed the report for purchasing Standlynch on account of Lord Nelson's family.

18*th.* — News from France. Buonaparte entered Lyons on the 10th, was still there on the 13th. Marshal Macdonald's army had dispersed, and would neither accept money, nor fight Buonaparte, nor join him. Marshal Ney was advancing from Besançon to stop

* The mob had mistaken him for Mr. Henry Bankes, M.P.

Buonaparte on his way to Paris. Two generals, L'Allemand, had been shot for their attempt, with General Lefebvre, upon La Feré. The King remained at Paris.

19*th*. — News from Paris to the 17th inclusive. Buonaparte, with 8000 or 9000 men, was advancing from Lyons towards Paris. Ney, with about the same number, following. A large force was collecting in front of Paris. The King had been at the Assembly, and had been received with the strongest expressions of loyalty.

20*th*. — House of Commons. Whitbread moved for information on the Congress proceedings at Vienna, in a speech of two hours: answered by Lord Castlereagh in a speech of four hours. The motion for an address for information agreed to.

21*st*.—Hamilton called with letters from Lord Elgin, and a proposition to remove the sculptures of his collection from Burlington House (where they are ordered off in consequence of Lord George Cavendish's purchase) to the British Museum, there to remain as Lord Elgin's property, in the garden or colonnade, unless, or until purchased by the public. I told him all that had passed in Perceval's time, and the offer of 30,000*l*. He adhered to the 70,000*l*., and relied further upon the testimony of M. Visconte, as to their superior value above all the contents of the Louvre Gallery. Visconte is writing a memoir to be read before the Institute, and then sent over to this country.

Hamilton agreed to present a memorial to the Trustees of the British Museum for leave to deposit the collection there; and I undertook that an extraordinary meeting should be called to consider the proposition.

Upon returning from my ride I was met with the news that Lord Cochrane was then sitting in the House of Commons, waiting for his certificate from the Crown Office that he might take his seat, and, shortly after, that he was taken into custody. And at the entrance of my court-yard I met the Marshal, who desired my advice as to what he should do with him; but I told him I was the only person who at this moment could *not*

advise him. In my library I found Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Vansittart awaiting my return. It was agreed at once that whatever might be the mode in which the Marshal had retaken his prisoner, he had better at once convey him from the Committee-room, in which he was now detained, to his proper prison; and he was so conveyed. The manner of disposing of any complaint of the transaction would be in the first instance to refer it to the Committee of Privileges; but to all of us it appeared that the empty apartment in which he was apprehended would not confer any protection, any more than any other empty corner in any other of the King's palaces, where he might think proper to assemble his Parliament.

Lord Castlereagh staid to explain the Map of the New reconstruction of the Prussian Monarchy, as settled at Vienna.

At four o'clock the House was formed, and I received a letter from the Marshal, which I read from the chair, stating the whole transaction, and disclaiming any intended violation of the privileges of the House. After some observations from Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Williams Wynn, Mr. Tierney, and myself, it was ordered to be referred to the Committee of Privileges. Mr. Rose, in the course of the evening, undertook to summon the Committee, and to take the chair, as he had done upon Mr. Galway Mills's petition in 1807.

22*nd*.—Rose and Bankes came to settle the course of proceeding in Lord Cochrane's case, before the Committee of Privileges, as to evidence, and as to the principles upon which the arguments of the report must rest, &c., viz. 1st. That privilege does not protect a Member *eundo et redeundo*, &c. who is guilty of breaking prison under a criminal sentence. 2ndly. That the House of Commons *chamber* confers no privilege on any person, while the Speaker and the Mace are not there.

The King of France's troops assembled at Melun, would not fight; nor at Villejuif; only the household troops remained true to him.

The King had left Paris, and slept at Abbeville on Thursday last, and at Montreuil last night. Buonaparte entered Paris on Monday afternoon.

23*rd*.—House of Commons. Committee of Privileges reported on Lord Cochrane's case that, under the present circumstances, &c., the privileges of the House of Commons had not been violated "so as to call for any interposition, &c."

24*th*.—The French King is at Lille (from whence he proceeded afterwards to Ghent).

Went to Kidbrooke till April 3rd.

Monday, April 3rd.—House of Commons. Mr. Whitbread complained of the declaration of the Allies in Congress at Vienna against Buonaparte, as an infamous forgery, or an infamous document, exciting to an assassination of Buonaparte.*

4*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on the power to authorise a Civil List Committee to *send* for persons, papers, and records. For the power, 97; against it, 128.

LETTER FROM MR. PEEL.

[Private.] Irish Office, April 14th, 1815

My dear Sir,—*We* have no intention of proposing any increase of the grant to *Maynooth*. Mr. Grattan requested us to postpone the Irish miscellaneous estimates in consequence of the indisposition of Sir John Newport, who meant to oppose the limited grant, and probably to propose an addition to it.

As the grant to Maynooth has passed without discussion during the last two years, I rather infer from this motion of Mr. Grattan that there is great probability that the Catholic question will not come on this year in any serious shape, and that Maynooth is now put forward as a substitute.

Yours most faithfully, &c. &c., ROBERT PEEL.

6*th*.—House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh deli-

* This charge was founded on the declaration that Napoleon was "hors de la loi," and was by the Allies delivered over to "vindicte publique," which the English Opposition erroneously translated public vengeance. For the refutation of this by the Duke of Wellington, who had signed the document as our Plenipotentiary at Vienna, see Yonge's *Life of Wellington*, vol. i. p. 596.

vered the Regent's message for an augmentation of the forces; and concert with our Allies to ensure the tranquillity of Europe, in consequence of the contravention of the treaty of Paris. Ponsonby marked a difference of feeling from Whitbread.

7th.—The Duke of Orleans wrote to me to admit the Duchesse d'Orleans and Mademoiselle d'Orleans to the debate this evening.

House of Commons. Debate on Address for arming and acting in concert with our Allies. Whitbread moved an amendment to implore the Regent to use his utmost endeavours to preserve peace. Division: for the amendment, 37; against it, 220.

Part of the Opposition, viz., Ponsonby, Plunkett, Newport, Lord Morpeth, Williams Wynn, &c., voted with the Government.

Tierney, Lord Althorp, Horner, &c., voted for Whitbread.

11th.—Sir Lowry Cole came to fix a time for receiving the thanks of the House for his services in the Peninsula; but I reminded him that he had in the last session, in July 1814, only come to me on the very day of the Prorogation, which was an impossible time; and that, although I had desired Mr. Robinson to remind him in November last, he had not then come, nor ever since the House had been now assembled for two months: that neither usage nor propriety entitled any officer, who chose so to postpone his attendance in Parliament for so long a period after his foreign service was at an end, to come at an indefinite future period at his own option and for his own mere convenience; and that for the same reason I had already declined to deliver the thanks to Sir Edward Stopford, who had staid abroad for several months for his own private amusement after the war was over.

Buonaparte, by very recent accounts, had with great difficulty, and at twenty-four napoleons per head, collected 4000 horses to mount his cavalry, and those chiefly from Normandy. He is totally unprovided with artillery, and is afraid of levying a conscription.

House of Commons. Debate on the American Treaty. For the Address, 128; against it, 37, or rather for Mr. Ponsonby's amendment complaining of the delay in concluding it.

12*th*. — House of Commons. Went through the Scotch Jury Bill in Committee, with a clause, allowing the judge to discharge the jury if they could not agree in their verdict at the end of twelve hours from their retiring out of court to consider their verdict.

Lord Harrowby and W. Pole returned from a conference with the Duke of Wellington at Brussels.*

13*th*.—I mentioned to Bankes my conversation with Sir Lowry Cole and Sir Edward Stopford, and he agreed with me in the impropriety of their requests under all circumstances of time, &c.

William Smith came to me to know my opinion upon the extent of privilege for anything said in debate, if excepted to by any person out of doors, and I stated to him the principle illustrated by the case of Lord Abingdon and Samon the attorney.†

17*th*.—House of Commons. Counted out at half-past seven by Whitbread on a motion by Bathurst for a War Alien Bill. Vansittart gave notice of the Property Tax in Ways and Means on Wednesday next.

19*th*.—Mr. Fowkes told me that Lord Egremont and Mr. Stracey have decided against the further prosecution of the Burton Enclosure Bill. The *rule* of the House of Lords being *peremptory against* Enclosure Bills, where the *lord of a manor* objects, although his

* The Members of the Congress at Vienna had addressed a protocol to the Duke, expressing their desire that he should be placed at the head of the army in the Netherlands, and requesting him to proceed thither without loss of time; and he took upon himself the responsibility of complying with their request without waiting for orders from his own Government, and having left Vienna, arrived in Brussels on the 4th of April. — *Life of Wellington*, vol. i. pp. 581-584.

† In 1795 Lord Abingdon was prosecuted for a libel contained in a speech which he had made in the House of Peers and had subsequently published. The subsequent publication was decided to be a libel, and Lord Abingdon was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. — See *Hatsell*, vol. i. pp. 203-206.

interest is smaller than that of another lord of a manor who concurs in the Bill, which is to include the lords of both manors.

House of Commons. Debate on Property Tax. Carried by 183 to 58.

20*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on Buonaparte's escape from Elba. Inquiry negatived by 149 to 58.

21*st*.—House of Commons. A stormy discussion about a treaty (published in the "Times" of this day) between Great Britain and her allies at Vienna, concluded on 25th March last, denouncing war against Buonaparte and all his adherents. It subsided at last into a notice of moving for it on Monday next. Property Tax Bill presented, and read a first time with a small division against it.

22*nd*.—Lord Castlereagh showed me the Vienna Treaty, and additional declaration explanatory of the leading article.

Wellesley Pole told me that the Allies expected to advance about the 10th of May, with 150,000 men into France, besides 150,000 Austrians, now in Italy, and a reserve of 200,000 Russians in Germany.

25*th*. — House of Commons. Debate on Bankes's motion for Extending the Property Tax to Ireland: for it, 5; against it, 78.

28*th*. House of Commons. Debate on Whitbread's motion "for an Address praying the Crown not to involve the country in a war upon the ground of excluding a particular person from the Government of France:" for it, 72; against it 273.

Wm. Elliot made an admirable speech against the motion.

30*th*. Received the following letter from the Dean of Westminster, in answer to my inquiries respecting the Jerusalem Chamber.

April 30th, 1815.

Dear Sir,— My conjecture respecting the "Jerusalem Chamber" may be unfounded; I derived it originally from Smith's account of the Painted, or Antioch Chamber, so called from paint-

ing on tapestry, representing the Siege of Antioch by the Crusaders. [See *Antiq. of Westminster*, p. 56, C. A.] On this ground I thought it probable that the Church had followed the fashion of the Palace, and painted the Siege of Jerusalem; but I have since learnt that a *Jerusalem*, or a *Sepulchre*, were appendages to several great churches or cathedrals all over Europe.

The present Jerusalem Chamber was built by Lillington, Abbot from 1362 to 1386, with the money (10,800*l.*) left by Simon Langham, formerly Abbot of Westminster, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, who died in 1376, at Avignon. Lillington built likewise the present hall and kitchen, part of the present Deanery; the granary, turned into a dormitory for the King's scholars by Dean Goodwin; the wall that still encloses the College garden, and probably the Jewel Office, now allotted to the Parliament Rolls, under Mr. Rose, besides other structures.

But Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders 1099, and retaken by Saladin 1187: so that it is not probable that, in Lillington's time (almost 200 years later) the siege of the Holy City, then lost, would be recorded as an instance of Christian chivalry. It is reasonable therefore to conclude, that our Jerusalem Chamber resembled other Jerusalems in other churches,

Wedmore, who reports the death of Henry IV*., in that chamber, considers the dying words as a fable; but considers the report is as old as Edward IV.'s time. And Roger Guiscard, King of Sicily, when preparing to invade Greece and besiege Constantinople, died at a Jerusalem on the coast of Dalmatia, with the same declaration of a similar prophecy. Anna Comnena, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius, at the time, records this fact; and though she is *quizzed* by Gibbon, she is one of the best Byzantine historians.

The particulars of Henry's death are recorded in Talyan, p. 576, new edition; in the Five Historians' Continuation of Ingulphus, tom. i. p. 498; Grafton's Chronicle, new edition, vol. i. p. 506; Hall's Chronicle, new edition, p. 45, the same as Grafton, but without the tale of Jerusalem; so also Polydore Virgil, p. 438.

The Antioch Chamber, I conclude, was painted rather than decorated with historical tapestries like the House of Lords. My authority is only Smith; but I suppose that he, or his coadjutor,

* See *Shakspeare's Henry IV.*, act 4, scene 4.

Mr. Hawkins, was possessed of documents. I write on this point from memory only, as the book is in our public library, and not at hand.

If you have any material curiosity on these subjects, I am acquainted with a Mr. Petré, who has all the old historians by heart, to whom I can at any time introduce you, and he would think himself honoured by the inquiries of the Speaker.

Your most obedient Servant, W. VINCENT.

P.S. The tapestry, of which we have large remains within the memory of man, was all derived from coronations or royal funerals; some fragments you still see in the Jerusalem Chamber, and in the school at the Elections; inferior specimens fell to the Deanery and Prebendal Houses. It *sunk* from drawing-rooms to garrets. I have still one garret so furnished. The natural progress was from tapestry to embossed cloth, to harrateen, and finally to paper.

Monday, May 1st.— House of Commons. Livery of London petition presented against the Ministers and the Property Tax. For its lying on the table, 59; against it, 107.

2nd.— Having yesterday received a note from Whitbread about placing a statue of the Duke of Wellington at the north-east angle of the new square in Palace Yard, I answered it, stating that the ground purchased there by the Commissioners for the Improvement of Westminster was by law vested in the Crown.

Saw the *model* for this statue, by Garrard, in Old Bond Street: to be between thirty and forty feet high. Indifferent design.

House of Commons. Debate till twelve, on Murat's conduct in Italy.* No division.

* Horner, after reminding the House of the fact that an armistice had been entered into between Great Britain, Austria, and Naples, and that a letter had been received by Murat from the Emperor of Austria, promising the faithful execution of the treaty; and that Lord Castlereagh, in a despatch addressed to Lord W. Bentinck, had stated that we meant to recognise Murat as King of Naples (in consequence of which Murat had co-operated with the Austrian General Bellegarde), moved for an Address for a copy of these papers, &c.; which, after Lord Castlereagh had blamed the faithlessness of Murat's conduct, was agreed to. — See *infra*, May 19th.

8*th*.—House of Commons. Vote for completing the purchase of Standlynch for Lord Nelson's family.

Lord Castlereagh proposed to me to admit Madame Meerfeldt into the gallery as Austrian Ambassadress, and as being in the place of an absent Sovereign, &c.; but I stated to him the rule, which allowed none but *Royal persons*, being Sovereigns or the daughters of Sovereigns; and Lord Castlereagh acquiesced, upon the ground that an Ambassadress was not in fact even the representative of a Sovereign, her title being only one of courtesy, in respect of her husband, who is the representative.

10*th*. — Mr. Baber called and gave an account of his expedition to Munich about Baron Moll's books, &c. and his return through Flanders, across the rear of the allied armies. Ostend surrounded by water, the Duke of Wellington having employed great numbers of men in cutting the banks of the canals, and gradually inundating the country towards Furnes, &c.

Lord Liverpool lent me Bernier's Voyages to India, a scarce book, in two vols., 12mo, 1710. He was physician to Aurungzebe; and this little book is considered by Mr. Hastings and Lord Wellesley, and all persons acquainted with India, as containing by far the best account of the country and manners that exists, even to this time.

11*th*. — Henry Wickham called, previous to his setting out with John Erskine (Comptroller of Army Accounts) to establish Mr. Rosenhagen (late secretary to Vansittart), in the superintendence of the Duke of Wellington's military accounts.

House of Commons. Sir Henry Parnell presented the petition of the Dublin Catholic Board. Mr. Tierney asked what proof there was, that the Roman Catholic body would be bound and satisfied by Sir Henry Parnell's proceedings, &c. Sir Henry Parnell gave notice that he should on this day se'nnight move certain propositions in the House without any opening speech, and he hoped that they might be printed by

the indulgence of the House, as other propositions on other subjects had been. And he also gave notice, that he should this day fortnight move the House to go into a Committee on the Roman Catholic claims.

Bankes gave notice that he should to-morrow move for a call of the House this day fortnight, and should oppose the printing any such resolutions or propositions.

In the course of the evening, Lord Castlereagh told me that he did not think Parnell's motion promised much success to the cause; but that he, Lord Castlereagh, wished so far to co-operate with Grattan, Elliot, &c. (who had co-operated with him in 1803), as not to make his own sincerity suspected, by putting himself into contrast with them earlier than was necessary. And he should wish to understand what they proposed to take as their course. He spoke to Elliot on the subject.

Before the House rose a conference took place in my room between Grattan, Ponsonby, Plunkett, Newport, and Elliot; and Grattan, in passing my chair, and talking over the business of the session said, that the Roman Catholic question would not take more than one night, and that a short one.

12*th*. — The ratification arrived from Vienna last night.

18*th*.—Lord Lascelles called from Lord Grantham, who had wished him to mention in the House of Commons, that Sir Lowry Cole, and Sir Edward Stopford, had not received their thanks, and to get them thanked.

I explained to him all that had passed, and found that Sir Lowry Cole had said nothing to him; and he thought there must be something more in it. He felt the embarrassment, and that the noticing it in the House must call upon me to explain their delays.

I desired to put myself in Lord Lascelles's hands, and I would do whatever he thought right; but that, after what had passed, I could not begin the business.

He left me, appearing to think with me, that there must be some limit to this remissness on the part of officers, and that he should see Lord Grantham to-day again.

House of Commons. Sir Henry Parnell read a string of resolutions, intended to be moved by him in a Committee of the whole House, if, on a future day (the 30th inst.), the House should go into that Committee, and he now moved; first, that these should be brought up, and laid upon the table and printed. This being objected to, he then proposed to move his first resolution, and obtain leave by common consent, but without *order*, to have all the resolutions printed for distribution. This also was objected to, and his motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Petermorn was the only person who seconded his motion. They were objected to by Bankes, Yorke, and Peel.

17*th*. — House of Commons. Conversation on Lord Castlereagh's* French letter to Murat.

20*th*. — At Mr. Angerstein's I meet a Committee on Mr. Pitt's statue; agreed that it should be bronze; Westmacott to execute it in three years for 5500 guineas. A representation to be made to Lord Liverpool, that, in the event of building a new Exchequer, it was wished to have the statue placed in an apartment for the meeting of the Commissioners.

22*nd*. — Sir John C. Hippesley called on Roman Catholic matters. He is summoned to a meeting at Devonshire House this evening at ten, to consult with the Opposition on an address, which Lord Castlereagh is to move to-morrow.

House of Commons. Message from the Regent upon the accession of the Allies to the first Treaty and declaration against Buonaparte.

* Horner asked for the production of some letters of the Comte de Blacas (the French Minister) and of the Duke of Wellington, dated Jan. 4th, 1815, on the subject of Murat's conduct. Lord Castlereagh justified our change of intention towards Murat by exposing his utter faithlessness, he having been "equally false to Buonaparte and the Allies;" and granted the papers asked for.

23*rd*. — House of Commons. Debate on Lord Milton's motion upon the East India's Company's grant of 20,000*l*. to Lord Melville in consideration of his father's services; negatived by 86 to 30.

Lord Lascelles showed me a letter from Lord Grantham, pressing for a *public* communication of my reasons for not delivering the thanks of the House to Sir Lowry Cole and Sir Edward Stopford.

25*th*. — Saw Lord Sidmouth, and Bankes on the subject of Lord Grantham's letter, and afterwards Lord Lascelles; agreed "that I had nothing more to say;" and that if Lord Lascelles should think it right to take any further step he would let me know what and when.

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh moved an address, declaring the support of the House to His Royal Highness, in his measures connected with his Allies, for preventing the mischiefs to arise from Buonaparte's contravention of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and his system of measures, &c. For the address, 331. For Lord George Cavendish's amendment (not to engage in war against an individual), 92. Grattan and Plunkett made long and powerful speeches, in support of the address; Ponsonby, Burdett, and Tierney against.

20*th*. — Lord Lascelles told me he had communicated with Lord Grantham; had told him his mind; that he had done with it, and believed I should hear no more of it.

29*th*. — Sir J. C. Hippesley called. He will oppose Parnell. Lord Castlereagh will vote for the Committee. There is a daily expectation of Dr. Poynter's arrival from Rome with some act of the Pope's modifying the last rescript.

30*th*. — House of Commons. Sir Henry Parnell's motion for a Committee of the whole House on the laws respecting Roman Catholics. Negatived by 228 to 147.

Lord Castlereagh, Wellesley Pole, Fitzgerald, Ponsonby, Newport, and Grattan, all of whom voted for

the Committee, declared nevertheless that in that Committee they should vote against Sir H. Parnell's Bill.

Grattan said, "The Roman Catholics must not hope for relief till they changed their conduct; and by conciliation obtained the consent of the Protestants, and offered those securities which he thought not to be essential, but which still they ought to give in deference to the feelings if not to the prejudices of their Protestant countrymen. It was their interest and their duty to do so."

31*st*. — House of Commons. Debate till one o'clock on the misapplication of the 1000*l*. to the Regent for enabling him to assume the personal exercise of the Sovereign power. Lord Althorp's motion for inquiry negatived by 225 to 105.

Saturday, June 3rd. — News of the capitulation of Naples, and surrender of three ships of the line, and the contents of the arsenal, by Madame Murat, to prevent bombardment.

9*th*. — Duke of Wellington's trust. Lord Liverpool, Vansittart, and Wellesley Pole agreed to give 80,000*l*. for house and 350 acres of plantation. A letter had arrived from the Duke to Wellesley Pole, dated the 6th, agreeing to offer 80,000*l*. for *Houghton*.

Lord Elgin having yesterday offered his marbles, &c., at such price as a Committee of the House of Commons should put upon them, Lord Liverpool and Vansittart agreed to this proposition being brought forward.

11*th*. — Rode with Lord Castlereagh, who had just received Buonaparte's speech to the Legislative Assembly at Paris.

12*th*. — House of Commons. Voted subsidies on convention with Russia, Sweden, and Holland.

14*th*. — House of Commons. Budget. Total charge 81,000,000*l*.; and in part of Ways and Means, a loan of 36,000,000*l*., whereof 9,000,000*l*. for Ireland. Not more than seventy persons present in the House, though late in the evening.

15*th*. — Went to Carlton Gardens to see the large

Cadiz Mortar* upon its proposed carriage. The mortar, cast by the French at the siege of Cadiz, threw shells across the bay into Cadiz.

Sir Francis Burdett held a meeting in Palace Yard; and Lord Castlereagh, returning from the Finance Committee on horseback, was pursued through the streets into the Park by the mob, who proceeded afterwards to his house.

House of Commons. Lord Elgin's petition presented. The collection praised. Lord Elgin's conduct and right to the collection, as his private property, much questioned. Petition to lie on the table.

19*th*. — News from Brussels of Buonaparte's having advanced upon Charleroi, and rejoicings at Calais and Dunkirk.

20*th*. — News from Flanders, but not official from the Duke of Wellington: —

On Friday Buonaparte made an attack on the British and Prussians, who acted on the defensive on the side of Nivelle (near Fleurus); some sharp fighting.

On Saturday, the 17th, the British acted on the offensive†, and drove the French before them; and afterwards, having thrown all their cavalry in their front, retreated to complete their junction with Blucher, which they effected, and were left on Sunday morning last in position, before the "Bois de Soignies," near Brussels, which the Duke of Wellington and Blucher had previously agreed upon, ten days ago, as their most advantageous post.

The Duke of Brunswick is killed. Reports of other officers killed, and of prisoners taken, but no authentic particulars. The Belgian troops fought well.

* This mortar having been abandoned by Soult when he raised the siege of Cadiz, in consequence of the alarm felt by Joseph for Madrid after the battle of Salamanca, was presented by the Spanish Cortes to the Prince Regent, with a complimentary inscription, expressive of the objects for which it had been made by the French, and of the feelings with which they offered it to the British Sovereign.

† This did not prove quite correct. The operations on the 16th were the battle of Quatre Bras with us, and of Ligny with the Prussians; and on the 17th Wellington (having ascertained the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny) did not act on the offensive at all, but retreated through Genappe upon Waterloo.

CHAP. XLVII.

1815.

ADDITIONAL GRANTS TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. — ABDICATION OF BUONAPARTE. — VOTE OF THANKS TO THE DUKE OF YORK. — DEATH OF MR. WHITBREAD. — LETTER FROM M. FOGEL. — BUONAPARTE TAKEN PRISONER AND SENT TO ST. HELENA. — THE SPEAKER'S VISIT TO FRANCE. — STATE OF THAT COUNTRY. — CONVERSATIONS WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. — LETTERS OF LORD REDESDALE ON TITHES, ETC. — FROM MR. ROSE ON THE EMBASSY TO CHINA.

Thursday, *June 22nd.* — News of the Duke of Wellington's victory over Buonaparte at Waterloo on the 18th.

I wrote to Lord Liverpool to propose a grant of 100,000*l.*, by message (for the purpose of buying Houghton), to be voted in supply to-morrow.

Vansittart came, with Lord Liverpool's approbation of the message to-morrow, and vote on Monday. I advised the message *to-day*, and vote to-morrow.

Called on Lord Liverpool. Saw Lady Liverpool and Counts Lieven and Meerfeldt. On Lord Liverpool's return from Carlton House he brought two blank papers signed for messages to the two Houses, and we penned the rough draft of a message for a further provision for the Duke of Wellington. The sum intended is 200,000*l.*

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh brought down the message, which was well received.

Wellesley Pole showed me a letter from the Duke of Wellington to himself, describing the battle as "the hardest he had ever fought;" "that he was never in his life so near losing a battle;" mentioning his loss as "immense in that most valuable of all instruments—British infantry;" and desiring Lord Comber-

mere might be sent out to him, as Lord Anglesea had lost a leg.

23*rd*. — House of Commons. Thanks to the Duke of Wellington and Blucher. Vote of 200,000*l*. to the Duke of Wellington; and Peninsular Prize-Money, 900,000*l*. between the Duke of Wellington, his officers, and army.

25*th*. — News of Buonaparte's arrival in Paris; and that the loss of half his army was known at Paris, but no particulars or account of the battle in the "Moniteur" of the 21st.

The Duke of Wellington had advanced to Cateau Cambresis.

Blucher to Avesnes; Maubeuge and Valenciennes were left masked.

Saw Lord Combermere, who goes on Thursday to take the command of the cavalry on the Continent.

26*th*. — Lord Sidmouth called with news of Buonaparte's forced abdication and arrest.*

Lord Castlereagh is going to the Duke of Wellington.

27*th*.—The news is that the Duke of Wellington is at La Fere near Laon; Blucher at St. Quentin; Louis XVIII. at Cateau. Buonaparte is said to have been put to death.

House of Commons. Message for a provision for the Duke of Cumberland on his marriage. It was ill received.

28*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on the message for a provision on the Duke of Cumberland's marriage. Vote carried by 87 to 70. Lord Lascelles, Bootle Wilbraham, Sir Thomas Acland, &c., voted in the minority.

29*th*.—House of Commons. Voted national monument to the officers and men who fell in the victory of Waterloo.

Division against the grant to the Duke of Cumberland, 62 to 74.

* This was a false report.

30*th*.—Lord Castlereagh told me that the Government had just received an application from Otto to grant passports for Buonaparte to go to America, which the Government had flatly refused. Lord Castlereagh departs this evening.

Monday, July 3rd. — A letter has come from the Duke of Wellington to Wellesley Pole, dated Orville, June 29th, that he should be in Paris July 1st. Blucher was then at St. Denis.

He also expressed a strong opinion upon the propriety of his *building* a house out of the public grants.

Luton, the Marquis of Bute's, is now offered to the trustees, and they have not yet acceded to Lord Cholmondeley's terms for Houghton; the whole is open.

House of Commons. Lord Cochrane took his seat. The Duke of Cumberland's Bill thrown out by 126 to 125, on the second reading.

4*th*.—House of Commons. Thanks to the Duke of York for his services in the formation and administration of the army.

THE DUKE OF YORK'S LETTER TO THE SPEAKER,

(With the acknowledgment of the thanks.)

Horse Guards, July 6th, 1815.

Dear Sir,—I cannot transmit the enclosed letter of acknowledgment for the gratifying vote of the House of Commons, without requesting your individual acceptance of my thanks for the very obliging and flattering terms in which you have conveyed them.

Though my labours are willingly afforded to the public service, yet I trust that you will believe me sincere when I assure you that I consider their weight in the scale of that success which has crowned the operations of our armies as bearing a small proportion to the excellent qualities of British troops, and to the executive talent with which they have been conducted in the field.

I am, my dear Sir, ever yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK.

6*th*.—Whitbread destroyed himself.

11*th*.—House of Commons. Lord Tavistock moved a new writ for Bedford, in the room of Mr. Whitbread, and pronounced a eulogy upon his character, which was supported by Wilberforce and Vansittart.

Peerages are intended for Lord Granville-Leveson Gower, and Lord Francis Spencer; Lord Gower is to be called up to the House of Lords.

News that Louis XVIII. had entered Paris. Talleyrand first Minister; Fouché, Minister of the Interior. The Prussian army committing excesses; the British in the finest order and discipline.

12*th*.—Prorogation of Parliament.

13*th*. — The Duke of Wellington's trustees, Lord Liverpool, Vansittart, W. Pole, and myself, met to receive the opinions of Soane, Smirke, and Benjamin Wyatt, who read and gave in each a general statement of the principles upon which they thought 200,000*l*. was the least sum for which a *house of suitable scale* and magnificence could be built; supposing the prices to be considered as of a house built at or near London, with due allowance for variation in the prices of stone, timber, &c., according to the particular place and part of England to be afterwards fixed upon. Each took Blenheim as a *standard*, not of *imitation*, but of *comparison*, as to scale, effect, character, &c. We received their reports and agreed to transmit them all to the Duke of Wellington, with our approbation of *building* instead of buying a house; his own wishes being so strongly expressed in his repeated letters, although deferring to a different decision, if his trustees should, under all circumstances, decide otherwise.

17*th*.—Left London for Kidbrooke.

LETTER FROM M. FAGEL, DUTCH MINISTER, TO THE SPEAKER, ON THE SUBJECT OF HOUGOUMONT.

Whitehall Place, July 31st, 1815.

Dear Sir,—I lose no time in doing myself the honour of acquainting you with the result of the inquiries I made, in consequence of your note of the 28th of June last, respecting the

origin of the name of Hougoumont *, mentioned in the official account of the battle of the 18th June, and which it was supposed might have some connection with that of *Houmont*, as existing on the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral.

I applied to a friend of mine in Holland, a very ingenious and learned antiquarian. His name is Van Wyn, and he has the care and superintendence of the archives at the Hague. What follows is the substance of his answer.

He considers the conjecture mentioned in the memorandum enclosed in your note, as an ingenious one; but he is of a different opinion respecting the origin of the word Houmont. He says that in referring to "Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England," he found (p. 189 of his edition) what appeared to him to be an accurate representation of the tomb in question. The escutcheons alternate (as mentioned in the memorandum), *Ich Dien* and the word Hou*mout*, not Hou*mont*. He conceives the word *Houmout* to be, not a contraction of the word Hougoumont, but composed of the two Dutch words *Hou mout* (literally Hold courage; *Ayez bon courage*), which may have been the Black Prince's motto or *cri de guerre*, alluding to his martial spirit in general, and perhaps more particularly to his hope of still obtaining possession of the Earldom of Flanders, a hope which the Flemings (according to Froissart, vol. i. ch. 116, p. 134) continued to hold out to him even after the death of Arteveld the Ghent Brewer. My friend observes that the Black Prince, having had a Dutch mother (Philippa, the daughter of William III., Earl of Holland), might on this account have used a Dutch motto. He further remarks that, at any rate the battle of the 18th of June last, having been fought in the province of Brabant, and not in that of Flanders, the name of Hougoumont (that of the house and garden where the decisive stand was made) could not refer to the attempt made to create the Black Prince Earl of Flanders; Arteveld never having had any influence, and the Black Prince not having made war in Brabant, but in Flanders.

I shall be very happy if this information can serve to throw some more light on the subject. At any rate you will see that I have not been unmindful of your request.

I have the honour to be, with the highest regard,
Dear Sir, your most obedient servant, &c. &c.
H. Fagel.

* In the plans of the field made by our engineers in September 1814, and in June 1815, it is called Chateau Gomont. See both plans in Yonge's *Life of Wellington*, vol. i. pp. 505, 624.

21*st.*—News arrived of Buonaparte's surrender to the "Bellerophon," off Rochfort.

In August he was transshipped to the "Northumberland," and sent to St. Helena.

Monday, Sept. 25*th.*—Went with Charles to Paris; returned Oct. 27th.

Extract from Journal of the Speaker's Tour to France and Belgium.

Paris, Sept. 30*th.*—Dined at Lord Castlereagh's; and afterwards drank tea with him by himself.

He entered into a full account of the external and internal situations of France, as to the Allies and its own Government.

The allied armies are to occupy the frontier, viz. sixteen or eighteen fortresses, from Valenciennes to Landau, with 150,000 troops, for five or three years, till the contributions are paid.

At present France maintains and pays the allied troops. The Duke of Wellington is to remain Generalissimo of all the allied troops. The new Ministry, at the instance of Monsieur and the Duchesse d'Angoulême, supersedes the Jacobin Ministers.—Query as to the effect of this change on the eve of the meeting of the Chambers elected under their predecessors.

To-day the Allied Powers have decided that the *Pope* shall have his Roman statues and pictures. Blucher to execute the order. Canova to superintend.

Went afterwards to Lady Castlereagh's box at the Comic Opera Theatre Feydeau; the story founded on the circumstances of the league; and full of phrases alluding to the King's return: all applauded, but the theatre not full; and the house, staircase, &c., very dirty.

Sunday, Oct. 1*st.*—Dined at the Duke of Wellington's, with Mr. William Bathurst, and a party of officers of his own family. He took us in the evening in his own carriage to the French Opera. Good scenes and dancing; indifferent singing; and full of white

cockades and lilies and flags. The theatre is about the size of the London Opera, but very dirty, and filled with dirty company. The two brothers of the Emperor Alexander were there, in the King's box. Prince Metternich, Sir Charles Stewart, Lord Kinnaird, and Lord Palmerston were in the Duke's box.

The Duke of Wellington was strong in his expressions of the utter want of principle and character of all the French of all degrees. He talked about the removal of the pictures, &c., and the King of France not keeping his word with him, after promising to restore those of the King of the Netherlands, and the necessity of curbing France with a strong hand for a long time.

Fouché had denied being the author of the first printed report to the King, abusing the Allies; but the Duke *knew* it to be his. He had also asserted that the second was written by his enemies to ruin him.

The Duke seemed to think his removal a hazardous measure, and the present Ministry to be composed of men unknown to each other, and one of whom only knew of his own appointment by its appearing in the Gazette.

The hotel, of which the Duke now occupies the ground floor, belongs to an army contractor, who still occupies the upper floor; and, having contracted to supply Buonaparte with subsistence for 400,000 men for six months, afterwards sold all his magazines to the present Government.

2*nd*.—In passing the front of the Invalides, I saw the workmen removing the scaffold for taking down the Lion of St. Mark. The Lion was in pieces on a waggon; and a strong covering party of Austrians, infantry, cavalry, and some field artillery.

They refused to show us the models of the fortresses kept at the Invalides. The Prussians have carried off all the models of those upon the frontier of the Rhine.

Dined at Lord Castlereagh's, to meet the Archduke John of Austria. I sat between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Clive.

Lord Castlereagh took me into his room, and gave me to read the Protocol, signed this day by the four Allied Powers, and the Duc de Richelieu, on the part of the French Government, for regulating the territory and contributions of France, and the cautionary towns.

3rd.—Whilst we were at breakfast I received a note from the Duke of Wellington, desiring us to be with him at half-past nine. He mounted us, and I rode with him to the Plaine de Grenelle, where the King of Prussia and Blucher, with Gneisenau and a large attendance of Prussian, Austrian, and English officers, were assembled to see 30,000 Prussians of all arms pass in review. It lasted from ten to past twelve.

The Duke, in riding there, told me what had passed between himself and the French King and his Ministers, in the course of the night, and of the line and policy adopted by the Emperor of Russia.

The Duke thinks our *light* cavalry not too slight in men or horses, but too loose in their tactics, wanting the force derived from solidity of movement.

The Prussian cavalry carry much less weight of accoutrements than ours. The infantry officers carry their own knapsacks (in black leather) upon their backs. Besides the regulars, there was a large body of Landwehr and Death's-head hussars, both regular and volunteers.

The Duke, on his return, set out immediately for the Austrian review at Dijon. He comes back on Saturday, and is to give the Archduke John a review of the British.

We went in the evening to the Comédie Française, where we saw Talma in the part of Oreste, in "Andromaque." He disappointed me; for, although his conception of the part seemed to be just, and his expression natural and strong, it was at the same time very frequently coarse and vulgar. His countenance is square and heavy; his gesture is generally good, and apparently studied from the antique, so that he moves like a living statue.

The afterpiece was "La Gazeuse Imprévue." Mademoiselle Mars a good comic actress.

7th.—Went between eleven and twelve in Sir Charles Stewart's carriage to the Ouverture des Chambres, at the Palais du Corps Législatif.

The King came soon after twelve, preceded by the Princes of the blood, who had seats on his right and left, upon the elevated platform of the Throne.

After he was seated, M. D'Ambray, Chancellor of France, in the King's name gave leave to sit down.

The King then delivered a speech, *not* from a written paper, well, clearly, and distinctly, without hesitation, and with a paternal dignity; sitting upright and back in his chair, with his hat on.

He was dressed in a plain blue coat, with his blue ribbon over his shoulder. On a stool on his left hand sat M. Talleyrand, as Great Chamberlain; and further on the left the Duc de Richelieu, as Prime Minister; and behind them M. D'Ambray. On each side of the steps leading to the throne sat the Peers and Marshals of France in their full uniform. The rest of the benches which formed the semicircle were filled with Peers and Deputies promiscuously; all in blue coats, with white waistcoats, breeches, and swords; the Peers having their high capes and broad cuffs embroidered with fleur-de-lys in gold, the Deputies in silver.

The King having announced in his speech that he swore to observe the constitutional charter and enforce the laws, the Princes all in their turn stood forward, and with their right hands stretched out said each, "Je jure fidélité au Roi; l'observation de la Charte Constitutionelle, et obéissance aux lois."

The Chancellor then read the form of oath for the Peers, M. Vaublas for the Deputies; and calling upon each in order by their names, each stood up, and stretching out his hand said aloud, "Je jure." One voice demanded to speak, but the Duc de Richelieu stepping up to the King, took his pleasure, and said aloud that the King commanded that the reading of the names and the taking of the oath should proceed.

At the close the Chancellor announced the King's pleasure that each Chamber should proceed to hold their respective sessions on Monday next.

The King came and went away with a long retinue of carriages drawn by eight horses, and guards of horse and foot; with the loudest acclamations within the house and in the streets.

9th—Arbuthnot brought me a string of questions proposed by the French Ministers, about the principles and forms and examples of managing the practical parts of the English Government, proving their entire ignorance of the subject.

10th.—Saw the Chamber of the Peers, formerly the Conservative Senate.

The pictures of Buonaparte and his triumphs were everywhere covered over, but the ceilings and arches were filled with devices and alto relievos of him and his victories at Jena and Austerlitz.

No places for audience or strangers.

11th.—At nine went to the Duke of Wellington's. Lord Apsley mounted us; and we rode to the plain of St. Denis, behind Montmartre; but the rain had been heavy, and continued in a manner to prevent all movements; and the Duke dismissed the troops at once.

Heard an authentic and curious account of the state of the French Ministry, and their utter ignorance of all the forms and principles of the British Government, which they profess to emulate.

12th.—Left Paris, returning home through Flanders.

. . . . . .

Antwerp.—Buonaparte's plan was to make the present city of Antwerp the *commercial* port, and to establish all his naval arsenal on the left bank.

Buonaparte here, as in France, had by regulation compelled the planting of fruit trees annually; and had established a system of inspection of thinning upon the lands of individual proprietors.

His mode of building his new towns was by compell-

ing the proprietor of every house in the old town to build one of equal size in the new town within two years, and according to a plan laid down by the Government.

His personal acts of tyranny were exemplified here by his imprisoning a respectable inhabitant for not compelling his daughter to marry one of his aides-de-camp. The young woman died of a broken heart, and the father remained in prison when Colonel Crawford, the present commandant of the citadel, came to Brussels.

. . . . . .

At Ostend.—Captain Hill, the agent for transports, told me that he had superintended the disembarkation of his Majesty's service since April last; and had landed not less than 58,000 men (of all descriptions), and 17,000 horses, without a loss or an accident except to two horses.

Buonaparte had a force ready to march upon Antwerp, and another upon Ostend, in case he had gained the battle of Waterloo. The heavy baggage of the Duke of Wellington's army, and his heavy artillery, are all now at Ostend. The transports are just ordered for the Downs, as supposed with a view to the return of the cavalry to England.

26*th.*—Returned to England.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Batsford, Oct. 27th, 1815.

Sir,— . . . . . I presume you are returned from your Continental tour; and I shall be happy to learn your opinion of the state of affairs; though I fear you will have been able to gain little information of the true state of things in France, either in the capital or in the provinces. I find great doubts of the continuance of tranquillity affect the minds of such Frenchmen as remain in this country. They are themselves probably but indifferent judges; but, I apprehend, the information they receive from their connections in France is not favourable.

As the Parliament will not meet till February 1st, I trust you will have time fully to recruit your health and strength; but when your Parliamentary duties shall begin, I fear you will have a troublesome, though perhaps not a stormy session; the farmers really are almost the most indigent of the community, and scarcely able to pay the poor rates, road rates, county rates, tithes, &c. &c., to which they are subject. These charges in general amount to full 100 per cent. on their rents. The poor rates and tithes alone are, upon an average, I believe, sixteen shillings in the pound; for the tithe compositions have been generally raised enormously, and none of the clergy will abate the compositions made when corn was at fifteen shillings the bushel, without a year's notice. And, as corn is now at 6*s.* or 6*s.* 6*d.*, the farmers will pay for this and the next harvest, in many places, more than double the value of their tithes, in some places near treble. One of my tenants on a rent of 200*l.*, which of course includes farm-house, barns, &c. &c., pays a composition of 75*l.* for tithes; which I believe is more than double, nearly treble the value of his tithes this year if taken in kind. I am myself a tithe owner in the north, and my tithes are let in proportion to the rents, at much less than half the composition exacted by the Clergy in this county, and my compositions were valued in this way: the value of the produce was first taken; and from that the expense of taking the tithes in hand, housing &c., deducted; and a further deduction of five per cent. on the result for prompt payment. I considered this as the fair mode of estimate; but the Clergy say, "No; the question is, not what we could gain by taking the tithes in kind, but what the occupier would lose; that is to say, the full value of the article, without any deduction; and, added to this, a compensation for the forbearance in consideration of the vexation the occupier would suffer if obliged to set out every minute article of kind." On this mode of estimating, a farmer in this neighbourhood has been made to pay 27*l.* for the tithes of forty-eight acres of grass land belonging to a charity, for which he pays a rent of 146*l.*, including a house, barn, &c., articles not necessary for the occupation of grass land; and therefore valued to the tenant at 10*l.* out of 135*l.*, as it enables him to occupy other land which he could not do without this convenience. He therefore pays a full fifth of the rent for the tithe of the grass land, which has never been estimated before higher than one-eighth, and yet his rent is much above the average of the neighbourhood; and must be abated by the charity; probably to about 120*l.*, which will be 50*s.* per acre; and the land is above four miles from any market town, and out of the way of high roads.

The ruin of the farmers has been more immediately effected by the failure of so many country banks, and the inability to sell their produce at any price. The speculators had accumulated vast quantities of produce, particularly corn. The consumer generally buys of the speculator, who is now the seller and not the buyer. According to the best information I can obtain, the landlords will fall short of their Michaelmas receipts from their agricultural tenants, upon an average one-half, and on their Lady-day receipts a larger proportion. Of course the money lent by the country banks which have failed is calling in; and the Chipping Norton alone had lent above 40,000*l.* to the farmers in their neighbourhood, one half of whom will probably be ruined by being compelled to pay at this moment. For the banks which stand are also calling in their outstanding debts, and will advance nothing. One considerable bank has stopped business, without stopping its payments, afraid of the consequences of a general failure, and therefore choosing to give up the business entirely rather than run any further risk.

It is clear the circulation of the country cannot be carried on without a large issue of notes; and, as the Bank of England is afraid to hazard the establishment of branches, and perhaps wisely, there seems no remedy but the creation of chartered banks, like those of Scotland; which, from their constitution, cannot speculate like the partners in country banks. As to payments in specie, I take it to be now clear that the quantity of specie which can be obtained by any means must be *wholly inadequate* to the circulation of this country; and that the Bank of England must rather diminish than increase its notes; if it shall be compelled to resume payments in cash.

Very truly yours, REDESDALE.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD COMBERMERE.

Paris, Nov. 20th, 1815.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . I am to remain in command of the cavalry under the Duke of Wellington. The regiments ordered home will march next week to embark at Boulogne; three brigades of cavalry (about 3600) remaining here.

Ney's trial is not expected to last more than two days. La Valette will *not* be executed, it is supposed; but Government will make an example of Ney if he is condemned, which, I fancy there can be very little doubt of. . . . . .

Yours very faithfully, COMBERMERE.

EXTRACTS FROM TWO LETTERS FROM MR. GEORGE ROSE TO MR. ABBOT.

Cuffnells, Dec. 21st, 1815.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . I succeeded completely in the object of my journey; my suggestions were adopted with unanimity by the persons with whom I had communication, Lord Liverpool, Mr. Vansittart, Lord Melville, &c. All the revenue cruisers are to be placed under the Admiralty, preventive boats are to be stationed along the whole coast of the kingdom, small parties of infantry are to be butted or quartered at every place where the smugglers now land their goods, and to follow them from one spot to another as often as they shall change their landing places. The soldiers will march quicker than the smugglers can establish new means of conveying their goods inland, and there will be dragoons with the infantry.

I apprehended difficulty about the military where I met with none, for the Duke of York saw the importance of the subject so strongly, that he told me he would give every dragoon in the kingdom to the service, and as many infantry as should be necessary.

I hope our banks for savings will go on prosperously. The more I reflect upon the plan, the stronger my conviction is of the advantages that will be derived from the extension of it to all the classes of the community. We shall settle our arrangements finally in a week or two; and I am inclined then to make a statement of it. I would *discourage parochial* banks, as less secure than more extensive ones.

There is no intention of bringing forward any measure relative to the Catholics in the next session of Parliament *by Government*, but it is intended to give 1,000,000*l.* for building churches; part of which must necessarily be employed in making provision for those who are to perform the duty in them. The service is a commendable one; but where the money will be found for that and other supply I can form no guess. I hear of change in various branches.

The state of France I am afraid does not improve. The King is become insincere—(a harsher epithet is applied to him) from timidity, and the Ministers are wavering. When the deputies were chosen it appears to have been the intention of the country throughout to choose royalists — about seven-and-thirty Buonapartists however were elected; of the majority somewhat more than fifty were *Constitutional* royalists; the latter, thinking the

remainder of their brethren were running wild in thoughtless royalism, joined the Buonapartists to check the zeal of the unconstitutional royalists, and so increased the minority to nearly ninety. The Club then met in the house of the Minister of Police! Their proceedings grew to be disagreeable, which occasioned their removal from thence to a house taken for the purpose in the Rue St. Honoré. The number soon increased to 100; and they are now 150. Very lately the Ministers sent two Members they can rely upon to join the Club, in the hope, I suppose, of moderating its proceedings, or knowing exactly what they are.

I understand the regular force in France does not exceed 12,000 men.

The Duke of Cumberland sent to me last Sunday; and I think he seems inclined to have another application made to Parliament, and spoke of the 6000*l.* a year as unworthy of his acceptance if the question had been carried.

The price of gold, that was 5*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* in June last, is now 4*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* by the last paper. 2*s.* or 3*s.* lower the bank must begin to coin; it was stationary at 4*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* for several weeks; but this last shilling, and the state of the exchanges indicate a further fall. The exchange with Hamburgh is at par.

Most truly yours, G. Rose.

FROM THE SAME.

[Most confidential.] No date, but received Dec. 28th, 1815.

My dear Sir, — The voyage to China in the way it is made by an ambassador is beyond all comparison more interesting than to any other part of the world. I therefore very much applaud the change of destination for your son.* But your mentioning his accompanying Lord Amherst leads me to mention a circumstance I should not otherwise have done.

Until I left this place ten or twelve days ago, I knew not a syllable about the Chinese embassy, except from what I saw in the newspapers. On my return, however, I dined and slept at Richmond Park, Lord Sidmouth's, where I met Mr. Sullivan, who began the conversation about it, and said Lord Amherst is instructed to act precisely as Lord Macartney did †, which led

* The present Lord Colchester sailed as a midshipman in the "Alceste," the vessel which conveyed Lord Amherst to China.

† Lord Macartney had gone as Ambassador to China in the year 1794.

me to say his Lordship had then better stay at home, and I stated to him my reasons for that.

It was on my suggestions exclusively that Lord Macartney was selected, under an impression that he was the man in this country the best calculated for the mission; and I selected a Captain M'Intosh of an East India ship, devoted to his Lordship, to be the bearer of Mr. Pitt's letter to him; and the captain accompanied him in his ship on the voyage. Lord Macartney also took him from his ship, and carried him to Pekin, as well as everywhere else with him.

I mention these circumstances to obtain due weight for the letters of April, 1795. Mr. Pitt and I were satisfied that infinite ill humour was excited by Lord Macartney's temper and unbending disposition, which certainly did not give fair play to the chance of effecting the objects of the mission; and I am quite clear that an opposite course should be adopted now. All my papers from Lord Macartney and Captain M'Intosh (many in number) were given to Mr. Pitt.

Lord Macartney was here several days before he went out, desiring to be alone, that we might talk over the objects of his mission; and I saw from M'Intosh's account after the first interview with the Emperor, that the business would fail; and Mr. Pitt agreed with me. I am, my dear Sir,

Most truly yours, GEO. ROSE.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. BANKES.

Old Palace Yard, Dec. 19th, 1815.

My dear Speaker, ... I saw Mr. Vansittart some days ago, for a very short time, who entered freely enough into the business of finance; the substance of which was an intended reduction of the Property Tax to five per cent., and a small loan of five or six millions.

I hear rumours of a Roman Catholic Bill, but I believe that we shall be stronger upon that ground than heretofore; and, indeed, if we may credit the newspapers, they seem to be doing our work at Rome.

. . . . . This puts me in mind of what the Duke of Wellington told me, relative to the purchase of an estate for him. He said that Burleigh-on-the-Hill had been offered, which he seemed inclined to close with. But he said at the same time that he was determined to build an entirely new house, or palace; which I did not, and do not wonder at, know-

ing that he has consulted Wyatt, the architect of no mean building, Drury Lane, who was his Secretary in the East Indies. I ventured to say that Burleigh was among our finest houses, and much too good to pull down, which I beg to impress upon you, that no such folly may be committed. They cannot build anything as good as Burleigh is at this moment for 200,000*l.*; and I much question whether they will build him so handsome and commodious a mansion. I ventured to tell the Duke that I regretted Houghton, which I am sure would have been the most desirable place that could have been chosen. . .

Very sincerely yours, H. Bankes.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. PLANTA.*

British Museum, Dec. 30th, 1815.

My dear Sir, ... Canova admired the Phygalian marbles. He allows that the designs and composition are excellent, but he does not think the execution is of equal merit. He has said (I am told) that if these are worth 15,000*l.*, the Elgin marbles are worth 100,000*l.* I have more than once asked Mr. Hamilton how we came by them, and who paid for them; but I have not yet received any decided answer from him. I imagine that you will hear of the business in the next session of Parliament. Canova was much pleased with several articles in our gallery, especially the colossal Venus opposite the entrance, which he does not scruple to declare one of the first rate articles of sculpture.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. Planta.

* Librarian to the British Museum.

CHAP. XLVIII.

1816.

LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE ON THE STATE OF FRANCE. — DEBATE ON THE TREATY OF PARIS. — MR. BROUGHAM'S ATTACK ON THE PRINCE REGENT. — MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE. — MR. BROUGHAM'S MOTION FOR A COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION. — ILL-TREATMENT OF PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE. — INSURRECTION IN THE WEST INDIES. — PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. G. ROSE.

Cuffnells, Jan. 2nd, 1816.

My dear Sir,—I am extremely obliged by your kindness in sending me the pamphlet of Baron Mazeres, with Dr. Price's additions.

I am inclined to think, if the plan had been taken up, and a law had been passed for the establishment of it, there would have been *no chance* of its success; and, if it had succeeded completely, it would not have attained the advantages that were in the contemplation of its authors.

In the first place, it supposes the poor man to be in possession of money to buy an annuity without affording him the means of saving it. For, I believe, without some such institution as the one now proposed tempting him to lay by small sums weekly to accumulate at compound interest, with a knowledge it may be withdrawn at the pleasure of the depositor, the money will not be saved.

In the next place, it is an annuity that is to be bought; of course all the advantage of the saving ending with the life of the man; nothing for his widow or children, who would be left, as now, to the parish; whereas, according to the present plan, a single man beginning his saving at any period from eighteen to twenty-one, by availing himself of the fund for savings, would in a few years have money enough to enable him to marry without danger of bringing a family upon the parish, and so effect the object of Mr. Matthews without applying his extrava-

gant remedy for preventing early and improvident marriages, which are certainly a very serious evil.

And, lastly, it would have been impossible to have made the parish funds a good and regularly available security for the payment of the annuities, which must be obvious to every one conversant with the management of parochial affairs.

. . . . . .

I have heard nothing of Lord Buckinghamshire's opinion since he has been in possession of the letters, of which I sent you copies; but I feel quite confident, if the Ambassador is to act as Lord Macartney did (whose steps Mr. Sullivan told me he is to follow exactly), he will not have even a chance of obtaining anything; and much is to be obtained if the Chinese Ministers will open their eyes to the true interests of their country. I was present at long and repeated conversations between Mr. Pitt and Lord Macartney, after the return of the latter; and Mr. Pitt was entirely convinced that the unbending conduct of his Lordship rendered his success hopeless.

Most truly yours, G. Rose.

I see on reference to the journals that the Bill recommended by Baron Mazeres and Dr. Price passed the House of Commons in 1773, and was not returned from the Lords. It was brought in by Mr. Dowdeswell, Sir G. Savile, Lord G. Cavendish, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Burke, &c.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE.

Paris, Jan. 18th, 1816.

My dear Mr. Speaker,—. . . . . Everything is apparently very quiet here, and I hope will continue so; indeed, it does not appear what party is likely to disturb the public tranquillity; at the same time, it is clear from all that passed in the Chamber of Deputies on the Law of Amnesty* that, though they generally profess great attachment to the King, the Ministers cannot be certain of their support to the measures that are proposed.

* The day after Ney's execution the French Ministers, professing that a sufficient example had been made, proposed a general amnesty, excepting only the comparatively small number of thirty-eight persons; but the majority of the Chamber, headed by Chateaubriand, wished for much larger exceptions, desiring to condemn 1200 to perpetual banishment, and especially insisting on the perpetual exile of all who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and this clause they carried in spite of the Ministers.

You will have heard before this of the arrest of Sir Robert Wilson, Crawford Bruce, and Captain Hutchinson of the Guards, for having contrived La Valette's escape out of France. After his escape from prison by the assistance of his wife, he remained for ten days in Paris, during which time he was introduced to Sir Robert Wilson, who obtained a passport for him under the name of Major Losack, and escorted him to the frontier of the Netherlands in a cabriolet of Mr. Crawford Bruce, accompanied by Captain Hutchinson in his English uniform, and having also disguised La Valette himself in English regimentals. They are to be tried very soon, and it is generally supposed their punishment will be lenient, but I think it is likely that Sir Robert Wilson will be struck out of the army, and that Captain Hutchinson (being immediately employed in the Duke of Wellington's army, now on duty in France) will lose his commission.

The Duke has protested against the mode of Captain Hutchinson's arrest by the police, but has not claimed him, and, I believe, has been assured that no such proceeding shall be repeated. Yours most faithfully and sincerely,

HARDWICKE.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM MR. R. RYDER.

Westbrook Hay, Jan. 10th, 1816.

My dear Sir,—. . . . . I hear that the attention of Parliament will be called by the King's speech to the woful want of churches, and that half the property tax is to be retained forms the sum total of my political knowledge.

I have not seen Castlereagh since his return from France, but, *entre nous*, I understood, some time ago, that he had turned over the Pope's nuncio at Paris to his friend Cooper, who had found him altogether impracticable.

I may be wrong, but, I own, I have no great alarm at the Roman Catholic question, as it is called, gaining many additional proselytes either in or out of Parliament. . . . .

I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

R. RYDER.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD SHEFFIELD.

Sheffield Place, Jan. 27th, 1816.

. . . . . Perhaps you may like to hear the real history of the Sheriffs of London, and their reception at Brighton. The

Prince did not see them; they were invited to dinner; they were *made drunk;* and they were then presented to the Queen; they shook her most heartily by the hand. The Princess Charlotte was present. Among other compliments they told the Queen that it was understood the Princess Charlotte was unhealthy, and *very hobbling*, but they found her quite a *divinity*, and they should say so in the city.

This account comes from a person who was present.

Most truly yours, SHEFFIELD.

Wednesday, Jan. 31*st.*—Met Lord Melville, and, at his desire, I looked to see whether the Treasurership of Greenwich Hospital vacated a seat in Parliament or not. I think, if a naval officer, he may not vacate, as a naval officer made governor of Greenwich Hospital does not vacate. Nor does the Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, if a military man.

Dined at Lord Castlereagh's, to hear the Regent's speech read.

Thursday, Feb. 1*st.*—House of Commons. The session opened by Commission. On the Address there was a debate, and an amendment proposed, by adding words to complain of the late meeting of Parliament, and promising to enter into an examination of the state of the country. For the amendment, 23; against it, 90; most of the members having gone away not expecting a division.

The Archduke John of Austria came to hear the debate.

5*th.*—House of Commons. Vote of a naval monument for the victories of the late war.*

8*th.*—Leach appointed Chancellor to the Prince of Wales.

Thermometer in the country, at Lord Spencer's, four degrees below zero of Fahrenheit, being two degrees lower than was ever before known in England.

Lord Liverpool is to write to the Duchess of Buc-

* The address for a monument was voted unanimously, and the Regent replied that he would give directions for it; but nothing further was ever done.

cleugh, and try to negotiate for a purchase of the Beaulieu Estate, on the Beaulieu River, in the New Forest, for the Duke of Wellington.

9th. — House of Commons. Two divisions against the production of treaties: 104 to 30, and 92 to 25. Ponsonby appeared for the first time this session.

12th. — Vansittart opened the general budget; and voted seamen. The budget for this particular year, not as a peace establishment, is 26,000,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 3,000,000*l.* for Ireland. An army of 150,000 men, and navy 33,000.

Ways and Means. Surplus grant of 1815, and surplus of Consolidated Fund: Together .	£5,500,000
Annual land, &c.	2,500,000
War taxes	6,000,000
Property tax at 5 per cent., with mitigation for agriculturists.	6,000,000
Bank loan	6,000,000
	£26,000,000 for Great Britain.

17th. — The Duchess of Buccleugh declined selling the Beaulieu Estate to the Duke of Wellington's Trustees.

19th. — House of Commons. Debate on Address upon the Treaties of Paris. Lord Castlereagh spoke for four hours. Lord Milton moved an amendment, seconded by Mr. Fazakerley, complaining of the want of a large territorial cession from France, instead of a temporary occupation. Debate adjourned.

20th. — House of Commons. Adjourned debate on the Treaties. Divided at half-past three. For the address, 244; Lord Milton's amendment, 77. The Archduke was present.

There was some altercation in the early part of the day about putting questions, or making motions for information. Tierney insisted that "he was not even obliged to write down his motion, but might *dictate* it to one of the clerks at the table, who was to put it into writing for him!!"

26th. — House of Commons. Debate on Army Esti-

mates, and an adjourned debate on the question of referring them to a Committee of Supply.

28*th.* — House of Commons. Debate and division at four o'clock. For referring the Army Estimates to a Committee of Supply, 241; Against it, 121.

Tuesday, March 5th. — House of Commons. Lord Cochrane's articles of charge against Lord Ellenborough for misconduct on the trial of Lord Cochrane, De Berenger, and others. Ordered to be printed.

6*th.* — House of Commons. In supply, voted 176,000 men for the army. Division at three o'clock in the morning, 202 for it, against, 130, in support of a vote for 166,000.

7*th.* — House of Commons. Debate on agricultural distress. Referred to a Committee of the whole House.

12*th.* — House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh brought in a Bill for detaining Napoleon Buonaparte in custody; and for regulating the intercourse with St. Helena.

14*th.* — House of Commons. Message on the marriage of the Princess Charlotte.

15*th.* — House of Commons. Committee on Provision for the marriage of the Princess Charlotte.

Lord Castlereagh told me that the Regent had an idea of giving a Dukedom (that of Kendal) to the Prince of Saxe Cobourg: but I entreated Lord Castlereagh to have this reconsidered, as it appeared to me that nothing could be more inconvenient, *personally*, to the Consort of the future Queen, and also to the public, than his having a seat in the House of Lords; to mix in, or abstain from attendance upon debates, &c. Lord Castlereagh thought so too, and promised to have it reconsidered.

18*th.* — House of Commons. Property Tax thrown out in Ways and Means, by 238 to 201. The petition against it from the City of London was signed by 22,000 of the principal merchants, bankers, and traders of all parties, including directors of the great compa-

nies. The division took place between twelve and one in the morning.

20*th*.—House of Commons. Debate and division upon the increase of salaries to the Secretaries of the Admiralty in June, 1815. For the motion, 130; for Ministers, 159. Violent language of Mr. Brougham against the Regent.

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Notice given of presenting lower estimates of the remaining army votes, and for the ordnance; and that the salaries of the Admiralty Secretaries would not be proposed upon the war scale.

Brougham justified his libellous speech of Wednesday last against the Regent, as warranted by the personal compliments paid to him by other members; nothing being properly imputable to the sovereign of merit or demerit, but as the act of his Ministers. Lord Castlereagh assured the House that the Regent had not been apprised by his Ministers of the state of the convicts under sentence: and that there was great doubt in law whether the sentence could be ordered by any council sitting out of Middlesex.

Wednesday, April 3*rd*.—House of Commons. Debate on Tierney's motion to abolish the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. Division for it, 100; against it, 182.

4*th*.—Sir John Newport postponed his motion upon the subject of Ireland to the 26th, on account of the thinness of the House. A call was ordered for the 26th.

8*th*.—House of Commons. In committee on Army Estimates till half-past nine; proceeded on report of Navy Estimates till eleven, when Mr. Rose happening to ask me how I was? I answered, that I had been in bed all the morning that I might be in the House of Commons all the evening. This he understood to be a complaint of actual illness: it was then considered as a sudden indisposition by Lord Castlereagh, &c., whom I assured to the contrary; but it went across to Ponsonby, who stopped Brougham in his speech, and,

though I entreated the House to proceed, the debate was adjourned immediately, and the House also.

9th. — House of Commons passed Princess Charlotte's Establishment Bill. Committee on Agricultural Distress.

11th. — Adjourned to the 24th, over Easter.

Left London for Kidbrooke.

24th. — Notice by Lord Castlereagh of moving the Civil List Bill, Peace Alien Bill, &c.

Corn is everywhere rising in price.

25th. — House of Commons. Divisions against Lord George Cavendish's Bill for an Address to reduce the establishment of the Civil List. For it, 102; against it, 158.

26th. — House of Commons. Sir John Newport's motion on Ireland. Amendment by Peel. Carried by 187 to 102.*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO MR. BANKES.

Kidbrooke, April 15th, 1816.

Dear Bankes, — . . . Before I left town I looked at the MS. Report of precedents on Sir J. Thomson's case: and the matter seems to rest where it was. The principle, I incline to think, has always been that *professional* advancement to professional men, naval or military, has been considered as *not* vacating their seats, "and Government or not Government" was only a species of that advancement included in the general rule.

Whether at first the Master of a Hospital (for "Governor" is a mere play of words) should have been included in that principle, might, I think, have been fairly questioned. But, assuming that to be the modern course of Parliamentary doctrine, I see no distinction between the duties of master and treasurer; for both are completely civil. And as master and treasurer must

* Sir John Newport moved an Address to the Regent, stating that the necessity of keeping 25,000 men in Ireland, imposed upon Parliament the duty of examining the state of that country, and therefore asking for the production of any documents which might show the nature, extent, and causes of the evils with which Ireland was afflicted.

by modern charter always be officers in the Royal Navy, the preponderance I think is for not vacating.

. . . . . .

We shall have an early motion for Sir J. C. Hippesley's Select Committee to report on the restraints upon Roman Catholics in foreign states; and I incline to think that it will be useful. I understand at the same time that it is thought such restraints would be proper independently of any concession; and that no further concessions are to be brought forward or countenanced by Lord Castlereagh under present circumstances. But *nous verrons.*

Our session seems to bid fair for continuing as usual into the dog-days. Ever most truly yours, C. A.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BANKES TO MR. ABBOT.

April 17th.

My dear Speaker, — . . . . Our Committee on precedents afforded no one case which was not in your list, or which did not distinctly fall under the same divisions; and I still think with you, that the rule which has obtained with regard to the Governor ought to prevail in the Treasurer's case. The attendance in the Committee was so slack that we hardly formed a quorum, and of course no discussion took place.

It occurs to me in reading the disqualifying statute of Queen Anne, 6 c. 7 § 29, that the penalty of 500*l.* might be levied in a Court of Law against any person disabled or declared incapable, who shall, notwithstanding, sit and vote in the House of Commons. This is manifestly the intention of the clause; and although it is expressed clumsily and awkwardly, it is not quite clear that an action would not lie for recovering this sum.

When the Elgin Marbles become public property, how do you intend to stow them in the Museum?

It is an inauspicious time to begin a new gallery, particularly with the columns, Waterloo and Trafalgar, impending over the Treasury. Could you not cast, for a time, into outer darkness the Anubis and all the monsters of Egypt, and let the fresh divinities and heroes occupy that apartment until one more suitable can be provided? They must in some way or other be made immediately available for the purpose of study, and for forming the foundation for our school of Art. The metopes and bas-reliefs will be more difficult to dispose of, but

some temporary accommodation must be devised for these also. And it would be desirable at the same time to bring up the Phygalian Marbles from the cellar.

We must inevitably hear much of Ireland in our remaining discussions; if it appears under a religious form it is frightful, and civil form it has none. What will be called consolidating the two Exchequers will be in fact admitting a bankrupt partner into our firm, and whisky, more potent than arms, will subdue and lay asleep the military force which is destined to wage war against it. A change of system as to the high duties affords, if I mistake not, the only means of contending successfully against a nation of smugglers.

Believe me, my dear Speaker, most sincerely yours,

H. Bankes.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEAKER'S ANSWER.

Kidbrooke, April 19th.

My dear Bankes,— . . . I still think the 500*l.* penalty would not be recoverable in an action. 1st. Because a penal clause would not be considered vigorously against a defendant, if there were a reasonable *doubt* of its not applying to both cases. 2ndly. I think that the word "disabled" in the penal cause, means disabled from *being elected, i. e. permanently* disabled. Much, however, may be said on both sides.

. . . . . .

On Wednesday next, we shall re-open our theatre, I suppose, for two months, whereof six weeks will be spent in tragedies.

Most truly yours, Chas. Abbot.

30*th.* — Lord Cochrane's motion for referring his articles of impeachment to a Committee of the whole House. Negatived, for the Ayes 0; but the two Tellers, Lord Cochrane and Sir Francis Burdett; for the Noes, 89. Mr. Ponsonby then moved to expunge the entries in the vote, which passed without a division.

Friday, May 1*st.* — House of Commons. Debate on Bank restrictions, and Alien Bill. Previous question carried on Wynn's motion about the Treasurership of Greenwich Hospital.

2*nd.* — Marriage of the Prince of Saxe Coburg with the Princess Charlotte.

The guns were fired at half-past nine.

3rd. — Met Lord Sidmouth, who remarked upon the omission in not inviting officially the Speaker of the House of Commons to the royal wedding.

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh opened his new Civil List Bill. Went through the Bank Restriction Bill in Committee.

7th. — House of Commons. Lord Althorp's motion for a Committee to consider of the possibility of reductions of public offices. Negatived by 169 to 126.

8th. — House of Commons. Brougham's Bill for extending the Liberty of the Press; after a speech of two hours and a half (without sufficient grounds), allowed to be brought in.

9th. — House of Commons. Lord Althorp's motion for repealing the Leather Tax changed into a motion for a Committee.

13th. — Spoke to Lord Castlereagh upon Cole's thanks.

House of Commons. Husbandry House Tax till ten.

15th. — Lord Stanhope came about his statute plan. 1st. He wants an index of matters, without knowing what particular edition contains them all. 2ndly. After classing the matters by index, which he thinks himself very competent to do for the greater part, he aims at a consolidation of acts when many bear upon some great or important subject. The Chancellor appears to have given him the quarto introduction (not published) which I sent last week to the Chancellor.

House of Commons. Sir James Mackintosh's motion upon the appropriation of moneys paid by France before and since the last treaty of Paris. Previous question carried without a division.

17th. — Lord Castlereagh expressed his wish that as Sir Henry Clinton was to be thanked for Waterloo on Monday, and the Temple of Janus was now shut, Sir Lowry Cole might also receive the thanks which by his prior delays had been prevented according to the usage of the House. I stated the circumstances which, in

ordinary circumstances would have precluded me, but I should now most cheerfully comply with the general inclination which the House now manifested.

18*th*. — The Queen, Princess Elizabeth, Princess Mary, and the Duke of Clarence came at twelve to the House of Lords, and afterwards to the House of Commons.

20*th*. — House of Commons. Thanked Sir Lowry Cole and Sir Henry Clinton.

Debate on the Consolidation of the British and Irish Treasuries, and on the Alien Bill.

21*st*. — House of Commons. Brougham moved for a Committee on the Education of the Poor in the Metropolis, which, with the concurrence of the Government, was granted for the purpose of an inquiry and report.

Grattan in a long bad speech, relying on the Pope's consent expressed in a letter from Cardinal Litta to Bishop Poynter, to acquiesce in any previous legislative restriction of Parliament, moved resolutions like Canning's of 1812 (*totidem verbis*), to pledge the House to take the Roman Catholic question into early consideration next session. He was seconded by Sir Henry Parnell, followed by General Matthews, who asserted of his own knowledge from the Pope himself (and asserted also that Lord Castlereagh knew the same thing through proper channels) that his Holiness would agree to whatever regulations we made, and that the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland had agreed in April last to appoint their own bishops by domestic nomination.

Then Lord Castlereagh followed, urging the question with more than usual earnestness, and promising his support to Sir John C. Hippesley's approaching motion for a Committee upon the regulations prevailing in foreign states respecting their intercourse with the Court of Rome.

Peel spoke next; principally against the expediency of any pledge for a future time, when circumstances must finally govern the proceeding, which, if favour-

able, would render this vote superfluous, and, if unfavourable, could only embarrass. He contended also that the present unsettled state of Ireland had nothing of religious discontent for its causes; and that, granting all the civil and military offices to be open to Roman Catholics, would still leave behind a greater grievance in the eyes of the Roman Catholics unredressed: the want of a Roman Catholic Established Church in Ireland, &c.

Ponsonby followed next, and Sir George Hill; after which the resolution was negatived by 172 to 141.

22*nd*. — Record Board on the Statutes. Settled form of resolution to be moved in the Lords, and lastly, a conference with the Commons upon the subject of Lord Stanhope's proposition for methodising the Statutes.

23*rd*. — House of Commons. Serjeant Onslow's motion to repeal laws for regulating the interest of money, withdrawn. Sir Samuel Romilly on the Protestants in the south of France.*

24*th*. — Meeting at Lambeth of the General Committee of the National Society. Resolved, 1st. To apply for a charter. 2ndly. To state the case of the Society to Government, praying their support in aid whenever they might think proper to propose a grant in Parliament for the extension of education, and

* Sir Samuel Romilly enumerated a number of acts of violence which had been committed against the Protestants in the south of France, and contested the accuracy of the account given of them by the Duke of Wellington in a letter to the Protestant Society, which had been published, in which the Duke stated that the outrages had been greatly exaggerated, and that the French Government had exerted itself to repress them. Sir Samuel affirmed that they had not been exaggerated; that women had been scourged and tortured; that invalids had been murdered in their beds; and moved an Address to the Prince Regent to ask for copies of any correspondence which had taken place between our Government and the French Government on the subject. Lord Castlereagh showed the Duke's statement to have been founded on a more accurate knowledge of the truth; that Sir Samuel was exaggerating the outrages committed in a narrow district (and which the French Government was doing its best to repress and to punish), into a settled policy of that Government; and argued that such a motion, if carried, could only be calculated to excite an ill-feeling between the two countries; and his arguments prevailed to the defeat of the motion.— *Hansard.*

stating the intention of the Society in the meantime to make one more appeal to the public for voluntary subscriptions. [N.B. This proposition was afterwards abandoned.—C. A.] 3rdly. For this latter purpose to call a special general meeting so soon as the Annual General Meeting was over, and, with the Duke of York in the chair, to make an extensive effort to raise further funds.

House of Commons. Civil list. Division for Tierney's amendment upon the report of the Bill, to require the application of droits, &c., 116; against it, 230.

26*th*.—Dined at Bankes's, with Lord Stafford, Aberdeen, Sir G. Beaumont, Long, West *, &c.

West said that "the manner of carrying the *hands* is always a sure indication of the mind; 'dangling' hands belonged to a dangling mind; clenched hands belong to a close and thinking mind." His account of his interview with Buonaparte, in 1802, led to this remark, which he repeated as his own settled opinion.

West, when a young man, just arrived from America to study at Rome, being taken to see the Belvidere Apollo, with the usual forms, to the great amazement and disgust of the Italians, exclaimed, "Bless me, quite a Mohawk;" the Mohawk race being the most perfect models of grace, strength, and beauty.

28*th*.—Sir John C. Hippesley obtained a Committee upon the laws of foreign states regulating their Roman Catholic subjects and intercourse with the See of Rome. Debate on the Alien Bill, and a division in a clause for excepting all aliens resident here before 1813: for it, 33; against it, 72.

29*th*.—Master Thomson called, to relate what had passed between Lord Stanhope and himself about Statutes, &c., and to express his readiness to undertake any reasonable duty for a reasonable reward, in the statute business, not relinquishing his present situation, and acting under the Crown, but not under Lord Stanhope.

* The President of the Royal Academy.

Thursday, June 6th.—House of Commons. Sir Henry Parnell opened and then withdrew certain propositions for the relief of Roman Catholics upon inferior points.

7th.—House of Commons. Elgin Marbles*, in supply, by 82 to 30.

10th.—Lords' resolutions on the Statutes, agreed to with amendments, but omitting the "immediate" proceeding to take measures for arranging their contents, the text not being yet completed. The expense of a commission for the purpose being large and indefinite, and, if only for an index, not worthy of the joint efforts of the two Houses, or, if for a general digest of the new Statute Law, a work too vast and difficult, and not advisable. The consolidation of statutes upon particular subjects was admitted to be desirable, but was deemed fitter for particular legislation.

12th.—House of Commons. New writ moved for Rochester, in the room of Sir Thomas Thompson, appointed Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. An early division, and a muster of Opposition. Carried by 69 to 68.

17th.—House of Commons. Voted sums for miscellaneous services and closed supply. Ministers beaten on a question of 3,500*l.* a year, or 2000*l.* a year to the Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, by 100 to 98. An early division, and no speaking.

19th.—House of Commons. Address on West India and Barbadoes Insurrection. Debate, &c., till four o'clock in the morning; but no division. Address carried *nem. con.*

26th.—House of Commons. Passed all remaining Bills. Stamp Amendment Bill, for excepting University and College leases from the *ad valorem* duty, amended; and these leases left subject to the duty.

* Mr. Bankes moved a grant of 35,000*l.* for the marbles. Mr. Hammersley, severely condemning Lord Elgin for taking them, moved that he should have 25,000*l.* to reimburse him for his expenses; and then that we should restore the marbles to Greece.

Lord Castlereagh counted out the House on a desultory conversation on West India papers.

29*th*.—Advised with Lord Sidmouth upon the best mode of acting under the Address of the two Houses, upon Lord Stanhope's motion for arranging the matters contained in the Statutes.

Tuesday, July 2nd.—Lord Castlereagh moved a message of congratulation to the Duke of Wellington, on his arrival in England, marking it as a testimony of our gratitude, although the approaching Prorogation would probably prevent the actual delivery of the message.

Prorogation by the Regent in person.

CHAP. XLIX.

1816.

DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE REGENT. — WEAKNESS OF THE MINISTRY. — VISIT OF THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS TO ENGLAND. — STONYHURST. — DISTRESS IN THE COUNTRY. — ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. — LETTERS FROM MR. PEEL. — STATE OF IRELAND. — FEELINGS OF THE HIGHER ORDERS OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

MONDAY, July 8th.—Left London.

The King is not better in mind, nor worse in body; sits almost constantly in a loose gown, and lets his beard grow, which is milk white; talks incoherently; often speaks as if his son Octavius were still alive.

In September the Prince Regent was dangerously ill at Hampton Court. His death was hourly expected; but he was well again, and received the Queen and all the Royal Family at Brighton, at Christmas.

In Parliament this session the Ministers in the House of Commons have been vacillating in their estimates. They were obliged to produce a reduced scale on March 22nd; and on March 18th they were defeated on the Property Tax by 238 to 201.

No news abroad, and none at home till the Spafields * meeting, on 2nd December, ending in a mob to search for arms, and riot through the streets to the Royal Exchange and Tower.

The Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia came to England in the autumn.

* The rioters had provided themselves with tri-coloured standards and cockades; they plundered all the gunsmiths' shops, and murdered one person, but were quelled by the police in a very few hours. Watson, the ringleader, was tried for high treason and acquitted. Thistlewood was also committed to the Tower on the same charge; but after Watson's acquittal the Crown forbore to proceed against him and his inferior accomplices.—See *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. iii. p. 157.

Canning returned from Lisbon, and become President of the Board of Control.

LETTER FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.*

Beckenham, Nov. 25th, 1816.

Dear Abbot,—A few days ago when I was in town I looked at the "History of the Jesuits," and on turning to the pages which relate to the College at Stonyhurst, I immediately recognised the words of two letters which Gooch sent me last year to look at, as being addressed by a clergyman to a friend of his, a Suffolk baronet whose name I forget. The letters had no name to them, but from the style and the assertions in them I knew that they were written by a person named Jones, who was curate of Preston, and who is remarkable there for his hatred of Roman Catholics, and his abuse of them in and out of the pulpit (reviving, if I mistake not, the old titles of Anti-Christ, and the Scarlet Whore of Babylon), that the Bishop of Chester felt himself obliged to hint to him in gentle terms the propriety of more moderate and qualified language; his violence doing no good to the cause of the Established Church.

With respect to the statements in the book, I believe that there is some truth and a great deal of exaggeration. The estate at Stonyhurst was given by the late Mr. Weld of Lulworth to a set of ecclesiastics, for the purpose of education. What the order was I do not know, but I am persuaded they were *not Jesuits*, as that order was not only not in existence, but had been so long suppressed that but few priests were alive in Lancashire who had ever belonged to it; as I was told some years ago by a Benedictine, who mentioned their names to me. The quantity of land is greatly exaggerated, but the management of everything relating to the establishment is entrusted solely to Roman Catholics, as the book states.

In one assertion he tells an absolute falsehood, which is, that most of the *Protestant* families in the county are under the influence of a *Jesuit* priest. The fact is, that the Roman Catholic priests (Jesuits as he calls them), do not mix in Protestant society, and I never saw one at Lord Derby's, Lord Sefton's, or any of the principal Protestant houses in the county. The only exception to this rule is a very pleasant priest who has travelled a great deal, and whom I am in the habit of seeing at my house,

* Created Lord Skelmersdale 1828.

as are several gentlemen near me. This I am persuaded is what he points at in his assertion, but as to the influence which this priest has over those with whom he dines, you, who know how I vote on the Catholic question, will easily judge.

I am not certain whether the Catholic religion is increasing in Lancashire, but I should imagine that in the neighbourhood of Stonyhurst it is increasing, from its being the bounden duty of the professors to make proselytes, and from the want of clergy of the Established Church. In Lincolnshire, I believe that there are above 330 parishes; in Lancashire about 60 only: and though there are many chapels of ease, yet the population is so enormous that the religious interests of the people cannot be so well attended to as they are elsewhere.

The circumstance of two Catholic chapels having been built in Preston, I have been told by an intelligent person residing there, who is no friend of theirs, is no proof of the Catholics having increased in that proportion. The fact is, that since Preston has become a manufacturing town, the population has increased in an enormous degree, and the members of the Church, and dissenters of all descriptions, have increased in quite as great a proportion. The result of my opinion is, that the increase of the influence of the Catholics is not so considerable as is stated. At the same time they are not to be entirely neglected, but ought to be watched: though, as the penal laws are now abolished, I know no good which will arise from watching them.

If you wish for further details about Stonyhurst, I can procure them for you from persons residing near the spot.

Yours very sincerely, E. B. WILBRAHAM.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF SIR JOHN C. HIPPESLEY.

Stone Easton House, Nov. 29th, 1810.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . Lord Castlereagh suggested these new questions. I had drawn up three, only more compressed, but his Lordship has amplified them.

I shall propose a Committee, *as the last*, to report upon these papers, which may be reported within a week. And shall then move certain resolutions of *fact*, growing out of the last report of the papers. I shall then consider myself as *functus officio*, and leave the *Bill-makers* to do that which I shall not attempt. (It may read that of 1713.)

As to the Jesuits of Stonyhurst, I can only say that I have

never heard it denied; and though there may be priests there who have *not* professed, certain it is that there are others there *who have.*

Mr. C. Plowden, a professed Jesuit, is also at the head of the noviciate attendant upon Stonyhurst. I have a tenant who has a son *professed* and *priested* at Stonyhurst.

It is marvellous that Government will leave Castle Browne to grow into a size which ultimately they will scarcely know how to combat; but I shall cease to admonish. I have had the consolation, however, of acting in the spirit of my own feelings upon this subject, though but little to the satisfaction of either side of the House; but at seventy years of age it is time to say my *nunc dimittis*, though without the consolation of the first singer. I enclose copies of some interesting epistles. I will thank you to keep them as *confidential.*

Most faithfully yours, J. C. Hippesley.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Bateford, Dec. 11th, 1816.

My dear Sir,—Dr. Kenny, Dean of Achony, is about publishing a pamphlet on Catholic Emancipation which is now in the press. He has applied to me for information respecting the preaching of the sale of indulgences by Dr. Wylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, in a publication of which I sometime ago sent you the only copy I had. If you have not mislaid it, I should thank you to send it to Dean Kenny, 11, Tottenham Court Buildings, New Road. He is unwilling to say anything on the subject without being able distinctly to refer to that document.

I am sorry to say the distresses of the country seem to be increasing rather than diminishing. In Northern Ireland it appears the distresses are such that the landlords in many parts receive little or no rents, even at very reduced rates. In many instances rents are reduced one half, in some more. Establishments are rapidly breaking up entirely, others are greatly reduced, and the servants and labourers discharged increase the burthen of the poor rates. Agriculture is the goose which produces the golden eggs of trade and manufactures, and we have been foolishly killing the goose, to get more rapidly at the golden eggs. This mistaken policy I take to be the true cause of the present distress of the country; the burthens resting exclusively on agriculture and operating as direct taxes on its produce have

been greatly increased, in some instances tenfold, within the last twenty years. Whilst high prices continued the burthen was borne; when they fell, the burthen became intolerable; but, what is worse, the capital employed in agriculture was diminished one half, and that loss cannot be repaired by any change of policy for many years. Most truly yours, REDESDALE.

LETTER FROM THE REV. JOHN POYNDER.

Bridewell Hospital, Dec. 13th, 1816.

Sir,—I am honoured with your communication of the 10th inst. On referring to the instructions alleged to have been given by the Pope to his Nuncio at Vienna in 1805, I had not the *direct* authority of the "Essai historique sur la Puissance des Papes," for I had never seen that work; but I relied on the following passage, which occurs in "Les Jésuites tels qu'ils ont été dans l'ordre politique, religieux, et morale," p. 250, edit. Paris, 1815.

"A l'égard de sa correspondance secrète et particulière, l'auteur de cet 'Essai historique sur la puissance des Papes' nous apprend que notre Saint Père, Pie VII., dans une instruction adressée par lui à son Novice de Vienne, en 1805, rappelait encore le droit prétendu qu'a l'Eglise de déposer les Princes hérétiques, et qu'il déplorait le malheur des tems présens, où l'épouse de Jésus Christ ne peut plus pratiquer ces saintes maximes, où elle est forcée d'interrompre le cours de ses just rigueurs contre les ennemis de la foi, et où elle se trouve presque réduite à se montrer tolérante."

Under these circumstances I was greatly surprised to learn (as I did from Mr. Baker in the first instance) that, in the edition of the "Essai historique" no statement of the kind should appear, and this the rather, as the work which referred to it, (although anonymous as almost all works on the subject must be) appeared to be a valuable one, and to contain much useful information. On inquiring at three of the principal French booksellers in London, I cannot learn that a later edition of the "Essai historique" has appeared; at least, they do not know of a later. If no such second edition should eventually appear to have been published, or if no such passage should be found in it, I should fear that it will be impossible to support this reference, which is the rather to be regretted, as it casts more or less into shade the whole of "Les Jésuites tels qu'ils ont," &c.

With regard to the precise part of Voltaire in which the

eulogy on the "Provincial Letters" occurs (as quoted in vol. i. p. 47. in notes), I quoted from "Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary" Art. Pascal, and it is rather remarkable that Mr. Dallas has evidently gone to the same authority for his quotation from Voltaire, the words underlined with red ink in the enclosed paper being literatim his quotation in p. 14 of his defence of the Jesuits; the only difference between us being that he took what suited his own purpose, and that I gave in my note both the antecedent and subsequent matter. The editor of the Biographical Dictionary gives as his authorities for his whole life of Pascal, the French lives of that writer by Bossa and Madame Perier. The life by Bossa is not in the Museum, that by Madame Perier is; but in a rather cursory view, I did not find those commendatory passages from Voltaire cited in it. The works of Voltaire in seventy volumes, to which I wished to refer directly, are not in the Museum; I propose, however, to pursue this inquiry further.

I shall take the liberty of sending you, in a few days, the copy of a brief or rescript of the present Pope, lately issued against Bible Societies in general, and against the dispersion of the Bible in Protestant versions and the vernacular tongue in particular, which has been just received by the Bible Society in London from Mr. Pinkerton, the principal agent of the Society in Russia and Poland.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

JOHN POYNDER.

FROM THE SAME.

Bridewell Hospital, Dec. 17th, 1816.

Sir,—I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the Papal rescript lately issued by the Pope against Bible Societies, which I promised in my last. It is accompanied by a translation, which I believe will be found faithful. Gueza in Poland was ceded to Russia by the Congress of Vienna. When the Rev. Robert Pemberton (the agent of the London Bible Society) was there in August, 1814, he made some efforts to establish a Bible Society there, but did nothing effectual. The Bishop of Gueza, to whom this rescript is addressed, took all the means in his power to prevent the formation of a society, and communicated with the Pope.

On the 9th of May last the different friends of the Bible Society in that place, at the head of whom was Prince Czartoriski, assembled in his palace, subscribed 5000 florins, and determined

on publishing the prospectus of a society about to be formed, with its constitution and objects. On this occasion the bull was actively dispensed by the Bishop; and such an effect was produced by it, that the friends of the measure expected that it must be abandoned. Mr. Pinkerton, however, arrived from Berlin on the 12th, and, learning the state of things, determined to apply to the Emperor of Russia, who was then there, for his advice and assistance. This he did through M. Novozilzoff, to whom he was introduced by a letter from Prince Galitzin, the active supporter of the Russian and other Bible Societies. The Emperor resolved to put himself at the head of the society as its patron; which was precisely what was necessary at such a critical juncture. It had the desired effect. All opposition was silenced; and on the 21st of the same month a most interesting and crowded meeting took place in the palace of Prince Czartoriski, when the Polish Bible Society was established. This was followed by institutions of a similar nature at Grodno and Wilna, and similar societies are expected at Mogrulef, Vitepsk, and Pishoff.

I ought to apologise for being so diffuse; but having Mr. Pinkerton's letter before me, I have been carried into a rather full detail. Perhaps no document can more fully illustrate the continuance of the opposition of the Catholic Church to the societies and individuals who are engaged in the dispersion of the Bible, and indeed to the Bible being dispersed at all, in the vernacular tongues of different nations, and without Catholic glosses and comments, than this bull of the present Pope.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with great regard, &c. &c.

JOHN POYNDER.

P.S. The Bible Society intend to make no use of this document. I have obtained a copy from the secretaries. It will not be circulated, much less printed. Lord Teignmouth and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are aware of its having arrived, but I believe they have not copies.

LETTER FROM SIR CHARLES FLINT.

[Private.] Irish Office, Dec. 14th, 1816.

My dear Sir,—I lose no time in transmitting the enclosed communication from Mr. Peel to you, being most desirous to carry his wishes into effect, and feeling confident that the application will be received with your usual indulgence. At the same time I cannot help feeling that after all the facilities which you have so bountifully afforded to my friends on the other side,

there should have been so much neglect shown in the preservation of the Parliamentary documents which were transmitted regularly from hence for the use of the Irish Government. It affords me some consolation, however, to observe that up to 1806, including a considerable period, during which I took unceasing pains to preserve and arrange those important papers, the collection appears to be tolerably perfect.

I am just returned from the north, and found upon my arrival the most active and efficient measures adopting in this and St. John's parish for the relief of the suffering poor. Upwards of 1700*l.* have been subscribed; and I understand that the ladies of the two parishes are about to take immediate steps for the better clothing of the poor women and children. In the part of Yorkshire which I have just left I am happy to say that there is none of that distress which is so much complained of in other parts of the kingdom. But the rents are low, and the new enclosure of Pigburn Lees, and the forming the new lines of road, give ample occupation to the labouring classes of the community in that neighbourhood. . . . . .

My dear Sir, your most faithful servant, &c.

CH. FLINT.

LETTER FROM MR. PEEL TO SIR C. FLINT, ENCLOSED IN THE FOREGOING.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 11th, 1816.

Dear Flint,—In consequence of the neglected and defective state in which I have found the library belonging to the Chief Secretary's office here, I have lately been making arrangements for its restoration and improvement and future security.

Among other things that are highly necessary for the use of the office is a set of sessional papers; and there are many chasms in that we have. I therefore send to you by this post the printed indexes for each session, from that of 1806–7, to that of 1814–15 (both inclusive, previous to which we appear to have everything that is most material), in which I have had the articles that are wanting marked with an X in red ink. I enclose a separate return of the reports of the English Record Commission that are not in the library; and I request that you will communicate with the Speaker, explaining to him my object, and request his good offices in enabling me to replace these papers, or such of them as may now be recoverable.

Among those unfortunately missing are the first reports of the Bog Commissioners, which I hope are to be had.

I make this application to the Speaker with the greater confidence, being well aware of the anxiety he evinced when he held the situation here in which I have succeeded him, to complete a library for the use of this office; an object indeed, which appears from its neglected condition, to have been quite neglected by his successors.

Believe me yours, &c., ROBERT PEEL.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. BUTTERWORTH.

[Private.] London, Dec. 24th, 1816.

Dear Sir, — . . . . . Having mentioned Mr. Charles Butler and Dr. Poynter, in my last note, I beg to acquaint you with a curious circumstance respecting their evidence.

On the 13th of June, I unexpectedly found Mr. Charles Butler giving the Committee evidence (much of which he desired might not be taken down) of the facility with which Protestants and Roman Catholics might unite in the education of Roman Catholic children, using the Protestant version of the Scriptures, and that indeed they had united at Shadwell. I was much surprised at this, and therefore proposed a few questions which negatived much of what had been stated. The next day Mr. Butler attended to examine the fair copy of his evidence; and he brought an open note in his hand, a copy of which I enclose, addressed to the chairman (Mr. Brougham) who happened not to be in the room; and Mr. Butler requested me to read the note, and give it to the chairman when he came.

On reading the note I was much struck at the intimation that Dr. Poynter, the Roman Catholic bishop, had agreed to or acquiesced in the use of the Protestant Scriptures; and I instantly proposed to Mr. Butler that the doctor should attend the Committee.

Mr. Butler was evidently taken by surprise at this proposal, and was much embarrassed, but endeavoured to divert me from it, by stating the doctor's numerous engagements; and he mentioned another priest, Mr. Bramstone. However, as Mr. Butler had suggested Dr. Poynter's name and sentiments, I was desirous of sifting the business, and requested the chairman to summon both Mr. Bramstone and Dr. Poynter; when it turned out that, so far from Dr. Poynter agreeing to or acquiescing in the use of the Protestant Scriptures, he had positively refused his sanction; and he and Mr. Charles Butler had actually disagreed upon this very subject; and the doctor had considered himself to be so

ill treated by Mr. Butler that he would not correspond with him, but sent one of his Vicars'-General to Mr. Butler, to state his reasons for not answering his letter! All this is in the evidence. The bishop was nevertheless anxious not to expose Mr. Butler, or much more would have been taken down.

He came the following day, and wished to have part of his evidence relative to Mr. Butler struck out, but I could not consent to this after what had passed.

Mr. Butler's note to Mr. Brougham so much interested me that I very fortunately took a copy of it.

Mr. Brougham gave the original to the clerk (Mr. Chalmers, I think), and he had it for some time among the papers, but before the end of the sessions I wished to see it, and it could not be found; whether Mr. Brougham has it I know not.

I make no comment on the above, but have presumed that you would like to be made acquainted with these particulars.

The more I know of the Roman Catholics (and I have many channels of information) the more deeply I am convinced that it would be a most unwise measure to admit them to political power in this country; it must inevitably lead to the most fatal results.

I very sincerely hope that your talents and influence will still be exerted upon this most important subject, for the preservation of the peace and happiness of our country.

I am, with unfeigned respect, &c. &c.,

Jos. Butterworth.

COPY OF MR. CHARLES BUTLER'S NOTE TO MR. BROUGHAM, ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.

[Confidential.] Farnham, near Cavan, Dec. 25th, 1816.

I beg leave to recommend in a particular manner that the Committee would ascertain, and have entered on their books, the arrangement made at Shadwell for the reading of certain chapters of the Protestant New Testament by the Catholic children, and that it should also be ascertained that this was agreed to or acquiesced in on the part of Dr. Poynter.

The persons who can speak to this fact are the Rev. Mr. Archer, at Mrs. Broker's, a bookseller in Bond Street; the Rev. Mr. Horraben, the Roman Catholic priest at Shadwell, and our incomparable friend Mr. Stephen.

Chas. Butler.

To Henry Brougham, Esq.

N.B. The date of this note was not copied, but it was brought to the Committee by Mr. Charles Butler, on Friday the 14th of June, 1816.

LETTER FROM MR. PEEL.

Farnham, near Cavan, Dec. 25th.

My dear Sir, — I am always happy to send you every information in my power with respect to the local concerns of this country, because, independent of the satisfaction which I have in complying with a request made by you, it is particularly gratifying to me on public grounds to find that Irish interests and Irish proceedings, which are usually regarded with much indifference by those who have less pressing demands upon their time and attention than you have, present themselves to you in a light in which they ought in truth to be more generally regarded.

With respect to the internal state of this country, I cannot help considering it very satisfactory so far as the public peace is concerned. When I compare it with that of England, and reflect on the complicated difficulties of present times, so satisfactory indeed, that I have proposed to the Government in England a *reduction*, which I think they did not expect, to the amount of 3000 men in our military establishment.

There is no doubt the average proportion of murders, and burnings, and other atrocities, the acts of a set of human beings very little advanced from barbarism, unaccustomed to regard the law either as the protector from or avenger of outrage; and subject, so far as the interests of society are concerned, to the pernicious influence of the religion they profess. It is quite impossible for any one to witness the remorselessness with which crimes are committed here, the almost total annihilation of the agency of conscience as a prevention of crime, and the universal contempt in which the obligation of any but an *illegal* oath is held by the mass of the people, without being satisfied that the prevailing religion of Ireland operates as an impediment rather than an aid to the ends of the civil government.

There is, however, as little of disaffection towards the State as I have ever heard of, and less than I can remember. In Dublin there is great distress, but the only public proceeding on the part of those who are suffering most from it, has hitherto been a most respectful application from the poor manufacturers of the Leeds Liberty to the Lord-Lieutenant, that he would

wear a coat of Irish cloth, and encourage others to wear one also.

The demagogues have been very quiet of late, and, with the exception of an aggregate meeting of Catholics the other day to petition Parliament, we have heard but little of them for some time past. If the English papers will not magnify Watson into a Catiline, and represent England to be in a state of confusion, I believe we shall have very little trouble here.

It is really extraordinary how gradually the Catholic question *sinks into oblivion* here after the session of Parliament, and *rises* into notice as the Parliamentary campaign approaches.

It excites no interest in Dublin during the recess, and I hear more on the subject of grievances and exclusion in one night in the House of Commons, than I hear all the year besides in Ireland.

Sir John Hippesley would not be much flattered if he knew with what little anxiety the appearance of his Report is looked for. And I am ashamed to confess, that I have shared so much of the general apathy as almost to have forgotten, till your letter reminded me, that the publication of it had been so long delayed.

As to Catholic politics, I cannot give you the benefit of any little information I may possess with respect to them, better than by answering in the order in which they occur, the questions which you have put to me in your letter.

I do not believe that the Roman Catholic Bishops have come to any definitive adjustment with the See of Rome; if they have, they have carefully and successfully concealed it. The Catholics have a delegate at Rome, a friar of the name of Hayes; who seems to hold the authority of the Pope in about as much respect as his lay constituents hold the authority of Parliament. It is possible you may not have seen copies of the correspondence which has recently passed between the friar and the Cardinal Litta, respecting the precise meaning of Cardinal Litta's letter from Genoa of the 26th of April, 1815. In the Enclosure No. 1, are copies of this correspondence, and a curious commentary upon it, in what may now be considered as the Gazette of the Antivetositical party of the Irish Catholics.

I understand that it is Dr. Troy's opinion that the Pope will concede the Veto; and would make less objection to it than to domestic nomination, as the election of the bishops by the inferior clergy is usually called.

Suppose, however, the Pope to accede to domestic nomina-

tion. There would be little difficulty, even so far as the Catholics themselves are concerned, in making any arrangement of which that was the basis. The laity and the lower order of the clergy would wish to have a popular election of the successor to a vacant see, and to this the bishops would object. Great apprehension on all these matters is entertained of the influence which the British Government is supposed to have at present at the Court of Rome.

I have little doubt that Lord Donoughmore and Sir Henry Parnell, the chosen advocates of the Roman Catholics, will propose domestic nomination as the security which we are to have in return for emancipation.

I understand that the establishment at Castle Browne is in a very flourishing condition, and that there are at present above 250 students there. Some of the leading Catholics have sent sons there, partly, I believe, under an impression that their education is well attended to. (Mr. O'Connell's sons are there, and Mr. Therry (a Catholic Commissioner of Excise) has a son there.

There are two persons connected with the establishment, whose relatives have figured in the treasonable annals of Ireland, Mr. Esmonde, and Mr. Aylmer. The former is attached to a branch of the academy which is settled in Dublin. The latter is a person who some years since was prevented by the Commander of the Forces in Sicily, from attending the troops as a priest.

From a correspondence which I had some time since on the establishment of the academy, with the principal of it, I inferred that he was no friend to the British connection.

I have tried frequently, without success, to procure an accurate return of the number of regulars in Ireland, and of the state of the Monastic Orders generally. The last accurate information that was procured, was given by the Roman Catholic prelates at a time when they expected that a satisfactory arrangement of the Catholic question would have taken place. They are now extremely reserved in their communications on all subjects with any member of the executive.

Religious houses are, I have little doubt, on the increase in Ireland. Within a few years four convents have been established in and near Dublin. There is one about to be established in the King's County by a Miss O'Brien; and a building which is nearly complete has been erected for the purpose.

There are three monastic institutions in Dublin which have branches in different parts of the country. The enclosure No.

2 *, contains copies of the resolutions and petition determined on at the last aggregate meeting, held on the 17th inst., and an account of the proceedings. Some new speakers made their appearance on the occasion.

The resolutions of the Roman Catholic prelates entered into on the 26th April, 1816, and referred to in the resolutions of the meeting, are also enclosed.

The opinions of Dr. Troy and Dr. Murray, his coadjutor, relative to the petition of the Modérés (contained in No. 3), I have little doubt that you have seen; but I send them, as they complete the series of documents from authority which have recently appeared in this country bearing upon the Catholic question.

I could have sent these papers to you in a more convenient form if I had been in Dublin, and had had the aid of my secretary. As this letter is addressed to you from the County of Cavan, and as I write it subject to many interruptions, I must beg you to excuse the want of connection and the illegibility which may have resulted from them.

I shall be in London on the 28th of January, and shall be truly happy to find you in a state of health which may enable you to look forward to the dreary prospects before us of long nights and bitter warfare without apprehension.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with sincere regard, &c. &c.

ROBERT PEEL.

P.S. I am greatly indebted to you for your kindness in supplying the Irish Office with the Parliamentary documents, which have been lost through the carelessness of my predecessors, for the use of the Castle.

FROM THE SAME.

Farnham, near Cavan, Dec. 28th.

My dear Sir,—You will be alarmed by the size of my packets; but if you have not seen it, I think you will be interested by the report of the trial in the case of the Crown against the Chief Baron.

Plunkett's speech, which was most intemperate, rancorous, and personal, is greatly softened down. It drew forth from Bushe an indignant reply, which is considered to have surpassed all his former feats of oratory. No speech suffers so much from being reported as Bushe's, as he is a consummate orator. The ridicule with which he has overwhelmed the Chief Baron and the Court

* These papers cannot be found.

of Exchequer, under the pretence of defending them, was perfectly justified by the unprovoked attack made by the Chief Baron's counsel (under his, the Chief Baron's, directions), on the law officers of the Crown; but it has made a great sensation, and gives much offence to the Court of Exchequer.

I am, my dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

ROBERT PEEL.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. W. TAYLOR, PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Dec. 1816.

I dare not venture to commit myself about the Catholics; their whole system is so mysterious that it is not easy to penetrate into it: there is not, so far as I know, a single family in Glasgow of that communion higher in rank than a weaver or ordinary labourer. Yet their numbers, of late years, must have greatly increased here, not by conversions, of which I have not heard a single instance, but by an immense influx of low Irish and Scotch Highlanders from the north of Argyll, Inverness, and the west of Rossshire. All the Scotch, however, are a handful to the Irish attracted hither by our cotton mills, print-fields, &c. About the Calton, Bridgeton, and the Gorbals, they nestle in crowds, and are ready for any mischief. Scot, their priest, gives out that he has 4000 in his congregation, and that he baptizes nearly 400 annually. This last cannot be true. The chapel at Paisley is like an ordinary dissenting meeting-house, and even the one at Edinburgh is a mean building, excepting an ornamented east window. But the Glasgow chapel is a magnificent building, quite in the cathedral style, except that it stands south and north, for which, it is said, they have a dispensation from the Pope. The south front is most splendid, and from the opposite side of the river has a splendid effect. The total expense will, it is said, exceed 13,000*l.* Scot went about soliciting subscriptions, and gave out that he restricted himself to live on 60*l.* till the building should be cleared. He got, I believe, little in this way, but a more effectual plan was adopted. Every member of their society was to pay threepence weekly from their wages, which payment was enforced by censures. A woman came to me to beg to prevent her daughter from marrying a Catholic, a name she abhorred, and especially one who was under excommunication because he had not paid his monthly shilling, but had drunk it. This plan has been going on for four

or five years; the proceeds must be very considerable. A French priest died here last year, who left all he had saved by teaching, about 500*l.*, to the Catholic funds. Such are the known resources. Whether any aid has been got from Lord Shrewsbury's meeting, or from others, I know not; probably they are still in debt, but it is an essential article of their faith to support this good work.

Of their ecclesiastical government I can say little. They have long had a titular Bishop in Edinburgh, but we hear only of priests, originally, it is probable, from the Highlands of Scotland, and bred up at St. Omer.

Their priests affect great liberality. When we had some discussions two years ago in our church courts, they threw themselves into the arms of our most popular clergy, by whom their cause was advocated. I sent Dr. Balfour a publication of the late Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh, in the year 1780, in which that pious man, who possessed a good deal of German literature, expresses great fears of the consequences of even tolerating popery, and declares his belief that it was again destined to prevail in Britain. Had he lived till now he would have been strengthened in his belief. Balfour, who venerated Dr. Erskine, was stumbled, though he and McLean and Lockhart, supported the measure of all concessions to the Catholics. This was the general tone of our opposition party, whether clergy or laity; accordingly, McLean and Lockhart associated with Scot about a Sunday school. Upon what grounds they afterwards differed I know not, but McLean told me one day that he found Scot a complete Jesuit. A similar school was set on foot at Paisley, but one day lately Baillie Carlisle told me it had blown up, for the priests would not agree to allow the scholars to read the Bible without *notes to keep them from error.*

LETTER FROM THE REV. P. N. SHUTTLEWORTH.*

Preston, Dec. 16th, 1816.

My dear Sir,—I cannot learn that any one here has the "History of the Jesuits." If you will have the goodness to send me the book, I will endeavour to give a very full answer to the inquiries that may suggest themselves. If the author be indebted to such men as Mr. Jones for his materials, the book will prove of very little authority.

* Afterwards Warden of New College, Oxford.

The late Mr. Weld, I believe, gave or sold his mansion-house at Stonyhurst, and about 100 Lancashire acres of land for the use of the seminary; and it is said that by his will he gave them an option of purchasing an additional quantity of land, at a very moderate rate; of which it is supposed that they availed themselves. They have at least 300 scholars, and their influence in the neighbourhood is undoubtedly considerable; but that either they or any other body of Roman Catholics, whether Jesuits or not, have either collectively or individually any influence over Protestant families, except perhaps some of the lowest order, who, from situation, may be dependent on them for support, I do not at all believe. And I think that from the frequency of their intermarriage of late years with Protestants, and from the appointment of Protestant trustees in Catholic families, which, as you know, has been the case in many instances, their influence has upon the whole been and is on the decline.

That the zeal for proselytism exists in its fullest extent among their priesthood, though somewhat concealed under the garb of liberality, is, I think, equally clear, for it is of the very essence of their order and their principles. But, in proportion as a more liberal way of thinking prevails, and as closer ties exist than formerly between Catholic and Protestant families, and knowledge is more generally diffused, so must, I think, be the certain though gradual decline of the influence of the priests.

Yours, very faithfully, P. N. Shuttleworth.

CHAP. L.

1817.

STATE OF STONYHURST.—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—THE PRINCE REGENT INSULTED IN THE STREETS.—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARY.—LORD CASTLEREAGH'S FINANCIAL SPEECH.—REDUCTIONS IN OFFICIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.—VIOLENCE OF THE MANCHESTER REFORMERS.—ILLNESS OF THE SPEAKER.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE SPEAKER AND SOME IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES.—RETIREMENT OF THE SPEAKER.—HIS PUBLIC SERVICES.

LETTER FROM MR. SHUTTLEWORTH.

Preston, Jan. 14th, 1817.

My dear Sir,—The leading facts stated in the History of the Jesuits, respecting the College at Stonyhurst are, as I learn, tolerably correct. The quantity of land attached to the College consists not of 1100 acres, as there stated, but of about 500 acres of Lancashire measure*, all of which, as I am now informed, have been purchased by the society from the late Mr. Weld. The current rumour has always been that the College itself, and 100 Lancashire acres, were given to them by Mr. Weld; but I am now assured that the former statement is incorrect.

The College contains about 300 scholars. Mr. Wright, a priest, has the management of the farm; the whole produce of which, though applied to the use of the College, is greatly insufficient for the supply of their wants. There are regular professors in Divinity, Mathematics, Philosophy, Astronomy, &c.

I do not understand that they have any pupils from the Continent. They have several from Ireland, and from different parts of this country. I cannot learn that they adopt any particular precautions with regard to their letters, nor do I see the necessity for any such precautions.

At Hurst Green there are about twenty-five little boys preparing for Stonyhurst. It is notorious that vacancies in all Roman Catholic seminaries are far less frequent than in others,

* About 900 acres statute measure.—C. A.

and particularly where the boys are young. This is the case at Stonyhurst.

I believe the capital of the college to be considerable, and accumulating; and from the extent of their property and their wants, their influence in the adjacent country must be considerable, as their expenditure there must be large. I am not aware, nor do I believe the fact, that their influence in the town of Preston is great.

Before the establishment at Stonyhurst there were undoubtedly very few Roman Catholics in that neighbourhood. And I believe it to be true that from that establishment all the Roman Catholic chapels in the district, which, I am sorry to say, are nearly as numerous as the Protestant places of worship, are supplied. There are four priests at Preston; one of whom, Mr. Dunn, used to be frequently in Ireland, but I do not understand that he has been there lately. These priests are Jesuits. There is no secrecy either here or at Stonyhurst on this point. I have no doubt that a pretty regular intercourse is kept up between the priests in this country and those on the continent.

There are two Roman Catholic Chapels in Preston, the most modern of which has been built upwards of twenty years. The two may probably hold 2,500 persons.

The population of Preston has been trebled within the last twenty years, and there has been a large influx of Irish. These two causes will account for a great increase of Roman Catholics; at the same time I believe they have increased in a greater proportion than the Protestants.

There has been within the last three years a large school built, on the plan of our National Schools; to this are added two small houses, for the accommodation of the master and mistress. The boys are divided from the girls, and both the rooms may contain about 800 or 1000. To this school many Protestants were original contributors, and are annual subscribers.

There are no resident gentry in the neighbourhood. Milton, the parish church, is in the gift of Mr. Weld, who, on the last vacancy, presented to it a very respectable clergyman, formerly curate of Chippins. My dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

P. N. SHUTTLEWORTH.

Saturday, January 25th.—Came to London.

28th.—The Regent opened the session at two o'clock with a speech from the throne. (N.B. No guns were fired, as usual, to announce his arrival at the House of Lords.) He delivered it with great spirit.

At half-past four the Address was moved by Lord Valletort, and seconded by Mr. Dawson. Mr. Ponsonby moved an amendment for an inquiry into the state of the nation. Lord Castlereagh was absent (on account of the death of Lady Castlereagh's mother). Bathurst answered; and after further debate, a message came from the Lords desiring a present conference.

The Regent, on his return from the House of Lords, had been attacked in his carriage between Carlton House Gate and St. James's; and at the conference the Lords communicated their Address to the Regent, and desired the concurrence of the Commons, naming Lord James Murray as the witness whom they had examined.

The Commons, after examining Lord James Murray at the bar, agreed to the Address *nem. con.*, and adjourned the further debate on the Address on the Speech till to-morrow.

Lord James Murray spoke distinctly to two small holes made by a sharp blow of some sort within one inch of each other, through an uncommonly thick plate glass window; and the space between the two holes was not broken. Also to a larger stone thrown at the same window, which had smashed it. No bullets were found in the coach, nor was any person in it hurt. Lord James Murray and the Duke of Montrose were in the carriage with the Regent.*

29*th*.—The two Houses carried up their joint Address to Carlton House. Streets not overcrowded, and no tumultuous appearance. Great precautions taken by the civil magistrates.

House of Commons. At five o'clock Williams Wynn complained, by previous concert with me, of the departure from usual forms yesterday at the conference. I recommended the House to send a message desiring the Lords to give orders for reserving the accustomed accommodation in the Painted Chamber.

* Lord James believed that the small holes spoken of were made by bullets from an air-gun. — See *Court of England under the Regency*, vol. ii. p. 183.

Lord Cochrane occupied two hours with petitions for Parliamentary Reform. Those of Major Cartwright's circular form were not suffered to lie on the table.

Adjourned debate on the Address and Amendment till three. For the Address and against the Amendment, 204 to 112. Canning made a most brilliant speech, and declared his opposition to Parliamentary Reform; not professing to hesitate upon remedies, but denying the evil.

31*st.*—House of Commons. Debate on Sir Francis Burdett's assertion of his right to present a petition without reading it. Supported by Brougham, but given up at last.

Address on the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester.*

Monday, *Feb.* 3*rd*— House of Commons. Thanks voted to Lord Exmouth.

4*th.*—House of Commons. Secret Committee appointed on the sealed papers sent by the Regent.† Debate on receiving petitions, of which the Member presenting them would not give any opinion. "That he thought them couched in proper language, and not intentionally offensive to the House." Mr. William Smith presented such a petition from Norwich; and refusing to say that he thought it unobjectionable in its language, the motion for bringing it up was negatived without a division.

6*th.*—House of Commons. Thanks to the Marquess of Hastings for the Nepaul war.

7*th.*—Vansittart called to say that Lord Castlereagh will this evening announce a voluntary cession by the Regent of 50,000*l.* a year out of 260,000*l.* which constitutes the personal part of his civil list, and whereof

* He married the Princess Mary, daughter of George III., his first cousin.

† The speech from the Throne had spoken of "the attempts which had been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition," &c. And on the 3rd of February the Ministers had brought down a Royal message to the two Houses of Parliament, stating that the Regent "had directed certain papers containing information respecting certain seditious meetings and practices to be laid before them, which His Royal Highness recommended to their immediate and serious consideration." — Compare *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. iii. p. 169.

only 60,000*l.* goes to his privy purse. Also that the Ministers would follow that example to the extent of 10 per cent. on their official salaries; and would (by Treasury circular) invite all others whose official income amounted to 1000*l.* a year and upwards to do the like.

House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh, in a speech of great ability, opened the view of the income and expenditure, announced the Regent's intended relinquishment this year of 50,000*l.*, &c. &c., and then proposed waiver by the Regent's Ministers of the 10 per cent. on their salaries, as an example.

In the debate which followed, the Opposition said 10 per cent. was not enough; and Ponsonby, himself a pensioner, said he should be ready to give up in the same proportion as the Regent. A division took place on the question of a separate Committee for reduction of offices, 117 to 250; and afterwards, on the exclusion of more placemen than two from the present Committee, Wilberforce and Sir Thomas Acland spoke for the exclusion. Division, 134 to 180.

The Ministers were disconcerted by this apparent temper of the House.

9*th.*—Vansittart called, and told me of the five* persons arrested last night by a Secretary of State's warrant, who are to be examined to-morrow before the Privy Council.

11*th.*—House of Commons. Davies Gilbert chosen Chairman of the Finance Committee.

17*th.*—Vansittart called to tell me that the Cabinet had determined upon their line as to official establishments and sinecures: 1. To maintain all establishments as they stood before the war, and such others created since as could be demonstrated to be indispensably necessary, *e.g.* the Colonial Secretary of State; all such establishments having a clear and intelligible line of demarcation, and, if individually canvassed, it would be difficult to know where and when to stop. 2. As to

* Only four, however, were taken—the elder Watson, Preston, Hooper, and Kearns; the younger Watson and Thistlewood escaped.

sinecures, which were at this time the most obnoxious, if any portion of the Crown patronage was to be given up this would be the least detrimental, the practical utility of such patronage being too frequently perverted by its abuse for favouritism; the classes of these offices being three, viz., 1. the political, in the several parts of the United Kingdom; 2. the judicial; 3. the colonial. It might be fairly considered that the latter were already regulated by Lord Bathurst's Bill, requiring residence upon all of them, or these might be further regulated if required. The judicial must for the present be left as they are, as being annexed to offices already not too well paid, and of a nature which, if touched, would risk the loss of any Bill affecting them, when carried up to the House of Lords.

The political, therefore, alone remained for consideration. These it was proposed should be placed under the operation of the Bill, as formerly proposed by Bankes, viz., to be suppressed on the expiration of existing interests, granting to the Crown a pensioning power for services in high civil offices, after a specified length of service.

Their number in England was considered to be eleven, amounting to about 28,400*l.* viz.:—

The Auditor of the Exchequer	£4,000
The Clerk of the Pells	3,000
The Four Tellers	6,800
The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports	5,000
The Chief Justices in Eyre, north and south of the Trent	4,000
The Governor of the Isle of Wight	600
The Clerk of the Parliament	5,000
	28,400
In Ireland (several) say	16,000
In Scotland (such as are not preserved by the Act of Union) say	26,000
General Total, about	£70,000

Lord Grenville and Mr. Thomas Grenville have notified their desire to be considered as contributors to the proposed voluntary assessment proposed by the Ministers.

In the Annual Malt Bill there is a clause to be inserted this evening, authorising the deduction of all payments which the persons holding offices may signify their intention of contributing.

I wrote to Vansittart, signifying my intention of contributing 10 per cent.

House of Commons. Vansittart moved the clause in the Pension and Malt Bill (by way of instruction to the Committee) for authorising the receipt of voluntary contribution, which he explained to mean the 10 per cent., which should be voluntarily paid out of official incomes.

Jones, M.P. for Pembroke, said this was objectionable, as giving currency to the vulgar opinion that public men in this country were overpaid, whereas, "they were notoriously underpaid." Brougham called it "the small tithes," and "not enough to satisfy him or the country." He should like to go beyond the two shillings in the pound, and have a cut at the other eighteen.

Debate on Croker's war salary, as Secretary to the Admiralty, for the quarter during the hostilities with Algiers. For Lord Milton's motion, censuring it, 114; against it, 169.

Lord Liverpool held at Fife House a meeting of country gentlemen, and explained to them the course intended to be taken by Government as to establishments and sinecures.

19*th*.—House of Commons. Notice given by Sir H. Parnell, for moving a Committee on the Penal Laws affecting Roman Catholics in England, Scotland, and Ireland, on 11th March.

24*th*.—House of Commons. Debate upon the report of the Secret Committee. Lord Castlereagh opened the proposed measures. Ponsonby, and all who spoke, agreed to Bills for protecting the Regent's life, in like manner as the King's, and for preventing the seduction of the soldiers; also to the bringing in the Seditious Assembly Bill; but, upon the Habeas Corpus

Suspension Bill, expected from the Lords, Ponsonby was against it, and Elliot for it.

At twelve o'clock, after many members were gone away, Sir Francis Burdett divided the House against the Bill for Preventing Seditious Assemblies; and Brougham, who had said he should not oppose the bringing it in, voted against it. Division: for the Bill, 190; against it, 14.

This day the thorns and willows are in green leaf.

25*th*.—Debate on reduction of Lords of the Admiralty. For an Address, 152; for the previous question, 208.

In Portugal, Lord Beresford has cantoned the Portuguese army upon the frontier of the Estrella, towards Spain, and employed them in the cultivation of the waste, for the double purpose of inspiring habits of agricultural industry, and by the produce of the lands lessening the burthen of paying the troops.

27*th*.—House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh unwell; by consent, the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill went through a Committee of the whole House, reserving the general debate for to-morrow.

28*th*.—House of Commons. Passed the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill by 265 to 103.

Saturday, March 1*st*. News in the papers of the death of Horner* at Pisa. He died on the 8th of February.

3*rd*.—House of Commons passed Treasonable Practices Bill, Seduction of Army and Navy Bill, and read Seditious Assemblies Bill a second time.

Sir Francis Burdett presented 600 petitions for Parliamentary Reform. Upon opening them it soon appeared that some were printed, and these were immediately withdrawn and sent out of the House by a messenger; and others, appearing to be similar to such as had been previously rejected, and to be doubtful as to the regularity of signatures, I suggested, and it was

* Mr. Francis Horner, M.P. for St. Mawes, had distinguished himself very much by his thorough knowledge of all financial matters.

ordered, that the further debate upon the question for their lying upon the table should be adjourned till to-morrow.

4th.—Sorted the petitions into classes, viz.: 1. Those printed. 2. Those with no names on the same sheet. 3. With no names at all. 4. In the same form as others already rejected. 5. About twenty-nine not liable to objections of the preceding sort.

House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett, rather than wait to the end of the evening, postponed the debate on these petitions till to-morrow.

Mr. Ponsonby moved his Bill for continuing in force all commissions, civil or military, for offices held at pleasure after demise of the Crown, unless otherwise directed by the successor.

Went through Committee on Seditious Assemblies Bill, *pro formâ*.

7th.—Peel and Croker told me that the law officers being consulted in the case of a Roman Catholic naval officer, had given their opinion that he was relieved from the necessity of taking the oath of supremacy, &c., by the Annual Indemnity Act, which seemed to give the same relief to Roman Catholics in all cases whatever, and in respect of all offices, &c. *Sed quære?*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO MR. BANKES.

Palace Yard, March 8th, 1817.

Dear Bankes,— . . . . . From Peel and Croker last night I heard of a new incident to the Roman Catholic question. It seems that the law-officers of the Crown, being consulted a few days since upon the case of a navy officer, who, being a Roman Catholic, had not taken the oath of supremacy, were of opinion that he was protected by the Annual Act of Indemnity, which they seem to think opens all offices (seats in Parliament included), without impediment, to all dissenters, Protestant or Roman Catholic.

This is a strange discovery at this time of day; but it has some semblance of probability upon the first statement, besides the authority on which it is said to rest. I am promised a copy of the case and opinion.

Ever yours, C. A.

10th.—House of Commons. Committee on Seditious Assemblies Bill till 2.

12th.—News of the Manchester march for London.*

House of Commons. 468 *printed* petitions refused to be read by 58 to 6, after long speeches from Sir F. Burdett and Williams Wynn.

13th.—Later news from Canton up to November 17th. Debate in the House of Commons upon commercial distress. For Mr. Brougham's motion of inquiry and censure, 63; against it, 115.

14th.—House of Commons. Third reading of Seditious Assemblies Bill, carried by 179 to 44.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE SPEAKER TO MR. BANKES.

Palace Yard, March 6th, 1817.

Dear Bankes,— . . . . . I omitted to say to you the other evening, when I named your son George † for a teller, how glad I was to see him so well able to do justice to his own good sense and abilities. He must at the same time be careful in choosing the times when the House is disposed to listen. And upon whatever subjects, it is best, as a beginner, not to be long.

Ever most truly yours, C. A.

28th.—House of Commons. Debate on State Lotteries, generally condemned, but question for this year (their produce being half a million) got rid of by the previous question: 76 to 25.

31st.—Passed Seditious Assemblies Bill by Commission.

* A public meeting to petition for Parliamentary Reform, recently held at Manchester, invited all the signers to march in a body to London, in order to present it in person. On the day appointed several thousands assembled and started on the road, some furnished with knapsacks, blankets, &c., and some few with arms, but the greater number wholly unprovided. Some of the leaders were arrested, and many turned back tired after a few miles; not above 500 reached Macclesfield, and not above twenty made any attempt to proceed further.—*Annual Register*, same date.

† Afterwards Right Hon. George Bankes, Judge Advocate, 1852.

Between 24th and 31st I suffered from a most violent attack of erysipelas, and my whole time was passed between my bed room and the House of Commons.

On Wednesday 26th, I stated my new plan for the daily publication of an abstract of the votes of the House of Commons, and a Committee at my suggestion was appointed, which reported the next day in favour of my plan, which report was agreed to on the 28th.*

31st. — House of Commons adjourned to Monday April 14.

Friday, April 11th. — Finding my face worse, and receiving a letter from Vansittart suggesting a further adjournment as desirable on my account, and also mentioning Lord Castlereagh's continued illness as a reason why he could not attend next week, I wrote him the following answer:

[Private and immediate.]

Kidbrooke, Friday, April 11th, 1817.

My dear Sir,—It was my intention to have written to you today, in consequence of your obliging request before I left town; and I had postponed it till this time only that I might be able to give you the latest account of myself.

Since I wrote to Lord Sidmouth in answer to his inquiries, I am sorry to say that I have had a considerable increase of my disorder, which will require a course of medicine and treatment

* Formerly the daily votes of the House of Commons, seldom or never exceeding a single sheet, were distributed regularly to each Member, and even obtained a considerable sale out of doors, as a newspaper; but as the business increased, the bulk of the votes became so much enlarged that their delivery gradually fell into arrear, till before Mr. Abbot became Speaker they were usually two or three days, sometimes even a week in arrear, and the House of Commons was besieged all the morning by the servants of Members, endeavouring to obtain for their masters information as to what business would come before the House in the evening. Mr. Abbot reformed the existing system, causing the entries to be shortened, petitions to be omitted, &c., so that it was again found practicable to publish the votes at an early hour of the morning following the transaction of the business, and Members are thereby enabled, before they leave their homes, to read an official account of the proceedings of the preceding evening, and have also laid before them the business which is to engage the attention of the House at the next meeting.

quite incompatible with my attendance in the House of Commons for some few days. This I need not say I regret most exceedingly; and I must avail myself of your kind offer to request from the indulgence of the House a further adjournment for a few days, which I fear will be of no effectual service to me unless it can be extended to Monday se'nnight, the 21st, when I have every reason to believe my health may be sufficiently re-established, and not liable to further interruption.

However reluctantly I yield to the necessity of this proceeding, I am somewhat the more reconciled to it by the persuasion that it may be attended altogether with less inconvenience to the business of the House to postpone the return to it for a few days, than to incur the risk of a too probable interruption after it was once resumed.

The inability of Lord Castlereagh to attend in his place is also a strong additional reason for this respite, that business of all sorts when recommenced may proceed in its usual course.

If upon communication with such of the leading persons in the House of Commons as you may have an opportunity of conferring with, you should be of opinion that this adjournment is upon the whole expedient, I will thank you to let me know by to-morrow night's post, in order that I may remain here to give myself the fairest chance of returning in a fit state to my public duties. . . . . I remain ever, my dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours, CHAS. ABBOT.

P.S. The proceedings in 1747, upon one of Mr. Onslow's indispositions, by adjournment from Tuesday, February 22nd, to Tuesday, March 1st, ("Com. Journals," xxv. 532), will show the course to be observed; and so will that in 1757, for adjourning from 20th February to Wednesday 22nd, and again to Wednesday 1st March.*

13*th*.—Received Vansittart's answer, stating that "he had no doubt, from what Ponsonby had said on the occasion of the adjournment, that it would be the unanimous wish of the House to adopt whatever course might afford the fairest opportunity of a speedy re-establishment of my health;" and promising to "take the earliest opportunity to communicate the alteration in

* There was at this time no provision for the appointment of a Deputy Speaker; so that if the Speaker were disabled by illness from being present, the House could not possibly proceed with business.

the intended arrangements to his colleagues and to Mr. Ponsonby."

14*th.* — The House adjourned over the birthday (the 23rd) to Thursday 24th, upon Mr. Vansittart's motion acceded to by Mr. Ponsonby, and with unanimous concurrence.

Two East India ships for Canton are now anchored at St. Helens, waiting for the expected arrival of Lord Amherst's despatches.

17*th.* — Returned to Town.

20*th.* — Received a letter from Lord Arden at Windsor, with a note from Princess Elizabeth to Lord Arden, and some fine hair powder as used and recommended by the Queen and Princess Mary.

21*st.* — The Queen sent Princess Augusta's page to Mrs. Abbot with inquiries, and two large cut-glass bottles of rosewater, &c., and two more pounds of the same powder for the same complaint.

24*th.* — House of Commons. Thanked the House for their indulgence.

26*th.* — Canning called about Oxford, and the several competitors there, and for the chair.

28*th.* — House of Commons. Sir H. Parnell, seconded by General Matthew, presented the Roman Catholic petition, signed by prelates, &c., offering domestic nomination as the security upon which they should be admitted to all rights.

After some debate Sir John Nicholl protested against security being the only question, and against the supposition that the claims made were to be more successful now than heretofore.

A proposition was made for Exchequer bills to relieve the poor by furnishing employment.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM.

Finance Committee, April 16th.

Robert Ward is reading a memoir justifying the quantity of gunpowder kept in store, amounting to 232,000 barrels service-

able, besides what is damaged and to be made up again. He has stated some curious facts about the quantity of powder used in various actions and sieges, which are as under:

	Barrels.
Lille, besieged in 1793, six days	4,000
St. Sebastian	5,570
Copenhagen	1,800
Waterloo	500
Algiers	2,000

Believe me yours truly, E. B. W.

Memorandum of an interview which took place on the 28th between Mr. Abbot and Dr. Everard (Titular Archbishop of Cashel) and Dr. Murray, (Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin); Mr. Caley coming into the room at the same time.

Dr. Everard.—We wait upon you, Mr. Speaker, for your advice and direction. We are very thankful for what you offered us upon the former occasion, as we understood by your speech: and we wish to God it had been then granted. We should be thankful for what we can get. We are come from Ireland to give any explanations which may be desired.

We have been labouring under grievances. For instance, we cannot endow schools. In my part of Ireland I was lately very desirous of setting up a school for the instruction of the poor; but I found that any funds which I might be desirous of applying would be immediately diverted to other purposes.

Also the Grand Juries are not favourable to us; they do many things which hurt our feelings and interests, and which we could wish were otherwise.

What we wish is to make the people less ignorant, and attached thoroughly to the Government; that we might all be of one mind, one heart and body and soul together.

I said:—You have been pleased to ask for my advice and direction. I am not in a situation to give either the one or the other. My sentiments upon these points happen to be well known. But I must decline all discussion upon these subjects elsewhere than in Parliament.

Dr. Everard.—We are very sorry to have given offence; we wished only to say we should be thankful for what we could get.

I said:—I have not even now the pleasure of knowing whom I am conversing with.

He replied:—My name is Everard; Sir Henry Parnell said he would mention me to you.

I said:—I presume, then, I have also the honour of seeing Dr. Murray.

Dr. Murray bowed.

Dr. Everard.—We have waited upon Mr. Wilberforce, and have given him these explanations; and that we are willing to cut off all foreign influence by domestic nomination: and he seemed to say that we had removed all his objections.

The conversation then turned upon their request to be present at the discussion in the House of Commons, under the gallery. And I mentioned the manner in which I had always been desirous of arranging the accommodation for parties taking so much interest in such an important question, by desiring Mr. Grattan, Mr. Elliot, &c. to make out lists, as the space was limited,—about eighteen, being three lists of six each, being all for whom there could be room.

They again bowed, and hoped they had not done wrong, or given offence, and I civilly dismissed them.

Mr. Caley*, to whom I read over this minute afterwards, agreed in its correctness.

29*th.* — Debate on the Abolition of the Colonial Secretary of State. Negatived by 190 to 87.

Thursday, May 1*st.*—House of Commons. Committee on Welsh Judicature, moved for by Mr. Ponsonby and agreed to by Lord Castlereagh.

2*nd.*—House of Commons. Complaint of a breach of privilege by the Rev. J. Thirlwall.† He was ordered to attend the House.

3*rd.*—Sir John Hippesley called, and said there were 330 members now in town who will vote against Grattan's motion.

5*th.*—Lady Amherst told me that she had heard from Canton up to Dec. 20th. The Embassy expected to reach that city in a week or fortnight.

* Secretary of the Record Commission.

† The Rev. J. Thirlwall had published a vindication of the magistrates acting for the Tower district from some charges brought against them in the Report of a Parliamentary Committee on the state of the police of the metropolis, some passages of which were worded in strong language, and complained of by some Members of the Committee as offensive; but (see May 7th, *infra*) the House was satisfied with Mr. Thirlwall's explanation that he meant to convey no imputation on the motives of the Committee.

House of Commons. Debate on London Tithe Restraining Bill. Thrown out by 146 to 21. Committee of Finance made first report. Several Bills ordered to be brought in for the Abolition of Sinecures, &c., and a Compensation Bill.

6*th.*—House of Commons. Question on the Lisbon Mission, moved by Lambton.* Negatived by 270 to 96.

7*th.*—A meeting was held at Bankes's house of members adverse to Mr. Grattan's motion on the Roman Catholic petition.

House of Commons. Mr. Thirlwall was heard and dismissed without further animadversion.

9*th.*—House of Commons. Grattan's motion for Committee on the Roman Catholic claims. Negatived by 245 to 221.

N.B. In 1813 it was carried by 264 to 224.

News at the India House that Lord Amherst entered Canton, Jan. 3rd, and expected to sail on Jan. 9th.

15*th.*—House of Commons. Notice of removing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

19*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on Sinecures and Pension Bills. Second reading carried.

20*th.*—House of Commons. Sir Francis Burdett's motion for a Select Committee on the state of the Parliamentary Representation. Negatived by 205 to 77.

21*st.*—House of Commons. Debate on Poor Employment Bill in Committee till twelve.

23*rd.*—House of Commons. Debate on Irish Insurrection Act, &c. Waterloo and Trafalgar monuments decided on.

26*th.*—For a week there had been considerable ap-

* Mr. Lambton (created Lord Durham, 1828) moved three resolutions.

1. That Ministers had curtailed Mr. Sydenham's expenses when he was our Minister at Lisbon.

2. That notwithstanding this they had appointed Mr. Canning Ambassador Extraordinary to congratulate the Prince of Brazil on his return; such an appointment being accompanied with emoluments far greater than those which had been curtailed in the case of Mr. Sydenham.

3. That such an appointment was wholly uncalled for, and an unnecessary and unjustifiable waste of public money.

pearances of a return of my erysipelas. Consulted Dr. Baillie.

27*th.*—Lord Sidmouth, by my desire, came to me; when I told him that, although the state of my health had not as yet brought me to a stand still, yet, with Dr. Baillie's opinion of my case, and the medicines prescribed to me, I could not be at any certainty how soon I might be obliged to give up my situation; and, therefore, I wished to know what had passed between him and Lord Liverpool during the last Easter recess respecting my retiring provision.

He said that the peerage was distinctly admitted, and that the Regent had admitted that to be an exception to the general denial of more peerages, as mine would be a peerage for public services; that, as to the retiring pension, nothing had been definitively concluded, but that it could not well exceed the amount of the Chancellor's, and that it ought to be considered on the footing of Mr. Onslow's, which they had not exactly ascertained.

I then told him that I agreed to Mr. Onslow's case being the standard by which my claim should be measured when fully understood.

Mr. Onslow served thirty-three years, and obtained a pension for the concurrent lives of himself and his son, of 3000*l.* a year; being more than equal to the full emoluments of his office, as must be concluded from the amount rendered in 1790 of their then amount, on an average of twelve years.

That in my sixteen years the business which I had gone through was more than twice the quantity in half the time, including all the Irish business, and the attendance of 100 additional Members, together with the constant burthen of the Record Commission, and the Scottish Highlands Roads and Bridges, and Caledonian Canal Commissions, &c. &c., unknown to former Speakers.

That I was aware it could not be proposed at present to grant a pension for two lives of the full amount of

my present salary, according to Mr. Onslow's precedent; but that it could not be unreasonable to propose a pension of two thirds of that amount, viz. 4000*l.* a year, for the concurrent lives of myself and the next in succession to the peerage.

That in the comparison between the Chancellor's office and the Speaker's, the main difference, as to the pension, was, that the longer the Chancellor continued in office, the more he was enriched by his larger receipts (above 20,000*l.* a year), whereas the Speaker's official emoluments being not more than equal to defray two thirds of his necessary expenses, every year of his continuance in office did not enrich, but impoverish him; besides, that the Chancellor had an endless patronage of offices to bestow on his family.

That the Judges under the modern Acts had twice received an increase of salary since 1800, and were entitled after fifteen years' service, at the age of sixty, to receive two thirds of their full salaries.

Lord Sidmouth said that Lord Liverpool upon this occasion had spoken also of my Irish sinecure, which Lord Sidmouth had told him was originally granted to me in lieu of my office in Westminster Hall, and left to me upon my second election to the chair in 1802, as a partial compensation for the known inadequacy of the official salary.

We then talked over the circumstances of *time* under which a resignation would or would not be most expedient. That if my health was likely to hold out through the present session, so that the recess might enable me to return to the chair next year with equal or better health, it would be well to continue throughout the present Parliament, which would then probably be dissolved, but certainly not in the present year. At the same time it was to be considered what might be the circumstances if I returned with health unequal to the duties, and appeared only to cling to the official emoluments during the recess, and return with diminished credit and authority. At present all stood well.

It was evident that I had struggled on, and might justly be deemed to have served out as long as prudence would justify or public duty require. Moreover, also, nobody could foresee what might hereafter be the state of persons or parties, and how far they could be expected to be in any degree more favourably disposed to settle my retiring pension.

In conclusion he agreed to see Lord Liverpool to-day, and bring him to some definite understanding as to the amount of the provision to be recommended, if the case should arise, without announcing any determination on my part as to quitting or continuing. And he is to see me again to-morrow at twelve.

But we understood that upon our present view of things, if other matters suited, it might not be inconvenient that I should resign at the present moment, and have all the arrangements concluded out of hand.

28*th*.—At twelve Lord Sidmouth came to say that if I determined upon resigning now (which Lord Liverpool did not wish), he thought he could not recommend more than 4000*l*. a year (excluding all notion of my resigning my Irish office), and 2000*l*. a year to the next taker of the peerage; or else 3000*l*. a year to me, and the like 3000*l*. a year to the next taker of the peerage. Upon this option I am to decide; and he will call again at four.

I considered the whole well, with Mrs. Abbot, and determined upon the resignation at this time, and to prefer the 4000*l*. for myself with the 2000*l*. reversion to my son, as affording me the better means of aiding their present education, promotion, &c.

At four Lord Sidmouth came, and I told him how much I was gratified that the hand which had first led me into public life should lead me also to my concluding situation; that I had determined that the most dignified, prudent, and suitable course was that of resigning now; and for the preceding reasons I should make my option for the 4000*l*. and 2000*l*.

He is to see Lord Liverpool with Canning and Van-

sittart to-morrow at eleven, after which he is to call upon me. In the meantime I am to write to Lord Liverpool, notifying my intended resignation; and to-morrow, after it has been jointly considered, the Regent's pleasure will be taken and communicated to me.

I told Lord Sidmouth of my anxious desire to have my secretary and train-bearer continued by my successor.

Also that I should wish my Record commission and Scotch commissions continued, that I might have something to do, &c.

In the evening I sent him a copy of a short memorandum of my services, which he forwarded to Lord Liverpool, as he told me afterwards.

Lord Liverpool said he could not propose a larger amount of retiring provision; but he should not be unwilling that the House of Commons should increase it if they chose to do so.

Wrote my letter of resignation to Lord Liverpool, and to Lord Sidmouth to tell him that I had done so.

Memorandum alluded to above of the Speaker's Parliamentary services both before and during his Speakership.

Before Speakership.

1795. Came into Parliament.

1796. Temporary laws. Committee and Report. Promulgation of the Statutes, Committee, Report, and Address.

1797, 1798. Finance Reports, XXXVI.

1799. Finance Annual Accounts; moved and planned in their present form, as now presented by Statute.

1800. Bill for charging public accountants with interest; Public Records of the Realm; Committee, Report, Address; Population Bill, and Abstract of Returns, since renewed in 1810.

During Speakership, 1802—1817.

1. Series of printed papers of House of Commons, for nearly the last 100 years collected, methodised, and made accessible to public use.

2. Private business regulated. Private Bill Office established. Standing Orders revised and completed.

3. Votes and journal printing re-modelled, with a saving of above 14,000*l.* on the votes alone during the last twelve years.

4. Thanks delivered, &c.

The quantity of business is now five times what it was in 1761, and is nearly doubled since the Union, including all the business of Ireland, and with the addition of one hundred members.

Besides the sessional business, many new Parliamentary trusts and commissions have devolved upon the Speaker officially, several of them including the superintendence of a voluminous correspondence, and occupying his attention throughout every portion of the year.

Established since the year 1800.

Public Record Commission for Great Britain.

N.B. Under this commission thirty volumes in folio have been printed, and copies have been deposited in the various public libraries of the United Kingdom. They include the statutes of England and Scotland, the volumes of statutes of Henry VIII., and a new and enlarged edition of Rymer's Fœdera.

Highland roads and bridges, and Scottish harbours.

Caledonian Canal, and Crinan Canal.

Glasgow and Carlisle roads.

Royal Military Canal.

Westminster Improvements, &c.

With various other public trusts requiring his attendance.

Westminster Bridge estates.

British Museum.

Hunterian Museum.

National Debt reduction, &c. &c. &c.

29*th*.—Wrote to Canning, Bankes, and Manners Sutton. Sutton consented (if elected Speaker) to take my secretary and train-bearer into his service.

Received the following letter from Lord Liverpool:—

Fife House, March 29th, 1817.

My dear Sir,—I have laid before the Prince Regent the letter which I had the honour to receive from you last night, announcing your intended resignation of the situation of the Speaker of the House of Commons, on account of the state of your health.

I am commanded by the Prince Regent to express to you, in the strongest terms, His Royal Highness's deep regret and concern that any circumstances should render it necessary for you to resign a situation which you have filled with so much honour to yourself, and advantage to the public for so many years.

I am further commanded by His Royal Highness to inform you that it is his intention immediately to confer upon you the dignity of a baron of the United Kingdom, as a mark of His Royal Highness's just sense of your services; and that he will send down a message to the two Houses of Parliament, recommending a proper provision to be made in consequence.

I cannot conclude this letter without assuring you of the great value which I have never ceased personally to set upon your important services — of the concern which I must feel in common with the public at the necessity of your retiring, and of my most anxious wishes for your future health and happiness.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard,
My dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
LIVERPOOL.

P.S. I will have the pleasure of calling upon you after the levee this day.

He came to me from the levee, and mentioned the provision intended to be 4000*l.* a year for me; and 3000*l.* for the next taker of the peerage.

I wrote by this post to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; the Dean of Christ Church; Barnes*, &c. &c.

I wrote also to Lord Liverpool, to beg him to lay my grateful acknowledgments before the Regent.

30*th.*—Henry Legge breakfasted with us, and we determined on "Colchester" for the title, after looking over a long list of extinct peerages.

Colchester was a viscounty, granted to D'Arcy of Chiche, and limited to Sir Thomas Savage, who became afterwards Earl Rivers, under like limitations, and died without issue in 1728.

Saw Dyson, and gave him my letter of resignation to read to the House of Commons.

House of Commons. My letter was read, and the House adjourned till Monday.

THE SPEAKER'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION.

Palace Yard, May 30th.

Sir, — It is with the sincerest concern and regret, that I feel myself obliged to request that you will inform the House of

* Sub-Dean.

Commons at their meeting this day of my inability, from continued illness, to attend any longer upon their service.

After holding the high office to which I have been raised by their favour in five successive Parliaments, it is impossible that I should resign so honourable and distinguished a situation without feeling the deepest gratitude for the constant kindness with which they have been pleased to accept and assist my humble endeavours to discharge its various and arduous duties. It was my earnest wish and hope to have continued longer in the service of the House, if such were their pleasure; but the interruption of public business which has been already occasioned by my state of health, and the apprehensions of the same cause recurring, which might again expose the House to the like inconvenience, have made me deem it necessary that I should retire at this time; and have left me no further duty to perform than to return my heartfelt acknowledgments to the House for all the favours they have bestowed upon me; and to express my fervent wishes for the perpetual maintenance and preservation of its rights, its privileges, and its independence.

I am, Sir, your most faithful servant, Charles Abbot.

Jeremiah Dyson, Esq., Clerk of
the House of Commons.

31*st.*—Peel brought me a letter to himself from the Dean of Christ Church, acquainting him with the concurrent desire of the Chapter and Common Room to put him in nomination to supply my place as Member for the University.

Monday, June 2nd.—House of Commons. Manners Sutton, proposed by Sir John Mitchell and Littleton of Staffordshire, was elected Speaker in opposition to C. W. Wynn, proposed by Dickinson and Sir M. Ridley, by 312 to 150.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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